GUIDE TO THE RF1 GREAT RUSSIA FILE

[The RF1 Great Russia file contains specific data on Great Russia or the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) and its inhabitants since 1918. The RSFSR is one of sixteen republics forming the USSR and it contains more than half the area and population of the entire country. The RSFSR was the first republic established in the USSR, with a constitution adopted in 1918. Furthermore it is the republic representing the Russians and their culture and is consequently the nucleus of the USSR.

Most of the territory of the RSFSR is a plain which extends from Eastern Europe to the Pacific Ocean. There are occasionally low mounrain ranges, notably the Urals which separate European from Asian Russia. Three climatic zones run east-west. In the far north is the Arctic tundra, next is a temperate forest belt, and the southern zone is dominated by steppes and prairies. In European Russia the population is concentrated south of 60° latitude in industrial centers. Asian Russia, which consists primarily of Siberia, has a harsh climate, but in terms of natural resources, it is potentially the richest part of the RSFSR. The population is concentrated in the southern regions, mainly along the Trans-Siberan Railway.

The population in 1970 of the RSFSR was 130,079,000, over half of the population of the entire USSR. The average density in 1968 was only 19/sq. mile. Most of the population is Russian but about 10% of the population considered themselves to be members of other ethnic groups. The Russian language, a part of the eastern group of the Slavic branch of Indo-European, is dominant but minority languages are spoken. In some areas Russian is taught as a second

language, the minority languages being encourage by the government. Minority language groups have been the basis for setting up autonomous republics and oblasts, and national okrugs. Some of the languages represented are other Indo-European languages, Altaic, Uralic, and Paleo-Asiatic.

Eastern Slavic tribes entered the European area early and were united in the 10th century by Orthodox Christinaity. By the 10th century Kiev had become the center of trade and by the 12th century it had developed into a major power with ties to both Europe and Byzantium. In 1240 the Tatars invaded and held power for 250 years, during which time Russia was cut off from Western influences. During this time Moscow became the center of trade and the expanding empire. Ivan the Terrible was the first Tsar in the late 16th century. Peter the Great in the 18th century expanded the empire and attempted to westernize Russia. By the early 20th century, under Nicholas II, oppression and discontent were strong. In 1917 Nicholas abdicated and civil war broke out. The Bolshevik revolution under Lenin followed. The constitution of the RSFSR was adopted in 1918 and the constitution of the USSR was adopted in 1923. Lenin died in 1924 and was succeeded by Stalin.

The traditional economy was based on mixed farming with the major crops being cereal and potatoes. Most of the people were peasants with small land holdings. The USSR was the last major European power to undergo the industrial revolution and since Sovietization, industrialization has been the major economic objective. One of the first changes was the shift of industrial centers to the east. The government owns all the land, natural resources, industry, communications media, transport, banks, distribution facilities, housing, and municipal utilities. There are three types of

government controlled cooperatives--collective farms, industrial cooperatives, and consumer cooperatives.

The top level of the administrative subdivisions of the RSFSR is the oblast. Oblasts are divided into rayons, and rayons are made up of clusters of villages and worker's settlements. Cities are administered separately. In addition, there are Autonomous Republics, such as the Tatar ASSR, which contains oblasts of the own, and smaller units known as autonomous oblasts.

There are four sources in the RF1 Great Russia file. The sources are not continuously numbered, there are no sources numbered 2-4 at this time. 1: Fedotov is a study of Russian character traits. 5: American Russian Institute is the Constitution of the RSFSR as amended through 1949. 6: Tomasic is a study of the dynamics of power of Soviet Bolshevism. The source analyzes Russian culture and personality, the social and power structure of the Russian state, ideologies, and elites. Much data is given on historical factors contributing to the present situation. 7: Lineva is a study of peasant wedding ceremonies and folk songs in Great Russia and the Ukraine. It was published in 1893.

Since the RSFSR is the major republic of the USSR, and the two are inextricably related historically, politically, and culturally, the researcher is advised to consult the R1 Soviet Union file for additional information. The file was processed in 1955-1956.]

File guide based on:

Fitzsimmons, Thomas, and Clifford R. Barnett, John, C. Fiske, Peter Malof, and Florence K. Nierman

1956. Area Handbook for the Russian Heartland (RSFSR). The Washington Branch, Human Relations Area Files, Inc.

Golenpaul, Ann, editor
1974. Information Please Almanac Atlas and Yearbook 1975, 29th edition. New York, Dan Golenpaul Associates.

Keefe, Eugene K., and Arsene A. Boucher, Sarah J. Elpern, William Giloane, James M. Moore, Terence L. Ogden, Stephen Peters, John P. Prevas, Nancy E. Walstron, and Eston T. White.
1971. Area Handbook for the Soviet Union. Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF] Great Russia RF]

In a similar manner the old Kiev Chronicle points out the cultural differences between a number of Slavic-speaking tribes, such as the Polians—the "field-people," and the Drevlians (Drevlyane)—the "inhabitants of the forests," in the middle Dnieper basin. While the former are described as peaceful and mild, organized along egalitarian lines, the latter are represented as ferocious and wild, organized along monarchial, predatory, warlike, and polygynic principles. The Drevlians, says the Chronicle, ". . . lived like beasts; friends killed one another (*ubivahu drug druga*) . . . no marriage took place amongst them, but they captured young girls on the banks of the rivers."[6] And as for some other tribes, such as the Radimichi, the Vyatichi, and the Sever, the Chronicle says that ". . . shameful things occurred amongst them between fathers and daughters-in-law . . . there was no marriage . . . but the villagers would get together for dancing and satanic games, and there they captured their wives . . . they had generally two or three wives . . . they burned their dead."[7]

It is to be expected that under such circumstances cultural dualism and internal conflict and tension occurred within many individual families in this area. A Slavonic woman as wife or concubine of a Turco-Mongol horse-breeder and warrior might know nothing about his nomadic and predatory way of life, about horses and mares, about weapons, wagons and tents. She might therefore introduce into her new family agricultural techniques and a more settled way of life.

Being raised in an equalitarian society with some matriarchal traits, and with emphasis on self-respect and personal autonomy, a Slavonic woman would not be inclined to be completely submissive to her Turco-Mongol husband. Following child rearing customs of her own society the Slavonic woman would tend to remain close to her children, would teach them Slavonic speech, and might even be in a position to give them protection from the arbitrariness and impulsiveness of their warlike father. Such a situation reinforced and even magnified the traditional distance between the Turco-Mongol father and the members of his family.

At the same time the invader would insist on a subordinate

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

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111 RF1 Great Russia

1: Fedotov, George. The Russian. The Russian Review, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 3-17, Hanover, N. H., 1954.

[The aim of this essay is to illuminate Russian character traits. The author, who is of Russian origin, gives a brief picture of the multiformity of the Russian character and analyzes the unity of opposites which characterizes Russian man. He also discusses the predominant influences for a crystallization of the Russian character before and after the revolution. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Dragan Zivanović

Evaluation: Social Scientist-4
Processed in 1955

111 RF1 Great Russia

5: American Russian Institute. Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic of January 21, 1937, as amended through May 27, 1949. New York: American Russian Institute, April 1950.

Pp. ii; 19.

Yale: Osf23. + 950c. 14.

[This is a translation, without comment, of a Russian text as amended through March 13, 1948, published by the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR in 1948; additional amendments were incorporated from texts published in Izvestiya through May 27, 1949. Similarities and differences between the various Constitutions of the Union Republics of the USSR are discussed in 70: American Russian Institute, R1 Soviet Union, category 116. --- Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Jack Crane

Processed in 1955

6: Tomasic, Dinko. The Impact of Russian Culture on Soviet Communism. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953.

Pp. 287; Notes; Index.

[In seeking to understand the dynamics of total power represented by Soviet Bolshevism, the present work analyzes the development of Russian personality and culture, the social and power structure of the Russian state, the influence of ideologies and the elaboration of elites. Numerous other conditioning and historical factors such as the influence of Byzantium in administration and in Church-State relations, the Mongol invasions, the conditions of serfdom, the retarded growth of the middle classes and the effects of Westernization are examined in detail. Much interesting data is adduced to explain the specifics commonly associated with Russian personality traits in terms of intra-family relationships and the social personality of the individual. Bibliographic references are supplied in the notes provided at the end of the text.

Field date: 1947-1948
Analyst: Jack Crane

Evaluation: Ethnographer, 4
Processed in 1956

7: Lineva, Evgenia. Russian Folk-Songs as Sung by the People...and... Peasant Wedding Ceremonies Customary in Northern and Central Russia. Chicago: Clayton F. Summy, 1893.

Pp. 63.

Harvard loan copy.

[This source concerns peasant wedding ceremonies in Great Russia, as well as the translated texts of Great Russian and Ukrainian folk-songs. It includes songs arranged according to the following subjects: (Great Russian) Khorovod songs (choral dance), Possidelotchny [sic] (social gathering), dance songs, Recruit song, Robber songs, Bargemen's, laboring and wedding songs; (Ukrainian) recruit, historical songs; and Sacred songs. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Eugene Lerner

Evaluation: Folklorist-5
Processed in 1956

113, 642 Great Russia RF1

[For a comparison of the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic of January 21, 1937, as amended through May 27, 1949, with other Constitutions of the USSR, see 70: American Russian Institute, R1 Soviet Union, category 116.]

113, 13 Great Russia RF1

/For data on the physical geography, geology, climate, flora, fauna, and soil of the broad-leaved forests of the Far East, see 58: Berg, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, pp. 60-67. --Analyst/

● 113, 13 Great Russia RF1

/For data on the physical geography, geology, climate, flora, fauna, and soil of the forest zone of Great Russia, see 58: Berg, R1 Soviet Union, cat. 116, pp. 22-59. --Analyst/

113, 13 Great Russia RF1

/For data on the physical geography, geology, climate, flora, fauna, and soil of the steppe of Great Russia, see 58: Berg, R1 Soviet Union, cat. 116, pp. 90-110. -- Analyst/

113, 13 Great Russia RF1

/For data on the physical geography, geology, climate, flora, fauna, and soil of the semidesert zone of Great Russia, see 58: Berg, R1 Soviet Union, cat. 116, pp. 111-124. --Analyst/

113, 13 Great Russia RF1

/For data on the physical geography, geology, climate, flora, fauna, and soil of the forest steppe of Great Russia, see 58: Berg, R1 Soviet Union, cat. 116, pp. 68-89. --Analyst/

[For information pertaining to the languages of Great Russia, see 22: Matthews, R1 Soviet Union, category 116; pp. 115-117; 77-78 (Nogai); 78-79 (Bashkir); 79-80 (Kazan' Tatar); 80-82 (Chuvash).]

• 113, 19 Great Russia RF1

[For information pertaining to the languages of Great Russia, see 22: Matthrws, R1 Soviet Union, category 116; pp. 115-117; 77-78 (Nogai); 78-79 (Bashkir); 79-80 (Kazan' Tatar); 80-82 (Chuvash).]

7:Lineva B-5 (no date)1893 RF1 Great Russia RF1

121 Modern methods of study have taught us to attach an importance scarcely appreciated a score of years ago to popular songs and popular customs. What is called the science of folk-lore (though its methods are scarcely well enough digested and ordered to entitle it to the term) is opening the way to new revelations of unexpected interest and value touching racial origins and relations, primitive religions and the development of social and political systems. In nursery tales and popular songs we are learning to recognize fragments of early mythologies and histories. When this fact is fully recognized we may expect to see a marvellous out-blossoming of an interest in several branches of science toward which the mass of the people have been indifferent heretofore. Ethnology, archæology and anthropology will no longer have a terrifying sound when the knowledge becomes general that they can be studied in the intelligent perusal of fairy tales and inculcated through the agency of folk songs.

For this delightful method of study no field offers greater inducements than the Russian. This is indicated by the statements of Ralston which I have placed at the beginning of this 114 note.[1] It can not be said of any country that all its treasures of folk-song and folk-lore have been brought to light;—not even of Germany where the greatest labor has been expended. Least of all can it be said of Russia which, in its heart, may be said to be a sealed book not only to other nations but even to the majority of its own inhabitants. The explanation lies, I think, in two circumstances, *first*, the Russia which has been open to the inspection of the general reader hitherto is the Russia of imperial cities with its veneer and varnish of foreign culture; *second*, the political system of the Czar's mighty empire has not encouraged true national expression in art. So long as Russia failed in appreciation of her own possessions, it was not likely that the outside world should place a high value on them.

Of recent years, however, we have witnessed a mighty change in Russia's attitude toward her own people; and this has been followed, in a marvelously quick time by a change in the attitude of other people toward Russia's artistic products. In literature and painting and in music Russia now holds the

[1] [see cat. 116, p.5 - Analyst]

7: Lineva B-5 (no date)1893 RFl Great Russia RFl

attention of the world as if through the magic of an irresitible charm.

We are, however, concerned directly with Russian art only in so far as it reflects those primitive impulses which give it character and individuality. These things are the very soul of the people's songs, and the customs of which those songs are an integral element. It was a happy idea to bring the marriage customs of these people on the stage and thus to give us a beautiful object lesson in the scientific study of which I have spoken. Books, paintings and musical performances have done much to make us understand Russian thought and feeling, but nothing could be devised to vitalize this understanding better than a dramatic representation of the chief incidents of the wooing and wedding as they have existed from time immemorial. The antiquity of the ceremonial observances is indicated in the relics of savagery which they contain—the obvious modification of marriage by theft or capture and marriage by purchase. The subservience of wife is characteristic of the patriarchal system still prevalent; but there are not wanting suggestions of a much earlier system when descent was traced in the female line and the husband became a member of the family, or gena, of his wife.

But it is not my purpose to dwell on this, to which reference will be found hereafter in the description of the wedding ceremony. I am more directly concerned with the music of the songs which occur in the course of the ceremony. The predominant note of Russian music is profound melancholy. This is true even of songs with which the maiden friends of the bride beguile their labors during the *devitchink* at which the wedding garments are prepared. As a rule climatic and geopraphical conditions explain the prevalence of the major or minor mode in folk-music. Thus the music of all Europe above the southern line of the North Sea is predominantly minor. South of that line it is major except in Russia. Even in the Oukraina the melancholy mode prevails. It is obvious, therefore, that the question is not distinctly one of latitude, but of the consequences of latitude. Suffering is a familiar idea to people living in the cold, gloomy and rugged northland; and the symbol of suffering in

7:Lineva B-5 (no date)1893 RF1 Great Russia RF

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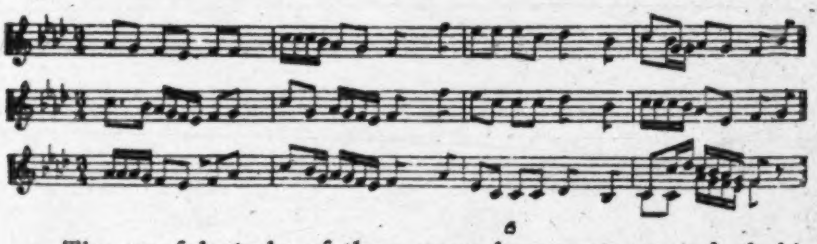
podgoloskies or improvised parts. The following parts from "Notchka" will serve as an example:



The careful study of these secondary parts or *podgoloskies* by Melgounoff was a great step forward in the studying of Russian folk-music, as it gave means to reproduce *exactly* the melodic and harmonic conception of the song as it existed in the consciousness of the people themselves. It is a matter of regret that the songs of other nations had not been treated in the same scientific manner when the folk-songs were still a living reality. Fortunately for Russia, where the natural part-singing is not yet extinct and in some remote parts even flourishing, this kind of study is still practicable and is pushed vigorously by a band of young and enthusiastic investigators.

A great movement was started in order to find means to carry on this work of investigation systematically in various parts of Russia. Since then very valuable additions have been made to the collection of musical lore, notably by Messrs. Lopatin and Prokoonine for Great Russia, and Mr. Lissenko for South Russia (Oukraina).

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To this faithful band of investigators belongs Mme. Lineff, with the difference that her training and experience as choir conductor eminently fitted her to make a powerful propaganda of these exquisite songs, not by mere books, but with a choir of singers trained by her, and therefore appealing to a much larger audience.

Mme. Eugenie Papritz-Lineff is a native of Moscow. Very early she showed a talent for music, and when a mere child she sang melodies heard from her mother, who is an accomplished musician, and pupil of the great Russian composer Michael Glinka.

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Mme. Lineff received her education in "St. Catherine's Institute for Daughters of Nobility," and showed such aptitude for singing, that at the age of fourteen she was selected as assistant conductor of the church choir of the institute, and later superintended the practice of a choir of over one hundred pupils. After having gained at the final examination the highest honors of the institute, she remained as conductor of the choir for nearly two years. She then went to St. Petersburg to study singing at the Conservatory of Music, and later to Vienna to become a pupil of the celebrated Marchesi, with whom she studied three full years.

MME. EUGENIE LINEFF.

In Vienna she met Anton Rubinstein, who invited her to sing at his musical *soirees*. One evening she brought with her some of Rubinstein's beautiful Persian songs. "Oh, no, no!" he exclaimed, good-humoredly, "enough of this trash; let us have some really *good* music; sing us something of Schubert!"

Her *debut* was in the farewell concert of the violinist Ole Bull. In consequence of a favorable notice from such musical critics as Dr. Hanslick and Dr. Schelle, she was engaged by an operatic company in Hungary, which engagement was followed by another from her Majesty's Italian Opera Company in England. Her *debut* in Russia was in the concerts given by the Moscow Syphonic Society under the direction of the late Nicholas Rubinstein, which was followed by an engagement at the Imperial Opera House in Moscow.

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The strong Liberal tide which swept over the best part of Russian society subsequent to 1860—the year of liberation of serfs in Russia—was not without a radical influence on Russian art, especially music. The study of national songs and poetry was cultivated energetically by a band of enthusiasts. Mme. Lineff became a diligent worker in this field. In summer she used to live amongst the peasantry in some out-of-the-way places, studying the best and purest Russian singing. It is an unquestionable fact that in Russia all the principal outward adjuncts of modern civilization—large towns, factories, railroads, hotels, etc. —exercise a blighting effect on the beautiful old folk-song. This disappears at the sound of the steam whistle, and is gradually superseded by commonplace melodies with stupid words, not seldom of doubtful propriety.

Several summers were thus spent by Mme. Lineff, in various parts of Russia and Oukraina, her aim being to compare the different styles of singing in various provinces. She also traveled a good deal on foot with female pilgrims to the various convents held in veneration by the Russian people, to study the peculiar songs of the wandering psalmodists (*Kaleyky-Perekhazie*) who frequent those places.

During her residence in Moscow, while still singing in concerts, her energy was directed particularly to the organization of choirs in schools, amongst university students—male and female —and amateurs. The folk songs were cultivated assiduously, and became the favorite pieces on the programmes. Mme. Lineff still uses a baton presented to her by the University Choir, which she directed during five seasons.

In 1890 she took up her residence in London. In one of the aristocratic gatherings at which she appeared she made a bold experiment by singing for an encore a Russian folk-song, "Lootchina," without accompaniment. The effect produced by the song was striking; she was surrounded by people eager to know the name of the composer and the author of the words. The surprise was still greater when the artist had to answer that the author both of the words and music was the Russian People, and that the date of its composition was quite unknown, and

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might have been contemporaneous with England's dependency under the Roman Empire.

So began Mme. Lineff's active propaganda of Russian folk songs abroad. She earnestly believes "that nowhere the originality and the wonderful effect of the beautiful songs of her land can be better appreciated than by the American public—so justly eager for novelties of merit."

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Before analyzing the typical Russian folk-songs contained in the programme of Mme. Lineff's concerts, I will say in few words on the lectures of Mr. H. E. Krehbiel, the well-known musical critic of the New York *Tribune*, who introduced these folk-song concerts to the American Audiences, and explained the significance and importance of the folk music in general. "The study of this branch of science," he said, "has a great value not only from a musical point of view, but also as a means of obtaining new and valuable ethnographical and philological data. If it be truly said that speech is often used to conceal the real intention and feelings of the speaker, then it is really true that music reveals the innermost feelings and real life of the soul. Folk songs can reproduce to our minds pictures of social and family life in ages gone by, far more vividly than any treatise on the same subject. For the music of folk songs necessarily reflects the inner life of the people who evolved it. Like physical and mental habits, occupations and dwellings, its characteristic traits are the product of the geographical, climatic, social and political condition of the people. The people of Russia are intensely musical. All the significant features in the life of the Russian peasant are accompanied by ceremonies in which song plays a very important part. In the character of these ceremonies and the allusions found frequently in the songs may be discovered relics of ancient customs and religion. This point was illustrated by the performance of a Khorovod (choral) song, in which can be found the remains of the primitive drama, as it was developed among all the civilized peoples. The parallel can be followed through the religious dances of the ancient Egyptians and Greeks, and of the Teutons of the Middle Ages in Europe. Children's games of to-day in Germany, England and America may also be

1: Fedotov S-4 (no date) 1954 RF1 Great Russia RF1

The Russian*

By G. P. Fedotov

What terms, what concepts shall we use to characterize "Russianness?" If it is difficult to reduce the live multiformity of the individual to a system of concepts, how much harder is it to define the still more complex multiformity of the collective personality. It is always given to us as a unity of widely divergent, often conflicting individualities. To find their common denominator is impossible. What have Pushkin, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy in common? Try to isolate their common essence—and you will find next to nothing. And yet there can be no valid definition of Russianness that would exclude Pushkin, Dostoevsky, and so many others who do not resemble them at all. A foreigner is more likely to grasp the common element that eludes us. But then, most generalizations by foreigners bear the stamp of insufferable banality. Our own evaluations of the French, the German, the English national character are certainly in no way better.

The difficulty is apparently insurmountable. The only way out would be to renounce a fallacious monism and to portray the collective soul as a unity of opposites. The multiformity that would otherwise submerge us may then be reduced to the polarity of two further irreducible types. Not the circle, but the ellipse is the appropriate diagram of the collective personality. The two centers of the ellipse create the tension which alone makes possible the life and the movement of the constantly changing collective organism. All its manifestations may be traced to the one or the other of the two centers. To some extent this scheme does violence to reality—less drastically, however, than do monistic conceptions. On closer examination, each of the two centers will appear to us as a multiplex unity that can be resolved into its component elements. This may be no more than a working method, but it is one that justifies itself by results. If it fails to satisfy our—plainly unrealizable—longing for a spiritual-national monism (which can manifest itself only in the ultimate harmony of the Kingdom of God), it yet explains reason-

*This is a translation, in an abridged form, of the author's essay "Russkii chelovek," first published in Vol. III of *Russkie Zapiski*, Paris, 1938 and subsequently included in the collection *Novyi grad*, Chekov Publishing House, New York, 1952 [Ed.].

1: Fedotov S-4 (no date) 1954 RF1 Great Russia RF1

ably well the nature of the historical process, the drama of the perpetual dissensions and crises, and the very possibility of development.

If today, in exile, we ask this or that émigré of the rank and file to describe the Russian character, we are sure to be offered two contrasting pictures. As often as not these different images correspond to the political camp of the émigré. To those of the Right and to those of the Left, Russia and the Russian show a different face.

Let us have a look at the left-wing image. This Russian is a lifelong seeker after truth, an enthusiast serving ideals with self-sacrificial ardor but frequently changing his gods and idols. He is utterly devoted to the people, to art, to ideas; eager to become a martyr for some noble cause; an irreconcilable foe of dishonesty, of compromise. An extremist in his dedication to ideas, he lives in the clouds and is estranged from reality—rootless, yet a saint in the full meaning of the word, a saint above material interests. Of the four elements, he is closest to fire and most alien to the earth—and yet he wishes to serve the earth, envisaging this service in terms of flame, conflagration, molten metal. In terms of religion, his is the eschatological type of Christianity—without a terrestrial home, but thirsting for the City of God. Or rather in search of a "New Heaven" and a "New Earth." He loathes nothing so much as moderation, regularity, the virtues of restraint and reasonableness, the smugness of a self-complacent culture. Culture, as the realm of consummate form, leaves him cold; he dreams of remolding all forms in his own crucible. The process of creation is more important to him than its product, the search for truth more important than truth itself, heroic death more important than a life full of labor. Usually he regards Belinsky as his ancestor and (today!) Dostoevsky as his supreme spokesman. It is not difficult to recognize in this image the self-portrait of the Russian intelligentsia,—not of the Russian educated class as a whole, but of that "order" whose origin goes back to the eighteen thirties.

However, the intelligentsia, this latest layer of Russian culture, is not entirely lacking in national roots—or, more exactly, counterparts. For here we have to do not with the direct influence of deep popular forces but with the obscure subconscious play of the folk-soul, which in the destiny of these pseudo-renegades of nation and country repeats the features of another type, deeply embedded in the national psyche. Apostates, runaways, seekers, pilgrims—are

1: Fedotov S-4 (no date) 1954 RF1 Great Russia RF1

found not only on the upper level but also in the lowest stratum of the people. We meet them among the adherents of the numerous religious sects as well as among the wider circle of spiritually disturbed Russian men and women, restless seekers after religious truth. They embody the kenotic, Christ-centered brand of Russian religiosity, eternally opposed to the prevailing ritualism in liturgy and customs. These kenotic forces of folk religiosity were released by the schism of the seventeenth century, when the Church lost its former unity. The quest for a new spiritual haven began with the first doubts about the absolute orthodoxy of the Muscovite-Petersburg tsardom. Thus this national type, so vividly brought to life by the Russian literature of the nineteenth century, while comparatively of late formation, is yet much older than the intelligentsia and approximately coincides with the Empire. This does not mean that it did not spring from more ancient sources: it had a forerunner in the kenotic type of ancient Russian holiness. But its estrangement from reality, its restlessness, stamp it as a spiritual phenomenon belonging to modern history.

It is interesting to note that the Russian intelligentsia, beside its popular counterparts, has still another parallel, ever more noticeable towards the close of the nineteenth century. It is the Jewish parallel. It is not an accident that ever since the eighties, with the beginning of the exodus from the ghetto, an intimate fusion of the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia became apparent—not only in the common revolutionary struggle but in all spiritual aspirations and the essential attitude towards life: the ardent rootlessness, the eschatological prophetism. It was a spiritual atmosphere which in its intensity recalls early Christianity—deprived, however, of the central pivot of faith and therefore apt to breed aberrations of the most fanatically sectarian kind. Russian reactionaries are right in linking the intelligentsia with Judaism. But they distort the historical perspective in representing the Jews as the seducers of innocent Russian youth. The "order" of the Russian intelligentsia had long been in existence and had taken up the fight against autocracy at a time when the influx from the ghetto—attracted by spiritual affinity—had hardly begun. It is this affinity that makes the short-sighted Western observer describe the "âme slave" in Jewish terms. While many are inclined to view the Zionist endeavor in Palestine as the work of Russian intellectuals, Spengler regards the coteries of the Russian intelligentsia—which he abhors—as reflecting the spirit and tradition of the Talmudists. There certainly

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181 517 was prevalent a specific Russian-Jewish atmosphere, of which a Jewish poet has said: "Blessed he who ever breathed that air."

000 And yet, only a foreigner may be forgiven for not distinguishing between Slavic and Semitic features in the amalgam of the intellectual-sectarian type. Surely there was nothing Jewish in Belinsky; and when Tolstoy spoke of Dostoevsky's Jewishness, he meant it, of course, in the widest metaphorical sense. The difference is subtle but plainly perceptible—rather one of style, of aesthetic pattern, than of ethical contents—which, after all, is true of most national distinctions. The kinship between the intelligentsia and popular sectarianism, on the other hand, is a primary phenomenon, sufficient in itself to establish this type of intellectual as one of the historical formations of the Russian soul.

181 157 I believe that many, and not only among the right-wingers, will refuse to acknowledge the intelligentsia as the deepest manifestation of Russianness. To myself, whenever today, in exile, I try to conjure up a pure image of the Russian, he presents himself under a different aspect. Profound calm, taciturnity, on the surface even apathy. An organic aversion for anything high-flown, high-strung, extravagant. Simplicity often carried so far as to shun a word, a gesture too much. "Silence is golden." Serene, self-confident power. The silence reflects profound Oriental experience absorbed in the blood. Hence a strain of fatalism. Hence also the humor—the tolerant smile at the foreground of life, at the ceaseless fretting and fussing of the intellect. Humor and restraint are features this type of Russian shares with the Anglo-Saxon. In the opinion of some, by the way, only the Russians and the English possess a genuine sense of humor. Tolstoy and his set—the "high society" of Anna Karenina—in all of Europe felt most at home in the Anglo-Saxon world, the only one they respected. However, this superficial similarity covers a vastly divergent experience—Western activism and Oriental fatalism; but in both worlds the violence of elemental forces was tamed by centuries-old discipline.

I shall not attempt here to define the moral aspect of this type of Russian. I believe that, as a rule, one should avoid over-precise moral characterizations of national types. The good and the wicked, the vicious and the pure are found among all of them, probably in the same proportion. What matters are the shades of goodness, of purity etc., the "how" and not the "what,"—which means definitions rather in aesthetic (in the widest sense) terms. Is the Russian kind? Quite often he is. When he is, his kindness combined with

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his own peculiar quiet wisdom, produces one of the finest human types. How we long for it in our warped life, swayed as we are by all kinds of passions—and be it spiritual passions! But the Russian can be cruel too—this we know well by now—and not only in a brief flare-up of fury but in a smugly callous, ruthlessly selfish way. Most often he amazes us by a kind of Oriental indifference to the lot and the sufferings of others—coupled with gentleness and superficial compassion (Karataev!). There is something Chinese in the impassive attitude of the Russian peasant towards his own and his fellowmen's death. This kind of wisdom takes us beyond the limits of Christianity. Tolstoy was profoundly aware of the primeval, prehistoric roots of this indifference ("The Three Deaths").

Nor is it easy to generalize about the volitional nature of the Russian. Is he indolent or active? More often than not he appears lazy; he works under pressure, pulling himself together only at the very last; but then he does not spare himself and is capable of making up in a few days for months of idleness. But there are also Russians of dogged industry, performing their tasks with restrained but intense passion; such were to be found among kulaks, inventors, scientists, even administrators. The amorphous mass of the people readily submits to the leadership of this sturdy élite, while seldom respecting it. Without this ruthless and strong-willed type the creation of the Empire, and even of the Muscovite state, would have been unthinkable.

In mentioning the Muscovite state, we are offering a clue to the understanding of this second brand of Russian. Its embodiment is the Muscovite, as his hard historical destinies have shaped him. For two or three centuries rough hands had been at work kneading the Slavic dough, knocking, bruising, breaking in the recalcitrant stuff, molding it into an extremely tenacious form. The Petrine Empire overlaid the Muscovite tsardom with a varnish of European culture, but it was still the Muscovite type that remained the real mainstay. To this type belong all those classes that were little touched by the Petersburg culture. All the clergy, the merchant class, the thrifty part of the peasantry (insofar as it was not undermined by spiritual restlessness). We meet this type again in the great Russian literature, where it is, however, pushed into the background by later spiritual formations. It is reflected most vividly in the regional literature—the writings of Aksakov, Leskov, Melnikov, Mamin-Sibiriak. And Tolstoy, of course. Although he cannot be fitted altogether into the Muscovite mold, he stemmed from it, had a

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181 157 538 deep fondness for this type, and was apt to idealize it. Karataev, Kutuzov, Levin are Muscovites; and so are Captain Mironov and Maxim Maximovich—Muscovite state servants who have survived the Petrine upheaval. The plodding official under Nicholas I, so ill-treated by the satirical literature of the time, represents the last layer of the Muscovite formation. We meet this type also on the highest cultural level: Pososhkov, Bolotov, the Aksakovs, Zabelin, Kliuchevsky—all these are authentic Muscovites. Here is the source of Russian creative power—which, however, like all things ultra-national, is rather limited in outlook. The narrow-mindedness of Tolstoy and Mussorgsky can assume truly tragical forms.

181 157 Such are the two polar types of Russianness, to whose conflict the high drama of the nineteenth century is largely due. They may be regarded as the expression of the basic dualism inherent in the Russian soul. They are, however, only the latest historically conditioned manifestations of this duality. Of all the successive cultural layers of the Russian soul, they represent the Muscovite stratum and that latest formation, the intelligentsia, born in the eighteen-thirties. But the historical approach to the problem of the Russian character makes it imperative to look beyond the limits of this duality. Between Muscovy and the intelligentsia there lies the Empire. Nor did Russia begin with Muscovy. What remains today of the Russian of the Empire, the Russian of the Kievan era, of Novgorod?

When, basing our claim on Pushkin, we assert with Dostoevsky that the Russian is a universalist, and that in this lies his national mission, it is actually the imperial Russian we have in mind. Universality is characteristic neither of the Muscovite nor of a true representative of the intelligentsia. On the contrary, the distinctive feature of both is narrow-mindedness, sectarianism. The Petrine reform, however, had brought Russia out into the open spaces of the world, had placed her at the crossroads of all the great Western civilizations and had brought into being the species of the Russian-European. His main attribute is freedom and openness of mind—such as to set him apart not only from the Muscovite but also from the European of the West. European culture, taken as a whole, was more intensely alive on the banks of the Neva or Moskva than on those of the Seine, the Thames, or the Spree. It is this imperial upper-class stratum that has given rise to the myth of the Russian's peculiar gift for foreign languages. Actually the average Russian,

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whether Muscovite or of the intelligentsia, is totally devoid of linguistic ability and finds it hard to adjust himself to strange countries and alien surroundings. But the Russian-European felt at home everywhere.

Throughout the two centuries of his existence, we have known him in two incarnations: the wanderer and the builder. Weak natures were easily crushed by the wealth of the alien culture. The conflict between the traditional Russian values and those of the new Westernized life was apt to generate skepticism, shallowness and premature weariness. Beginning with the "petits-maîtres" of the eighteenth century, "whose hearts belonged to the French Crown," a long chain of so-called "superflous people," including the Onegins, Rudins, Raiskys, stretches across Russian literature. Not so long ago it was customary to regard this as the basic trend of Russian life. This is a stupendous misunderstanding, a historical-literary aberration. We are well acquainted with another type of Russian-European—one that had retained the strong will of the Muscovite, his bond with the motherland, and sometimes even his religious faith. It was men like these who built the Empire, who fought its wars and made its laws, who sowed the seeds of enlightenment. Such were "the fledglings of Peter's nest," although in fairness it must be admitted that this type had come into being before Peter's time. Its genealogy begins with the Boyar Matveev, with Ordyn-Nashchokin, maybe even with Kurbsky. They reached their culminating point in the era of Alexander I. Under him they occupied the highest government posts. There was no rift yet between government and culture. Pushkin, "the bard of Empire and of freedom," was the last great embodiment of that imperial type. It did not, however, completely disappear even after the break between monarchy and culture under Nicholas I. In the "Era of the Great Reforms" the "Russian-Europeans" for a time came again into their own. We saw "the last Mohicans" of the type ourselves in the Senate and the Imperial Council under the last two tsars; deprived of power and influence, they still retained their rich experience, their political wisdom, alas! no longer needed by the degenerate dynasty. But on a lower level, within the administration, the courts, the liberal professions, the local self-government, and, of course, the universities, it was largely the "Europeans" who carried on their shoulders the whole burden of cultural activities under excruciatingly difficult conditions. Nearly always they shunned politics in order to concentrate on the only tasks open to them.

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181 Hence their lack of popularity in a country that for generations had
157 been breathing the exhalations of civil war. Nevertheless, in every city, every district, these zealots of culture left some achievement behind them—here a school, there a learned society, a model farm, or just the memory of a dedicated physician, a humane judge, a noble man. It was they who preserved Russia from stagnating and freezing up at a time when every effort was made from above to put her on ice, and from below to set her aflame. While the Muscovite formed the backbone of Russia, the Russian-European was her builder. However, as we have pointed out, this creative, constructive type derived itself from Muscovite roots. While his lifework often compelled the "European" to wage a tenacious fight against the Muscovite's inertia and indolence, he yet shared with the latter a common moral ideal, a common love of Russia and her "soul." Kliuchevsky's history and Russian music were his link with Moscow. Whenever this link crumbled away, he would become a rolling-stone, no longer capable of constructive work. Under certain circumstances he might turn into an "intellectual"; this is the upper-class source of the intelligentsia, quite distinct from its democratic springs. But so long as he stood at his post, performing some vital task, he remained loyal to Russia and to the Muscovite principle of service. In the beginning of the twentieth century, notably after the revolution of 1905, the creative Russian-European element showed signs of impetuous growth at the expense of the intelligentsia. It looked as if the future belonged to it. . . . Fate decided differently.

181 What features of the Russian may be traced to the early Russia of warring principalities and free city-republics? Fully aware that we are embarking upon arbitrary and even fantastic speculations, we yet venture an answer: that aspect of the Russian character usually called its "largeness"; its unruliness; its rebelliousness—neither ideological nor sectarian—but rooted in a deep organic aversion to any kind of rigid form. Even today, the Russian heart still responds to the ancient chronicles, to the "Lay of Prince Igor." To state it boldly: it is not the stern builders of Empire, and not the statesmen, who most strongly appeal to Russian national emotions, but the knightly princes, the dare-devil Mstislavs, the Viking Sviatoslav, the tumultuous freedom of Novgorod. Muscovy certainly never succeeded in wholly disciplining the Slavic unruliness. It erupted in the free Cossack communities, in the sporadic uprisings; in the nineteenth century it found an outlet in debauchery and high living, in fantastic dissipation, in the bohemianism and

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artistic trend of the Russian character. This side of the Russian soul finds a most adequate expression in the gipsy song and dance. Russian debauchery is often somber and heavy, an effect, maybe, of Tartar blood and Muscovite oppression; but it can also be gay, generous, magnanimous. Such were the revelries of Pushkin, who combined Europeanism with Russian reckless freedom. Many talented Russians have succumbed to their nature (A. Grigoriev); and yet this characteristic, so long as it is to some extent held in check by self-discipline and education, is inseparable from Russian genius. "How fond I am of drunks!" Tolstoy once inadvertently confessed.

Gloom and childlike gaiety are the two poles of Russian unruliness. In the mood of youthful light-heartedness, generosity, sparkling high spirits, the Russian character is at its most attractive. This gaiety, however, is ephemeral. Unaccountable joy does not satisfy the Russian for long. He is likely to come to a grim and tragic end. If he fails to settle down in time (Muscovite fashion), his end is a ruined life, or a monk's hood.

Is it possible to penetrate still deeper into the Russian soul—beyond Kiev and Novgorod, beyond the threshold of history? If we remove, like skin after skin from a bulb, the successive cultural layers deposited by history, shall we find in the Russian a central irreducible core? It may be that our question is not posed correctly. The national soul is not given in history. The ethnic psyche serves only as the raw material of history. That psyche, moreover, is not all of a piece: Slavs, Finns, Turks,—all have gone into the making of the Russian soul. A nation is not a tree or an animal whose potentialities are all enclosed in the seed. The nation is rather to be compared to a musical or poetical work whose first measures or lines do not necessarily convey the main theme. Sometimes this theme is not revealed until the very end. It may be that in this sense (as revelation of an idea) the nineteenth century was more truly national than Kiev or Muscovy. Without assuming in any way that Slavic paganism contained in embryo the idea of Russianness (how could we differentiate here between Eastern and Southern Slavs—between Russians and Bulgars or Serbs?)—we yet believe it worthwhile to peer into this mysterious depth. Better than other civilized peoples we have preserved the organic, pre-Christian foundations of the national soul. Deep at the root of the greatest masterpieces of Russian literature there is something akin to the primitivism of folklore. Tiutchev, Tolstoy, Rozanov have distilled, as it

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181 157 were, in the apparatus of high spiritual pressure, the primordial stuff of Russian paganism.

Where shall we look for a key to it? We cannot go here beyond a few suggestions, the first steps leading down into the subterranean galleries of the Russian soul. Some time ago W. W. Weidlé (*Sovremennye Zapiski*, No. 64) attempted, rightly so in my opinion, to link this Russian essence with the family principle. As late as the nineteenth century, the Russian-Slav was not yet wholly estranged from Mother-Earth. His intimate union with the world of nature makes individual existence difficult and strange. Nature for him is not landscape, not a background for his daily life, and still less, of course, an object of conquest. He is embedded in her as in the maternal womb; he responds to her with all his being; apart from her he dries up and cannot live. He has not realized yet the frightfulness of her ruthless beauty, the frightfulness of death—since there is nothing in him that can die. All that is valuable and lofty in the human being is generic, communal, indestructible. And that which is individual is not worth immortality. The moral law of the individual, his right to his own conscience, to self-determination—these things have no validity in face of the law of life. In the moral sphere this attitude leads to communal, collective ethics based on the principle of mutual responsibility. In art it generates an enormous power of sensuous perception and suggestion (derived from Gea, the Earth), which is offset by weakness of form and of individual creative design. In the pursuit of knowledge it leads, of course, to irrationalism and reliance on intuition. In work and social life it leads to distrust of all planning, system, organization. The Slavophile ideal, for all its consciously Christian character, is strongly imbued with this pagan element of the Slavic psyche. In the life of the common people, however, we find it already sublimated by the Church and, this has led to the widely held assumption that it forms the very essence of Eastern Christianity. Actually it has nothing to do with Christianity; rather it takes us far eastwards. Another step, and we are in India with her total obliteration of the individual.

The question arises: where in this historically stratified scheme of the Russian soul is its Christian, its Orthodox layer? The truth is that there is more than one such layer, since there are actually as many brands of Russian Christianity as there are historical types of the Russian, and maybe more. Just as every nation experiences Christianity in its own way, so every cultural stratum of a nation

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has its own key to Christianity, or at least its own nuances of it. There is no need, however, to distinguish between fine shades of Christianity in the Russian soul; all the contradictions stand out with stark boldness. Just try to express in one formula the religiosity of St. Sergius and the Archpriest Avvakum, that of the Metropolitan Philaret and of Dostoevsky. For good measure, add to these Greek-Orthodox folklore and the religion of Tolstoy!

The opinion is widely held that the Russian people are set apart from other European peoples by the peculiar intensity of their religiosity. Actually this impression derives from the fact that the twentieth century finds Russia and the rest of Europe in different acts of the religious-historical drama. In Russia, among the great mass of the people, the Middle Ages lived on right down to the middle of the nineteenth century. The Europe of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries would offer a closer analogy to imperial Russia. But the collapse of Russian medievalism was stormy and destructive in the extreme. Today the attitude towards religion, both on the part of the masses and of the intelligentsia, is not markedly different from that in other European countries.

. . . And now let us turn to our basic problem: which historical layers of the Russian soul have been destroyed by the Revolution and which will survive it? The answer now should be clear. The extermination of the old educated class and the suppression of all the sources that fed it were bound to remove the two uppermost strata from the spiritual structure of Russian society. The man of Empire and the intellectual perished together with the "bourgeoisie," the upper layer of the old society. As to the imperial type, the Russian of universal culture, some relics of it still survive within the ranks of the "specialists." Some time ago, the [Soviet] government belatedly realized that the liquidation of the upper cultural stratum was doing irreparable harm to technical progress. The surviving old-timers became the object of special attention. However, they were valued only in their capacity of specialists in some narrow field; as has been wittily said, golden watches were used to drive in nails. Their broad culture, no longer needed by anyone and even offensive to the new ruling class, still subsists within some tiny groups or even families. The new educated class produces exclusively specialists who often lack the rudiments of a general culture, even plain literacy. On the other hand, never since the Muscovite tsardom has Russia been fenced off from Europe by such a high wall. This wall has been erected not only by censorship and

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178 181 517 the ban on foreign travel, but also by inordinate conceit and outright contempt for decaying bourgeois Europe. Here lies the essential difference between the semi-literate technical intelligentsia of Tsar Peter and a similar intelligentsia under Stalin. That of Stalin has deliberately turned its back on Europe and in so doing has cut short the line of the "universal" Russian.

More complex was the fate of the intelligentsia proper. By the time the revolution broke out, this extraordinary formation had already lost its former vitality. After 1905 the intelligentsia began to dissolve, losing its identity within the whole of the "cultured" class. It was unable to survive the collapse of its political mysticism, desecrated by the pathetic Russian constitutionalism; the new brilliant religious-philosophical culture of the Russian renaissance of the twentieth century demoralized it with its many seductions; the war drew it into the stream of a national consciousness new to it. By 1917 the revolutionary enthusiasm of the intelligentsia was already a warmed-up dish. Its roots did not go deep, and the size of this social group, the only one to give loyal support to the Provisional Government, had shrunk considerably. The October Revolution hit it with all its weight. Dedicated to principles and uncompromising, the intelligentsia was utterly unable to acquiesce in the triumph of brute force. No wonder that the struggle against the new rulers bled it white. The few who survived either went into exile or filled Soviet prisons and concentration camps. Some managed to adjust themselves to the conditions of Soviet bureaucracy and turned into "specialists," gradually losing the last features of their noble "order." The mills of a brutal way of life were grinding without mercy. In the words of a Russian proverb—"to live with wolves one has to howl with them." Those unable to adjust themselves were cast out of the new life. The new intelligentsia now emerging is organically devoted to the Soviet régime; it feels a blood kinship with both the people and the ruling class. And for this reason it can never—not even in opposition, not even (let us anticipate the future) engaged in a revolutionary struggle against those in power—degenerate into that rootlessly-ideological, extremist, and eschatological type, let alone the dedicated fraternity we call the Russian intelligentsia.

However, this defunct Russian type is not entirely without successors. Sectarianism and spiritual journeying have not died out in the people, as insistently testified by the "godless" press. The Revolution has even given rise to some new sectarian formations,

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usually of an eschatological nature. On the other hand, part of the old intelligentsia have found a spiritual foothold in the Church. Here the last remnants of the vanished "order" can quench their spiritual thirst from the same spring that, unknown to them, had generated it. Within the Church they have, of course, preserved their psychological characteristics: their restlessness and extremism, their thirst for an integrated, consecrated life. Here they find themselves on common ground with the searchers and pilgrims of the people. One should keep in mind that the spiritual barrier between Church and dissenters is no longer what it was before the Revolution. Persecution has brought the various creeds closer together. The remnants of the old intelligentsia act as a ferment upon the whole religious mass. So far, however, this force has either been completely eliminated from all constructive cultural work or else has voluntarily turned away from it. Insofar as Russian culture of the immediate future is concerned, the old type of intellectual is definitely extinct.

What remains is the Muscovite with his vague ancestral heritage. The masses of the people who, molded by Soviet schools, produce the new human being, until quite recently lived and thought after the Muscovite pattern. The most radical ideological upheaval is powerless wholly to remake a spiritual mold. In the internationalist, the Marxist of today, whoever he may be, it is easy to recognize the village lad, the factory worker, as we remember them from the turn of the century. Paradoxical as it may sound, *homo Europaeo-Americanus* seems closer to Muscovy than to the more recent Petersburg era. The paradox is easily explained. *Homo Europaeo-Americanus* has little claim on the rich heritage of Europe's culture. He emerged in Europe in the period of her barbarization and assimilated a civilization already narrowed down to its athletic, technical, military contents. The savage of our time, technician or athlete, is the product of the disintegration of ancient culture going hand in hand with the absorption of barbarians into the civilized world. The Muscovite who, biding his time in rural Russia, outlasted two centuries of imperial culture, does not need any great effort to keep step with a Europe that has come to curse the last two centuries of her history. What might seem really amazing is the ease with which religion has been repudiated. But this is a special, highly complex theme. As to everything else, the Muscovite lout only had to be shaken up and kicked around for a while, to be jolted out of his indolence and sluggishness. What the tsarist barracks once did to

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181 the recruit, the Party and the Komsomol are doing today—training country bumpkins and turning them into disciplined soldiers. The Muscovite provides admirable material for discipline, military discipline in particular. He formed the backbone of the old imperial army, the best in the world, maybe, in quality of manpower. The age-old habit of obedience, the weakness of individual consciousness and of the desire for freedom, the greater ease of living within a collective body and of working in a team—all this forms a bond between the Soviet citizen and Muscovy of yore. Muscovy had by no means been poor in social forces, rather the reverse; they had been so strong as to smother the individual; it was not without reason that the Muscovite national economy had a semi-socialist character. Stalin today consciously strives to establish himself as the successor of the tsars and the hetmans. Tsar and Pugachov in one. . . . The transfer of the capital back to Moscow is a symbolic act. The Revolution has failed to destroy the Russian national type but has appallingly crippled and impoverished it.

The Russian unruliness is, of course, indestructible. It was strong in the Muscovite tsardom; it is still there under Stalin. It ran riot in the violence of the first years of the Revolution; it finds a blatant outlet today in the debauchery which constantly undermines the foundations of Communist discipline; it is alive in the reckless daring of Russian fliers and arctic explorers. All that is colorful today in Russian life and Russian art is reminiscent of the heroic periods of Russian history. Russian unruliness, while not the same as freedom, still saves the face of contemporary Russia from the universal, uniform stigma of slavery. Strong natures still seek and find outlets for their energy. And the presence of these forces strengthens our hope of liberation—however remote it may still appear.

000 And what about the deepest—Slavic-pagan—layers of the Russian soul? To what extent have they been preserved? This we do not know. The powerful process of rationalization ruthlessly destroys all that is subconscious and elemental, fills up all the deep wells, renders the Russian character shallow and transparent. But is the process completed? Are there no remote corners left where ancient beliefs are still alive, where the primordial bond with Mother-Earth has not been broken? After all, village sorcery and shamanism are by no means dead, as we are informed from time to time by Soviet ethnographers. Why should there not be traces somewhere of the dimmer and subtler complexes of the tribal pantheistic psyche? We know that something of this must be there; surely Prishvin does not

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write in a vacuum—he must have sympathetic readers. What we do not know is whether these survivals are sufficient to feed once again a great literature. For in this alone lies the significance of this dark Russian area. Should it vanish, Russian literature may lose, maybe forever, its subterranean springs. Lacking a sense of form, it can never achieve anything like the culture of formal perfection created by the Latin and the French genius. Its course is different. Even the spiritual depth of a Dostoevsky affords a glimpse of another—earthy—depth, that of the Shatovs and the Karamazovs. . . .

Regretfully we admit that we have found no definite answer to our problem. With the question still open, we now conclude our preliminary study of the post-revolutionary Russian as the potential creator of a Russian culture of the future.

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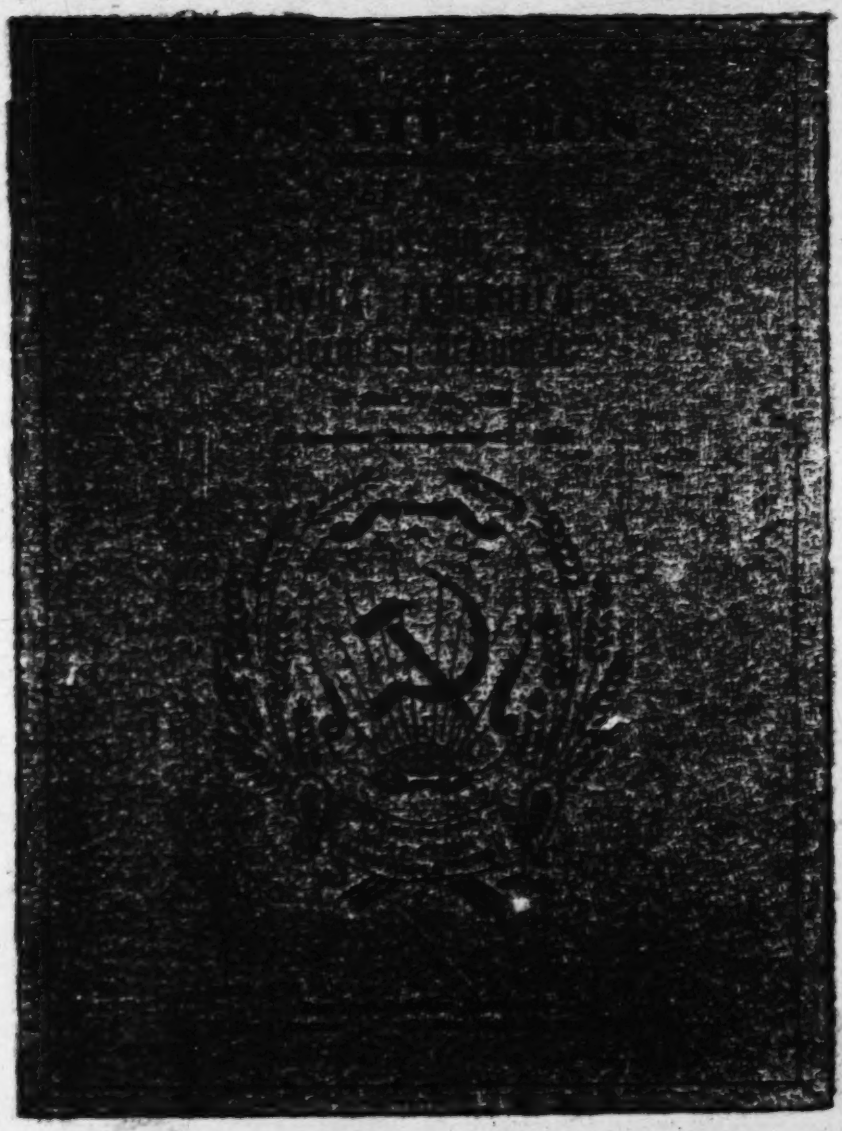

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C O N S T I T U T I O N

(Fundamental Law)

of the

RUSSIAN

SOVIET FEDERATED

SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

of January 21, 1937

As amended through May 27, 1949

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Chapter I. The Social Structure

642 Art. 1. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic is a socialist State of workers and peasants.

Art. 2. The political foundation of the Russian SFSR is the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, which grew and became strong as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists and the conquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Art. 3. In the Russian SFSR all power belongs to the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

471 Art. 4. The economic foundation of the Russian SFSR is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production established as the result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private ownership of the means and instruments of production and the elimination of the exploitation of man by man.

421 Art. 5. Socialist property in the Russian SFSR exists either in the form of State property (the possession of the whole people), or in the form of co-operative and collective farm property (the possession of collective farms or co-operative associations).

[779] Art. 6. The land, its natural deposits, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, rail, water and air transport, banks, communications, large state-organized agricultural enterprises (State farms, machine and tractor stations and the like), as well as municipal enterprises and the bulk of dwelling houses in the cities and industrial localities, are state property, that is belong to the whole people.

421 474 Art. 7. The common enterprises of collective farms and co-operative organizations with their livestock and implements, and the products of the collective farms and co-operative organizations, as well as their common buildings, constitute the common socialist property of collective farms and co-operative organizations.

In addition to its basic income from the common collective farm enterprise, [872] every household in a collective farm has for its personal use a small plot of household land and, as its personal property, a subsidiary husbandry on the plot, a dwelling house, livestock, poultry and minor agricultural implements — in accordance with the regulations of the agricultural artel.

[423] Art. 8. The land occupied by collective farms is secured to them free of charge and for an unlimited time, that is, in perpetuity.

471 Art. 9. Alongside the socialist system of economy in the Russian SFSR the law permits the private economy of individual peasants and artisans based on their own work and precluding the exploitation of the labour of others.

421 Art. 10. The right of citizens to personal ownership of their incomes from work and of their savings, of their dwelling houses and subsidiary household economy, their household furniture and utensils, articles of personal use and convenience, as well as the right of inheritance of personal property of citizens, is protected by law.

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185 471 Art. 11. The economic life of the Russian SFSR is determined and directed by the State National-Economic Plan with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily improving the material and cultural level of the working people and of consolidating the socialist independence of the country and strengthening its defensive capacity.

461 Art. 12. In the Russian SFSR work is a duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The principle applied in the Russian SFSR is that of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Chapter II. The State Structure

642 Art. 13. For the purpose of mutual assistance among the Union Republics along economic and political lines, as well as along the line of defence, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic voluntarily united with the other equal Soviet Socialist Republics, namely:

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic and
The Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic

in a federal state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Proceeding from the aforesaid, the Russian SFSR ensures to the USSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, the rights defined in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR.

Outside of the spheres set forth in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Russian SFSR exercises state authority independently, retaining its sovereign rights in full.

631 Art. 14. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic consists of the Altai, Krasnodar, Krasnoiarsk, Maritime, Stavropol and Khabarovsk Territories; the Archangel, Astrakhan, Briansk, Velikie Luki, Vladimir, Vologda, Voronezh, Gorky, Grozny, Ivanovo, Irkutsk, Kaliningrad, Kalinin, Kaluga, Kemerovo, Kirov, Kostroma, Crimean, Kuibyshev, Kurgan, Kursk, Leningrad, Molotov, Moscow, Murmansk, Novgorod, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Orel, Penza, Pskov, Rostov, Riazan, Saratov, Sakhalin, Sverdlovsk, Smolensk, Stalingrad, Tambov, Tomsk, Tula, Tiumen, Ulianovsk, Cheliabinsk, Chita, Chkalov, Yaroslav and Amur Regions; the Tatar, Bashkir, Dagestan, Buriat-Mongolian, Kabardinian, Komi, Mari, Mordovian, North Ossetian, Udmurt, Chuvash and Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics; and the Adygei, Jewish, Oirot, Tuvinian, Khakass and Cherkess Autonomous Regions.

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642 Art. 15. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic reserves the right freely to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Art. 16. The territory of the Russian SFSR may not be altered without its consent.

[701] Art. 16a. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic has its own Republican military formations.

[644] Art. 16b. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them.

[671] Art. 17. The laws of the USSR are binding within the territory of the Russian SFSR.

840 Art. 18. Every citizen of the Russian SFSR is a citizen of the USSR.

Citizens of all other Union Republics enjoy on the territory of the Russian SFSR equal rights with citizens of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 19. The jurisdiction of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, embraces:

a) Adoption of the Constitution of the Russian SFSR and control over its observance;

b) Confirmation of the Constitutions of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics;

c) Submission of the formation of new territories and regions and also of new Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for confirmation.

d) Establishment of boundaries, and of the division into districts, of Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics and of Autonomous Regions;

e) Establishment of the boundaries, and of the division into districts, of regions and territories;

f) Legislation of the Russian SFSR;

g) Maintenance of public order and safeguarding the rights of citizens;

h) Approval of the national-economic plan of the Russian SFSR;

i) Approval of the state budget of the Russian SFSR and of the report on its fulfilment;

j) Determination of state and local taxes, imposts and non-tax revenues in conformity with the laws of the USSR;

k) Direction of the fulfilment of budgets of Autonomous Republics and of local budgets of territories and regions;

l) Direction of insurance and savings;

m) Administration of the banks, industrial, agricultural and trading enterprises and organisations subordinate to the Republic, as well as direction of local industry;

n) Control and superintendence of the condition and administration of enterprises subordinate to the Union;

o) Establishment of the procedure governing the use of land, mineral wealth, forests and waters;

p) Direction of dwelling houses and the municipal economy, dwelling house construction and the modernization of cities and other inhabited places; road building; direction of local transport and communications;

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q) Labour legislation;
r) Legislation concerning marriage and the family;
s) Direction of public health;
t) Direction of social maintenance;
u) Direction of elementary, secondary and higher education;
v) Direction of the cultural, educational and scientific organizations and institutions of the Russian SFSR, and administration of the cultural, educational and scientific organizations and institutions of all-Republican importance;
w) Direction and organization of physical culture and sports;
x) Organization of the judicial organs of the Russian SFSR;
y) Granting the rights of citizenship of the Russian SFSR;
z) Amnesty and pardon of citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Russian SFSR;
aa) Establishment of the representation of the Russian SFSR in international relations;
bb) Organization of the military formations of the Russian SFSR.

635 Art. 20. Every Autonomous Republic has its Constitution which takes into account its peculiar features and is constructed in full agreement with the Constitutions of the Russian SFSR and of the USSR.

Art. 21. The laws of the Russian SFSR have the same force within the territory of every Autonomous Republic. In the event of discrepancy between the law of the Autonomous Republic and a law of the Russian SFSR, the law of the Russian SFSR prevails.

Chapter III. The Higher Organs of State Power of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

646 Art. 22. The highest organ of state power in the Russian SFSR is the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

[642] Art. 23. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR exercises all rights vested in the Russian SFSR in accordance with Articles 13 and 19 of the Constitution of the Russian SFSR, insofar as they do not, by virtue of the Constitution, come within the jurisdiction of organs of the Russian SFSR that are accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, that is, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR, and the Ministries of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 24. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is the sole legislative organ of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 25. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is elected for a term of four years by the citizens of the Russian SFSR voting by election districts on the basis of one deputy for every 150,000 of the population.

Art. 26. A law is considered adopted if passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR by a simple majority vote.

Art. 27. Laws passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR are published over the signatures of the President and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 28. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects a Chairman of the Supreme Soviet and eight Vice-Chairmen.

1 [Cf. pp. 2, 3-4--Analyst]

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646 Art. 29. The Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR presides at the sittings of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR and has charge of the conduct of its business and proceedings.

[643] Art. 30. Sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR twice a year.

Extraordinary sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR at its discretion or on the demand of one-third of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 31. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR consisting of a President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, twelve Vice-Presidents, according to the number of the Autonomous Republics, the Secretary of the Presidium and 13 Members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 32. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for all its activities.

Art. 33. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR:

a) Convenes the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR;
b) Issues decrees;
c) Gives interpretations of the laws of the Russian SFSR;
d) Conducts nation-wide polls (referendums);
e) Annuls decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the [645] Russian SFSR, the Councils of Ministers of the Autonomous Republics, the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of territories and regions and the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions, if they do not conform to the law;
f) In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, releases and appoints Ministers of the Russian SFSR, on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR, subject to subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR;
g) Institutes titles of honour of the Russian SFSR;
h) Confers titles of honour of the Russian SFSR;
i) Exercises the right of pardoning citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Russian SFSR;
j) Appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the Russian SFSR to foreign states;
k) Receives the letters of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives accredited to it by foreign states.

Art. 34. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects a Credentials Committee to verify the credentials of the members of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

On the report of the Credentials Committee, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR decides whether to recognize the credentials of deputies or to annul their election.

Art. 35. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, when it deems necessary, appoints commissions of investigation and audit on any matter.

It is the duty of all institutions and officials to comply with the demands of such commissions and to submit to them all necessary materials and documents.

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646 Art. 36. A member of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR may not be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, or, when the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is not in session, without the consent of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

64[illegible] Art. 37. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of
64[illegible] the Russian SFSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR orders
[64[illegible]] new elections to be held within a period not exceeding two months from the date of expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 38. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR retains its powers until the newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR shall have formed a new presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 39. The newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is convened by the outgoing Presidum of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR not later than three months after the elections.

645 Art. 40. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR appoints the Government of
[645] the Russian SFSR, namely, the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter IV. The Organs of State Administration of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

Art. 41. The highest executive and administrative organ of state power of the Russian SFSR is the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 42. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR is responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, or, in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 43. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation of the USSR and the Russian SFSR, and of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and verifies their execution.

Art. 44. Decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR are binding throughout the territory of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 45. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR:

a) Coordinates and directs the work of the Ministries of the Russian SFSR and of other institutions under its jurisdiction; coordinates and verifies the work of the authorized representatives of the all-Union Ministries;

b) Adopts measures to carry out the national-economic plan;

c) Adopts measures to fulfil the state and local budgets of the Russian SFSR;

d) Adopts measures for the maintenance of public order, for the protection of the interests of the state, and for the safeguarding of the rights of citizens;

e) Directs and verifies the work of the Councils of Ministers of the Autonomous Republics, directs and verifies the work of the Executive Committees of territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies;

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f) Sets up, whenever necessary, special Committees and Central Administrations under the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR for economic and cultural affairs;

g) Exercises guidance in the sphere of the relations of the Russian SFSR with foreign states, on the basis of the general procedure established by the USSR governing the relations of Union Republics with foreign states;

h) Directs the organization of the military formations of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 46. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR has the right to annul decisions and orders of Executive Committees of regional and territorial Soviets of Working People's Deputies and of Executive Committees of Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions as well as to suspend decisions and orders of Councils of Ministers of Autonomous Republics, decisions and orders of regional and territorial Soviets of Working People's Deputies and Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions.

The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR has the right to annual orders and instructions of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 47. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR and consists of:

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR;
The Vice-Chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR;
The Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the Russian SFSR;
The Ministers of the Russian SFSR;
The Chief of the Arts Administration;
The Chairman of the Committee on Cultural and Educational Institutions.

Art. 48. The Government of the Russian SFSR or a Minister of the Russian SFSR to whom a question of a member of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is addressed must give a verbal or written reply in the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR within a period not exceeding three days.

Art. 49. The Ministers of the Russian SFSR direct the branches of state administration which come within the jurisdiction of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 50. The ministers of the Russian SFSR, within the limits of the jurisdiction of their respective Ministries, issue orders and instructions on the basis and in pursuance of the laws of the USSR and the Russian SFSR, of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR and of the orders and instructions of the Union-Republican Ministries of the USSR, and verify their execution.

Art. 51. The Ministries of the Russian SFSR are either Union-Republican or Republican.

Art. 52. Each Union-Republican Ministry of the Russian SFSR directs the branch of state administration of the Russian SFSR entrusted to it, with the exception of only a limited number of enterprises, according to a list confirmed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and is subordinate both to the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR and the corresponding Union-Republican Ministry of the USSR.

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[145] Art. 53. Each Republican Ministry of the Russian SFSR directs the branch of state administration entrusted to it and is directly subordinate to the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

[642] Art. 54. The following Ministries of the Russian SFSR are Union-Republican Ministries of the Russian SFSR:

The Ministry of Internal Affairs
The Ministry of State Control
The Ministry of State Security
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs
The Ministry of the Armed Forces
The Ministry of Cinematography
The Ministry of Light Industry
The Ministry of Forestry
The Ministry of the Timber and Paper Industry
The Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry
The Ministry of the Building Materials Industry
The Ministry of Public Health
The Ministry of the Fish Industry
The Ministry of the Food Industry
The Ministry of State Farms
The Ministry of Agriculture
The Ministry of Trade
The Ministry of Finances
The Ministry of Justice.

Art. 55. The following Ministries of the Russian SFSR are Republican Ministries:

The Ministry of the Housing Construction Industry
The Ministry of Motor Transport
The Ministry of the Municipal Economy
The Ministry of Local Industry
The Ministry of the Local Fuel Industry
The Ministry of Education
The Ministry of Social Maintenance.

Chapter V. The Higher Organs of State Power of Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics

[635] Art. 56. The highest organ of state power in an Autonomous Republic is the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Art. 57. The Supreme Soviet of an Autonomous Republic is elected for a term of four years by the citizens of the Republic on the basis prescribed by the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic.

Art. 58. The Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic is the sole legislative organ of the Autonomous SSR.

Art. 59. The Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic:

a) adopts the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic and proposes it to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for confirmation;

b) determines the division of the Autonomous Republic into districts and the boundaries of districts and towns and proposes them to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for confirmation;

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c) approves the national-economic plan and the budget of the Autonomous Republic.
d) Confers titles of honour of the Autonomous Republic.

Art. 60. The Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous SSR consisting of a President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous SSR, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary of the Presidium and members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous SSR.

Art. 61. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous SSR.

Art. 62. The powers of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic are determined by the Constitution of the Autonomous SSR.

Art. 63. The Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic elects a Chairman and Vice-Chairman to conduct its sessions.

Art. 64. The Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic appoints the Government of the Autonomous Republic, namely the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous SSR.

Chapter VI. The Organs of State Administration of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic

Art. 65. The highest executive and administrative organ of state power of the Autonomous SSR is the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous SSR.

Art. 66. The Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic is responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous SSR, or, in the intervals between the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic.

Art. 67. The Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws of the USSR, the Russian SFSR and the Autonomous Republic, and of the decisions and orders of the Councils of Ministers of the USSR and the Russian SFSR, and verifies their execution.

Art. 68. The Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic has the right to annul orders and instructions of Ministers of the Autonomous SSR, decisions and orders of Executive Committees of area, city and district Soviets of Working People's Deputies within the territory of the Autonomous SSR and likewise to suspend the decisions and orders of area, city and district Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 69. The Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic and consists of:

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic;
The Vice-Chairmen of the Council of Ministers;
The Chairman of the State Planning Commission;
The Ministers employed
The Minister of Internal Affairs
The Minister of State Security
The Minister of Public Health
The Minister of The Municipal Economy

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The Minister of Local Industry
The Minister of the Food Industry
The Minister of Education
The Minister of Agriculture
The Minister of Trade
The Minister of Finance
The Minister of Justice;

The Heads of:
The Motor Transport Administration
The Roads Administration
The Cinematography Administration
The Local Fuel Industry Administration
The Building Materials Industry Administration
The Arts Administration
The Cultural and Educational Institutions Administration

and, also, in accordance with the peculiar features of the economy of the Republic and subject to confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR the following Ministers:

The Minister of Light Industry
The Minister of Forestry
The Minister of the Timber and Paper Industry
The Minister of the Meat and Dairy Industry
The Minister of the Fish Industry.

Art. 70. The Ministers of the Autonomous Republic direct the branches of state administration which come within the jurisdiction of the Autonomous Republic, in accordance with the Constitution of the Russian SFSR and the Constitution of the Autonomous SSR.

Art. 71. The Ministers of the Autonomous Republic within the limits of the jurisdiction of their respective Ministries, issue orders and instructions on the basis and in pursuance of the laws of the USSR, the Russian SFSR and the Autonomous SSR, decisions and orders of the Councils of Ministers of the USSR, the Russian SFSR and the Autonomous SSR, and orders and instructions of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 72. The Ministries of the Autonomous Republic direct the branches of state administration entrusted to them and are subordinate to the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous SSR and to the corresponding Ministries of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter VII. The Organs of State Power of Autonomous Regions

Art. 73. The Soviet of Working People's Deputies of the Autonomous Region is the organ of state power of the Autonomous Region.

Art. 74. The Soviet of Working People's Deputies of the Autonomous Region is elected by the citizens of the Autonomous Region for a term of two years on the basis determined by the Constitution of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 75. The executive and administrative organ of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies of the Autonomous Region is the Executive Committee elected by it.

Art. 76. The Soviet of Working People's Deputies of each Autonomous Region presents to the Supreme Soviet, for confirmation, a "Statute of the Autonomous Region", which takes into account the national peculiarities of the Autonomous Region.

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Chapter VIII. The Local Organs of State Power

631 Art. 77. The organs of state power in territories, regions, autonomous regions, national areas, administrative areas, districts, cities, settlements and rural localities (stanitsas, villages, hamlets, auls) are the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 78. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of territories, regions, national and administrative areas, districts, cities, districts in big cities, settlements and rural localities (stanitsas, villages, hamlets and auls) are elected by the working people of the respective territories, regions, national areas, administrative areas, districts, cities, settlements and rural localities for a term of two years.

Art. 79. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of territories, regions, areas, districts, cities, settlements and villages direct cultural, political and economic affairs within their territory, draw up the local budgets, direct the work of the organs of administration subordinate to them, ensure the maintenance of public order, assist in strengthening the defensive capacity of the country and ensure the observance of the laws and the protection of the rights of citizens.

Art. 80. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies adopt decisions and issue orders within the limits of the powers vested in them by the laws of the USSR, of the Russian SFSR and of the Autonomous Republic.

Art. 81. The executive and administrative organ of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies of a territory, region, national and administrative area, district, city, settlement or village is the Executive Committee elected by it, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, a Secretary and members.

[623] Art. 82. The executive and administrative organ of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies (of stanitsas, hamlets and auls) in a small locality is the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and the Secretary elected by the Soviet of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 83. The Executive Committee of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies of a territory, region, area, district, city, settlement or village exercises guidance in cultural, political and economic affairs within its territory on the basis of decisions taken by the corresponding Soviet of Working People's Deputies and superior state organs.

Art. 84. Sessions of territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies are convened by their respective Executive Committees not less than four times a year.

Art. 85. Sessions of district Soviets of Working People's Deputies and of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of administrative areas are convened by their respective Executive Committees not less than six times a year.

[623] Art. 86. Sessions of city and village Soviets of Working People's Deputies are convened by their executive organs not less than once a month.

Art. 87. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of territories, regions, national and administrative areas, districts and cities, each elect a Chairman and a Secretary for the duration of their sessions to conduct the sittings of the sessions.

[623] Art. 88. The Chairman of a village Soviet convenes the Soviet and conducts its sittings.

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631 Art. 89. The executive organs of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies are directly accountable both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies which elected them and to the executive organs of the respective superior Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 90. The superior Executive Committees of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies have the right to annul decisions and orders of inferior Executive Committees and to suspend decisions and orders of inferior Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 91. The superior Soviets of Working People's Deputies have the right to annul decisions and orders of inferior Soviets of Working People's Deputies and of their Executive Committees.

634 Art. 92. The territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments and Administrations of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Roads
- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Local Industry
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Arts
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance

and the following Administrations:

- a Motor Transport Administration
- a Cinematographic Administration
- the Local Fuel Industry Administration
- the Building Materials Industry Administration
- an Agricultural Administration
- a Planning Commission;
- a Cadres Sector under the Chairman of the Executive Committee and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the economy of the territory, and region, the regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments or Administrations subject to confirmation by the Union-Republican Ministries of Light Industry, Forestry, the Timber and Paper Industry, the Meat and Dairy Industry, the Food Industry and the Fish Industry:

- a Department of Light Industry
- a Department of Forestry
- a Department of the Timber and Paper Industry
- a Department of the Meat and Dairy Industry
- a Department of the Food Industry
- a Department of the Fish Industry.

Art. 93. The all-Union Ministries, The Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of State Security and the Ministry of Justice of the Union set up their own Administrations under the regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies, in accordance with the conditions of the territory and region and on the basis of the laws of the USSR and the Russian SFSR.

Art. 94. The Departments and Administrations of the Executive Committees of territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the corresponding territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Ministries of the Russian SFSR.

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631 Art. 95. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of administrative districts and their Executive Committees set up Departments and conduct their work on the basis of laws and decrees of supreme organs of the Russian SFSR and the decisions of territorial and regional Working People's Deputies.

632 Art. 96. The district Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Roads
- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Agriculture
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance
- a Planning Commission
- a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committee and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the economy of the district, the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments, subject to confirmation by the respective regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies:

- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Local Industry.

633 Art. 97. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of State Security set up their Departments under the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies in accordance with the conditions of the district, on the basis of the laws of the USSR and the Russian SFSR and subject to confirmation by the corresponding regional Soviet of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 98. The Departments of the Executive Committees of district Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Departments of the territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

633 Art. 99. The city Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance
- a Planning Commission
- a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committee and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the city's industry and its municipal and suburban economy:

- a Department of Local Industry and
- a Department of Agriculture.

5: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[Constitution as of 1949]

633 Art. 100. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the city Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the respective city Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Departments of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies or directly to the corresponding Departments of the territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 101. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the city Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Moscow and Leningrad are subordinate in their activities both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Moscow and Leningrad and their Executive Committees as well as to the corresponding Ministry of the Russian SFSR directly.

634 Art. 102. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of National Areas and their Executive Committees exercise in the territory of their Areas the rights and duties conferred on them by the "Statute of National Areas" and likewise by the decisions of the corresponding territorial or regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

"The Statute of National Areas" is established by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter IX. The Budget of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

652 Art. 103. The state budget of the Russian SFSR is drawn up by the Council
646 of Ministers of the Russian SFSR and submitted by it to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for its approval.

Upon its approval by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR the state budget of the Russian SFSR is published for general information.

Art. 104. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects a Budget Commission, which reports its conclusions on the state budget of the Russian SFSR to the Supreme Soviet.

Art. 105. The report on the fulfilment of the state budget of the Russian SFSR is approved by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR and published for general information.

652 Art. 106. The budgets of Autonomous Republics, and the local budgets of
631 territories, regions, Autonomous Regions, National and Administrative Areas, district, city and village Soviets include the revenues from the local economy, deductions from the state revenues collected within their territories and likewise receipts from local taxes and imposts in amounts fixed by the laws of the USSR and of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter X. The Courts and the Procurator's Office.

692 Art. 107. In the Russian SFSR justice is administered by the Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR, the Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics, Territorial and Regional Courts, the Courts of the Autonomous Regions, the Courts of National Areas, the Courts of Administrative Areas, the Special Courts of the USSR established by decision of the Supreme Court of the USSR and the People's Courts.

693 Art. 108. In all Courts cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors, except in cases specially provided for by law.

[Constitution as of 1949]

692 Art. 109. The Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR is the highest judicial organ of the Russian SFSR. The Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR is charged with the supervision of the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the Russian SFSR, the Autonomous Republics and the Autonomous Regions.

Art. 110. The Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR is elected by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for a term of five years.

Art. 111. The Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics are elected by the Supreme Soviets of the Autonomous Republics for a term of five years.

Art. 112. Territorial and Regional Courts, the Courts of Autonomous Regions, the Courts of National [illegible] and administrative Areas are elected by the territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies, by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions and by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of National and administrative Areas for a term of five years.

Art. 113. People's Courts are elected by the citizens of the districts on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot for a term of three years.

695 [693] Art. 114. Judicial proceedings in the Russian SFSR are conducted in the Russian language or in the language of the Autonomous Republic, the Autonomous Region or the National Area, persons not knowing the language being guaranteed every opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material of the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to use their own language in court.

Art. 115. In all courts of the Russian SFSR cases are heard in public, unless otherwise provided for by law, and the accused is guaranteed the right to be defended by counsel.

693 Art. 116. Judges are independent and subject only to the law.

Art. 117. Supreme supervisory power to ensure the strict observance of the law by all Ministries and institutions subordinate to them, as well as by officials and citizens within the territory of the Russian SFSR generally, is exercised by the Procurator-General of the USSR directly and also through the Procurator of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 118. The Procurator of the Russian SFSR and the regional procurators are appointed by the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 119. Procurators of territories and regions, of Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions are appointed by the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 120. Procurators of National and administrative Areas, districts and cities are appointed by the Procurator of the Russian SFSR subject to the approval of the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 121. The organs of the Procurator's Office perform their functions independently of any local organs whatsoever, being subordinate solely to the Procurator-General of the USSR.

[Constitution as of 1949]

Chapter XI. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

641 Art. 122. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to work, that is, are guaranteed the right to employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment.

Art. 123. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to rest and leisure.

[466] The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the fixing of the working day for factory and office workers at eight hours and the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in workshops where conditions of work are exceptionally arduous; by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers; and by the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest-homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

[857] Art. 124. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at State expense, free medical service for the working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

[871] Art. 125. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal compulsory elementary education; by free education up to and including the seventh grade; by a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who excel in their studies; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language; and by the organization in the factories, State farms and machine and tractor stations and collective farms of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

[862] Art. 126. Women in the Russian SFSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured to women by granting them an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education and by State protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

[863] Art. 127. Equality of rights of citizens of the Russian SFSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality and also any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness, hatred and contempt - are punishable by law.

[Constitution as of 1949]

641 Art. 128. In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church
655 in the Russian SFSR is separated from the state and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognised for all citizens.

Art. 129. In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the Russian SFSR are guaranteed by law:

(a) Freedom of speech;
(b) Freedom of the press;
(c) Freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings;
(d) Freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

These civil rights are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

[675] Art. 130. In conformity with the interests of the working people and in order to develop the organizational initiative and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the Russian SFSR are ensured the right to unite in public organizations -- trade unions, co-operative associations, youth organizations, sport and defence organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies; and the most active and politically conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people unite in the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and State.

[694] Art. 131. Citizens of the Russian SFSR are guaranteed inviolability of the person. No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of a court or with the sanction of a procurator.

Art. 132. The inviolability of the homes of citizens and privacy of correspondence are protected by law.

Art. 133. The Russian SFSR affords the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the working people, or for their scientific activities, or for their struggle for national liberation.

Art. 134. It is the duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR to abide by the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, to observe the laws, to maintain labour discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of socialist intercourse.

[695] Art. 135. It is the duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR to safeguard
[421] and strengthen public socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the country, as the source of the prosperity and culture of all the working people.

Persons committing offences against public socialist property are enemies of the people.

Art. 136. Universal military service is law.

Military service in the ranks of the armed forces of the USSR is an honourable duty of the citizens of the Russian SFSR.

[Constitution as of 1949]

641 [681] Art. 137. To defend the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR. Treason to the country -- violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the State, espionage - is punishable with all the severity of the law and is the most heinous of crime.

Chapter XII. The Electoral System

66 Art. 138. Elections of deputies to all Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies, Supreme Soviets of Autonomous Republics, Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions, Soviets of Working People's Deputies of National and administrative Areas, districts, cities and rural localities (stanitsas, villages, hamlets and auls) are chosen by the electors on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Art. 139. Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the Russian SFSR who have reached the age of 18, irrespective of race, or nationality, sex, religion, educational or residential qualifications, social origin, property status or past activities, have the right to vote in the election of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of insane persons and persons who have been convicted by a court of law and whose sentences include deprivation of electoral rights.

[641] Every citizen of the Russian SFSR who has reached the age of 21, irrespective of race, or nationality, sex, religion, educational or residential qualifications, social origin, property status or past activities may be elected as a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 140. Elections of deputies are equal: each citizen has one vote; all citizens participate in elections on an equal footing.

[92] Art. 141. Women have the right to elect and to be elected on equal terms with men.

[641] Art. 142. Citizens serving in the ranks of the Armed Forces of the USSR have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

Art. 143. Elections of deputies are direct: all Soviets of Working People's Deputies from the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of villages and cities to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, inclusive, are elected by the citizens by direct vote.

Art. 144. Voting at elections of deputies is secret.

Art. 145. Elections to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Russian SFSR are held by election districts on the following ~~basis~~

in elections to territorial and regional Soviets - one deputy for every 1,500 to 60,000 of its population, depending upon the size of the territory or region;

in elections to the regional Soviets of Autonomous Regions - one deputy for every 1,500 to 3,500 of its population, depending upon the size of the Autonomous Region;

in elections to ~~Area~~ Soviets of National Areas - one deputy for every 300 to 5,000 of its population, depending upon the size of the National Area;

in elections to area Soviets of administrative areas - one deputy for every 500 to 10,000 of its population, depending upon the size of the administrative area;

666 in elections to district Soviets - one deputy for every 1,000 of its population; a district with a population below 25,000 elects 25 deputies; a district with a population above 60,000 elects no more than 60 deputies;

In elections to city Soviets or city district Soviets - one deputy for every 350 to 1,000 of the population depending upon the size of the city; in a city or city district whose population does not exceed 12,000 35 deputies are elected;

in elections to the city Soviets of Moscow and Leningrad - one deputy for every 3,000 of their population;

elections to village and settlement Soviets - one deputy for every 100 of the population; rural localities (stanitsas, hamlets, auls) and settlements with a population below 1,000 elect 9 deputies; those whose population exceeds 2,500 - no more than 25 deputies.

The basis of representation for each Soviet of Working People's Deputies of territory, region, Autonomous Region, National and administrative Area, district, city, village and settlement is fixed in the Ordinance concerning Elections to Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Territories, Regions, Areas, Districts, Cities, Villages and Settlements of the Russian SFSR within the range of the bases of representation indicated in the present article.

Art. 146. Candidates for elections are nominated according to electoral districts.

The right to nominate candidates is secured to public organizations and societies of the working people: Communist Party organizations, trade unions, co-operatives, youth organizations and cultural societies.

Art. 147. It is the duty of every deputy to report to his electors on his work and on the work of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies, and he is liable to be recalled at any time upon decision of the majority of the electors in the manner established by law.

Chapter XIII. Arms, Flag, Capital

186 Art. 148. The arms of the Russian SFSR are a sickle and hammer of gold placed crosswise, handles down, against a red background in the rays of the sun and surrounded by ears of grain, with the inscriptions "RSFSR" and "Workers of All Countries, Unite!"

Art. 149. The state flag of the Russian SFSR is of red cloth with a gold sickle and hammer and the gold letters "RSFSR" placed in the upper corner near the staff.

Art. 150. The capital of the Russian SFSR is the city of Moscow.

Chapter XIV. Procedure for Amending the Constitution

642 Art. 151. The Constitution of the Russian SFSR may be amended only by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the Supreme Soviet.

000 This translation was made from a Russian text, with amendments through March 13, 1948, published by the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR in 1948. Additional amendments were incorporated from texts published in Izvestia through May 27, 1949.

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[For the complete text of the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic of January 21, 1937, as amended through May 27, 1949, see category 116, entire source.]

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THE IMPACT OF *Russian Culture* ON *Soviet Communism*

BY

DINKO TOMASIC

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—D. T.

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I

Introduction

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INTRODUCTION

THE RISE of Bolshevism in Russia and its rapid expansion has provoked a world conflict which is perilously close to breaking into all-out warfare on a global scale. An understanding of the dynamics of total power, particularly its effect upon the thoughts and feelings of man, might enable us to appraise the menacing implications of this world struggle and to find effective ways to influence its outcome. In an attempt to contribute to such objectives, we shall discuss in the following pages some of the social agents which have affected the formation of power and the growth of personality in Russian society and which might be the sources of its political explosiveness.

It is proposed that some of the most crucial elements in this social drama are the political elites, their psychology, their cultural background and the social setting in which they act. In this interplay of personality, culture, social structure and ideology seems to lie the dynamic source of social change and of its trend. It appears that a system of interpersonal and institutional relationships (social structure) reinforced or undermined by traditional patterns of behavior (culture) and by external physical and social pressures affects the growth of personality and the composition and circulation of political elites. These in turn develop attitudes and formulate ideologies which tend to pro-

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121 voke changes in the system of political relations (power structure) and hence in the social structure.

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181 Two contrasting cultures, that of the power-seeking and self-oriented nomadic horsemen of the Eurasian steppes, and that of the anarchic and group-oriented tillers of the land in the river basins of eastern Europe, provide valuable data for an understanding of the formation of political elites in Russian society, and particularly for identification of conflicting orientations which have been at the root of its social instability and political aggression throughout ages of its growth. There were other sources of conditioning circumstances which have provided significant elements to the content of Russia's culture and its social structure and which have affected the recruitment of political elites and the formation of ideologies. Such were, for instance, the Byzantine system of the administration and of the Church-State relations, the conditions of serfdom and the retarded growth of middle classes, and Western European technology and political and social philosophies. There were also "external" pressures which—in conjunction with Russia's geographic location—have influenced its social and political development. Such, for instance, were the quality of Russia's soil and climate, the moving of the trade routes from the Dnieper valley toward the West in the late middle ages, the sudden growth and disintegration of the Mongol empire, the formation and the expansion of Western European and of Pacific imperial systems. A number of these agents, however, have tended to perpetuate the initial basic structure and to intensify the clash of views of life which was introduced into Russian society through the imposition of the rule of the steppe nomads over the tillers of the land in the ancient past.

[157] One of the basic traits in the interpersonal and institutional relationships of the horse-breeders from the steppes consists of an apparent want of lasting emotional attachments, of social trust and of ties of moral unity. There is a lack of stability in loyalties and therefore a system of power which is self-oriented, that is, based on personal drives for aggrandizement. Only continuing conquests and lasting threats of common external enemies can assure the perpetuation of this predatory system

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of rule. The defeat or death of the ruler, as much as lack of constant external pressures, are likely to bring about a sudden disintegration of a political structure based on such foundations. 121 181

Want of human attachments in the society of these steppe marauders might have been brought about by a strong feeling of insecurity which seems to be rooted in the physical as well as in the social environment of these people. Nomadic horse-breeding in the steppes and deserts, abusive dominance and humiliating submission in a despotic family organization, autocratic political system, sharply stratified social structure, and predatory warfare of enemy tribes present constant physical and emotional threats which breed deep fears, anxieties, lack of trust and violent hostilities. These conditions are harmful to the growth of social intimacy and to the development of group identifications and solidarities; they are likely to favor formation of a self-centered personality and to foster an urge for extreme power-seeking and destructive action as a means of personal survival. [154]

Contrasted to the society of these power-oriented and predatory warriors of the steppes, was the group-oriented and anarchic culture of the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators, spreading since remote times over the forest plains and along the river valleys between the upper Volga and the Carpathians. This society represented a stable system of self-contained and autonomous small agricultural communities with equalitarian social and family organization, diffused social power, lack of central political authority, lack of sharp economic or social stratification and lack of coerciveness. Interpersonal and institutional relationships in these communities promoted group intimacy and social cohesion; they discouraged self-seeking, destructive aggressiveness and warlike qualities. But as the nomadic warriors, in the course of their centuries-old invasions, were imposing their rule over this egalitarian and stateless social system, significant changes were taking place in the Old-Slavonic world; these have formed the basis for the formation and the growth of Russian society. [156]

One of the most important innovations consisted of the formation of a ruling class of conquerors whose whole view of life was in complete contrast to the social and political philosophy of the

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subjected agricultural population. In the ruling class of conquerors—who were marrying the native women—the steppe traditions of an unlimited paternal power, centered in a God-like, distant and strict father, tended to prevail. The principles of seniority, of priority of the male sex and of super-ordination and subordination among brothers and sisters favored sibling rivalry in this family system. At the same time, the mother, following her native traditions, tended to assert her marital equality, to maintain separate property rights, to teach her children the native speech and customs, and to protect them against the caprice and wrath of a domineering and warlike father.

[155] It is likely that children in such families of clashing marital and social philosophies might be exposed to alternating experiences of rejection and over-protection; they might develop an exaggerated self-concern and power-orientation, as well as feelings of inadequacy and dependence. Extremes in emotional reactions ranging from blind submission to destructive aggression and violent revolt tend to develop in such circumstances.

Such traits which contain a core of emotional instability and perpetual strife did not seem to be favorable for the growth and consolidation of State. Instead, a number of small principalities were formed, whose ruling strata were torn by internal rivalries and splits, and by never-ending parricidal and fratricidal feuds. Moreover, these petty princes and war chieftains, following steppe tradition, were interested in waging warfare more than in promoting agriculture or industry—which was contrary to the view of life and the social philosophy of the subjected population. There was, therefore, a lack of common culture, lack of common interests and want of social solidarity between the subjects and their warlike lords. Such a situation fomented social unrest; local riots and mass uprisings, which in turn promoted increasing rigidity of controls, centralization of power, never-ending internal splits and never-ending warfare.

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By the ninth century A.D., these turbulent warriors came into conflict with the Byzantine Empire which had a political interest in the same area. This contact with Byzantium was of far-reaching consequence, because it introduced the Eastern Church into the social and political structure of Russian society. This institu-

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tion has provided moral and ideological foundations for the formation and the expansion of a globally oriented empire, while at the same time, it has also reinforced some of the elements in the structure of the Russian State which have been responsible for its explosiveness and instability.

In the Byzantine politico-religious system, the Church was not only a religious institution but also a political organization, and an arm of the political power. Byzantium therefore undertook to Christianize the Russian lands as a means of political penetration. Following Byzantine Church traditions and practices, the dominant native speech was adopted for Church services. Christianization therefore fostered also Slavization of these regions. Moreover, the Church of Byzantium carried with it the Byzantine concept of unity of Church and State, as well as that of a god-like monarchial power, with the mission to create a Universal Christian Empire.

The Eastern Church also sanctioned unlimited paternal authority and promoted protection-dependency relationships both on politico-administrative and on family levels. This Church sponsored unconditional obedience, attitudes of reverence and gratitude, and feelings of humility and self-effacement, fear and awe in the relations of man to his God, his Prince and his Father. According to the precepts of this Church-State philosophy, the authorities were held responsible for the well-being as well as for the failures and sins of their dependents. Thus the Byzantine Church was preparing psychological and ideological grounds for a politico-religious integration of Russian lands in a system of military theocracy, which became characterized by its Messianic ideology of world redemption and by its dominance-submission and protection-dependency relationships. But such a political system was in sharp conflict with the anarchic view of life and the equalitarian philosophy of family and community relations held by large sections of the population in that area.

This basic internal clash of ideologies in Russian society was intensified in the course of the following centuries when the pressure of the steppe nomads and of the expanding Western empires favored increased militarization, economic regimentation and centralization of total power in the hands of an auto-

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175 642 cratic Czar. By the time of Ivan the Terrible, the power of the independent landed aristocracy was suppressed, and the autocratic power rested now on a service nobility who were given lands in conditional possession depending upon their service and their loyalty to the Czar. These people therefore found themselves in a slave-like dependency upon the ruler who was likened to God, a situation that promoted political and social regimentation and fostered domineering-subservience relationships, thus intensifying the existing incompatibilities between the upper and lower strata of the Czardom.

[157] Domineering-subservience relationships are likely to breed humiliating experiences of self-abasement and feelings of wounded self-esteem which in turn might foster intense hostilities as well as compensatory ideas of grandeur. Thus in new circumstances, both self-seeking and power-orientation were reinforced in the upper strata, and manifested themselves in the oppressive rule of the nobility, in their extreme factionalism, and in their ruthless struggle for personal power and for the favors of the Czar.

[566] This trend of events, by the second part of the sixteenth century, led to establishment of serfdom and to direct interference of the service nobility and of the government in the communal and family relations of the peasantry. From this time on, the Church, the State and the landlords joined hands in strengthening the power of the Father and of the village elders and sponsoring in the peasant family and in the village community, dominance-submission relationships, absolute power and dependence, blind obedience and self-abnegation.

181 [579] The inevitable clash of this new power-oriented social philosophy with the old stateless and equalitarian values, was reflected in intense family and community tensions and in mass restlessness. Thus a weakening of power and of controls on any level—family, local, or national—opened the way to urges of destructive aggression and revolt against all the holders of power: the fathers, the village elders, the landlords, the Church and the Czar. Outbreaks of such extreme enmity were manifested in frequent communal riots, in mass vagrancy, in bloody revolutionary uprisings, and in widespread dissent from the official

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Church. In these protest movements on the folk level, demand for acceptance on equal terms in an all-human brotherhood of men was emphasized. 181

In the meantime, with the increasing technological, economic, and intellectual advance of the West, the Western pressures against the Czardom were intensified. In order to meet this challenge and withstand the threat, the Czardom, by the time of Peter the Great, embarked on a series of reforms aimed at Westernization of the Empire, such as secularization of the State, bureaucratization, industrialization and mass education. As a result of such developments, a new elite of parvenu salaried bureaucracy, and of parvenu salaried military, distinguished by the rank and not by the possession of land, was gradually taking the place of the old service nobility as the main pillar of the Czardom. At the same time, the old nobility who were freed of their obligatory service to the State, became hereditary owners of their estates. [177] 565

In this manner, the old service nobility evolved into a class of economically independent landed squires, even though losing their former political status and privileges, such as monopoly on land and on service. This new gentry however, were by tradition, upbringing, and personal traits, interested in ruling, in political and military careers, not in land cultivation or industry. Many of them, when without office, tended to lead a life of leisure, and to emulate Western manners and styles, to cultivate arts and letters and to indulge in philosophical speculation and formulation of political theories. Few showed an inclination to identify themselves with the productive strata of the population and to devote time and energy to improve techniques of economic production and management. [517]

Such an attitude of the nobility was an important agent in the retarded economic growth of Russia and in the lack of development of a numerically strong and influential middle class, which might have served as a cementing force in a culturally and ideologically split society. And it was from among this leisured class of rural gentry who had lost their status as the main pillar of the Czardom, but who had also emancipated themselves from their economic dependency upon the Czar, that the first

1 [i.e. from the second half of the XVI century -- Analyst]

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leaders of an organized opposition to the Czarist autocracy were recruited.

By the nineteenth century, this landed gentry opposition to the Czarist regime took two main forms. One was pro-Western, seeking the reconstruction of the Czardom along humanistic, [517] libertarian and juridical lines, brought about by the ideas of Humanism and Renaissance, by the Reformation and by the French and American Revolutions. The other was anti-Western, reacting against Western rationalism and materialism, against Western "heathenism" and cosmopolitanism, and against the Western system of impersonal formalism and open class strife which was beginning to infiltrate Russia.

177 185 In an attempt to bridge the widening cultural and ideological chasm between the ruling classes and the common folk, the anti-Westerners exalted the anarchic community relations and equalitarian and humanist values of the Old-Slavonic world and of the Russian peasant commune. But they also emphasized the value of the Church-State unity, and sought a Messianic redemption of the whole world through the absorption of the State by the Orthodox Church and reestablishment of a paternalistic system of community relations ruled by collective conscience and based on Christian love and compassion.

178 177 565 517 In the meantime, that is, by the second part of the nineteenth century, with the growing impoverishment of the rural gentry and with increasing educational opportunities for all strata of the population, the ranks of the educated classes (*intelligentsia*) were being swollen by many declassed people as well as by increasing numbers of young people from the families of clergymen, of lower government employees, of petty tradesmen and other lower classes (*raznochintsy*). Even though Czardom at the time was still governmentalized to a high degree, it was not totally regimented. Moreover, by the second part of the nineteenth century, under the pressure of the West, and in order to match the military, the educational, the industrial and the social levels of the Western world, Czardom abolished serfdom and made other concessions in the direction of a libertarian and a juridical state. This trend of events reinforced the penetration of Western political and social philosophies which tended

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to undermine the existing Church, State and family system based on self-abnegation and on unconditional submission.

As a result,[1] a number of raznochintsy intelligentsia, freed of fear and awe before God, the Czar and the Father, but feeling thwarted in their political ambitions and socially rejected, expressed their dissatisfaction and their hostility toward the existing conditions of inequality and oppression by developing ideologies of denial and destruction. Their aim was to reject and to annihilate all the basic institutions and authorities on which Czardom rested: the family, religion, property, the power of the Father, the authority of the Church, as well as the rule of the Czar. These revolutionaries denied God and conscience as well as any existing ethics or rules of conventional conduct. They sought to destroy Czardom "root and branch" and to seize power for themselves by all and any means. Their professed objective was to establish on the earth an all-human stateless society of totally free men living in a system of equalitarian justice and fraternal love.

517 668

Thus, while seeking to reestablish the anarchic and group-oriented values of the early Slav folk and of the Russian peasant commune, these revolutionaries exhibited also Messianic power-centered urges and destructive drives common in the ruling classes of Czardom. Hence a number of these people became professional conspirators, advocating establishment of an underground organization with rigidly centralized total power commanding expendability of its members, and demanding their complete dedication to the cause of the revolution. They considered this system of organization to be the only effective way to fight the Czarist rule. In this "mortal struggle," these dedicated young men and women tolerated no opposition or differences of opinion, propagated extreme hatred and pitilessness in dealing with all adversaries, organized assassinations, mutinies, strikes and mass risings, thus preparing the ground for the ascendancy of Bolshevism.

The Bolsheviks were a group of professional conspirators. In common with Messianic and power-oriented aims of all raznochintsy, the Bolsheviks endeavored to seize absolute and total power exclusively for themselves, by any and all means, as a way

1 [i.e. of undermining due to penetration of western influences -- Analyst]

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517 668 to bring about an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men on a global scale. Seeking to realize these bi-polar objectives, the Bolsheviks have inherited and reinforced the basic contradictions and conflicts between the aspirations of the rulers and those of the subjects which have throughout centuries undermined the stability of Czardom.

668 661 In their effort to perpetuate themselves in power, the Bolsheviks had to remain organized as a ruling elite of professional conspirators and to reinforce dominance-submission relationships in a system of total power concentrated in their hands. To maintain such a political rule, the Bolsheviks had to introduce a system of total dependence of all upon the holders of power and thus to reinforce the attitudes of self-effacement. They also established a planned system of social differentiation and isolation to prevent social intimacy and group solidarity and hence the potentiality of organized opposition to their rule.

668 771 In such conditions, feelings of rejection and traditional longings for an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men have been greatly strengthened among the subjects. It is this situation that points out the fundamental weakness of the Soviet system. To counteract the effects of this basic vulnerability of their regime, the Bolsheviks have endeavored to deify the Soviet rulers, have resorted to the damnation and anathema of the Western world, and have embarked on a propaganda campaign for a Messianic redemption of all suffering and exploited humanity. In this manner, the Bolsheviks have been able to appeal to supra-ethnical and supra-personal loyalties and to all-human longings, not unlike a universal church.

[208] The Bolsheviks have also endeavored to build up the morale of their subjects by means of prestige projects, by mythical undertakings, by mass pageantry, mass unanimous voting and large scale militarization. All these devices are conceived as ways to provoke emotional identification of the masses with the Soviet State and to find in this identification a substitute for their yearnings for a community of free and equal men.

642 665 Total dominance and total submission relationships which have to be maintained to perpetuate this conspiratorial system of power have introduced other basic strains and stresses in the

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Soviet social and political structure. The ruling Party which has to remain as an organization of militant conspirators in order to perpetuate itself in power, must also rely for the recruitment of its cadres to a large extent on calculating "careerists" and other self-seekers, who identify themselves not with their group and their society but with the holders of power. The main concern of these people is to rise in the Party and State hierarchy. In their jockeying and struggle for positions and favors, these power-oriented people introduce into the Party and into the government an atmosphere of subservience and ruthlessness, rivalry and intrigue, each seeking to rise on the cadavers of his associates.

Just as in the society of steppe warriors, such a ruling group of power-seekers who are not bound by deep moral bonds or ties of ideological loyalty can be kept together as long as the opportunities for self-aggrandizement exist, or as long as there is a common threat to their positions. Hence a cult of hatred of internal and external "enemies," political expansion, conspiracy on a world scale and planned international tension—short of all-out warfare—have become conditions of survival of Bolshevik power.

This situation forces the Bolsheviks to preoccupy themselves with the problems of security, of defense, and of extension of their political power; it prompts them to subordinate the economic production and the intellectual endeavors to these primary needs of their political survival. Such conditions, in turn, make it difficult to satisfy the demands of the masses for acceptance and for a better and more secure life—a situation that tends to deter the subjects from identifying themselves with the rulers and with the State. And it is this aggravating antithesis between the longings of the multitudes and the power-drive of a ruling clique that breeds social upheaval and intensifies urges for destructive aggression.

It is therefore imminent that we think in terms of planned external pressures which might be brought to bear upon the resolution of this gigantic internal struggle before it reaches the proportions of a global war.

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II

The Structure of the Czardom

2

POWER-SEEKING HORSEMEN OF THE STEPPES

I

AMONG the horse-breeding nomads in the steppes of Central Asia relations of unrestricted autocracy and complete personal dependency prevail at all levels of social organization: in the family, in the local community and in the state system. Such a situation appears to affect the growth of personality in that society. In the family, for instance, the children occupy a very subordinate position in relation to a stern and distant father. They might be exposed to father's arbitrary and even humiliating treatment; yet they seldom seem to be compensated for it by a demonstration of affection on his part or on the part of the mother, who is treated by her husband in a like manner.[1]

Growing in such conditions, a child tends to develop a sense of deprivation and fear in relation to his detached and harsh father; he is also likely to become preoccupied with his own self and to feel indifferent toward his mother and toward his sisters.[2] At the same time the principle of seniority in matters of

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discipline and property according to the age of the child and the rank of the mother tends to promote antagonism, rivalry and distrust among the brothers.[3]

The effect of such family environment on personality development seems to be well reflected in the oral literature as well as in the native religious beliefs of Turco-Mongol steppe dwellers. The Tartar epic narratives, for instance, often indicate a thwarted desire for attachment. They show difficulties experienced by a child in establishing a stable emotional relation toward either of his parents or toward his brothers and sisters. In this oral poetry the loneliness of heroes is an outstanding feature. Many a hero may start his life as a "lonely and destitute orphan" who has no parents, nor brother or sister.[4] If he has brothers and sisters, they are likely to be treacherous, seeking to destroy him; also his brothers-in-law are perfidious. And the father appears to be unapproachable since the rejected child often begins his heroic career in "search for his father," but he is unable to find or rescue him.[5]

This sense of lack of support and this feeling of deprivation of love and affection which is experienced within the circle of a child's closest relatives is reinforced later by hostile physical and social conditions which the growing child encounters outside of his father's tent. His neighbors are often unfriendly and seek to harm him or to kill him. Enemy cattle raiders, vicissitudes of a rigorous climate, and cattle plagues may destroy all of his or his father's possessions. Everywhere he faces superior forces which he cannot control. From his early childhood he has been trained in the techniques of predatory warfare and nomadic horse-breeding, not in intensive agriculture. His traditions and upbringing, therefore, make him unable to improve his economic lot by learning and applying more advanced techniques of production. As a result he feels it to be his "greatest misfortune and humiliation" if he is forced to take up plowing. The plow to this proud predatory warrior is a symbol of "servitude and shame."[6]

Thus craving for security and love which is denied to him by his physical and social environment, the steppe nomad may find a substitute for these needs in his horse. When in such a frame

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of mind he might show more consideration for his horse than for his wife, his children or even himself. He likes, for instance, to display a magnificence in the accoutrements of his horse's saddle, while he, "perhaps in a wretched dress of rags, makes a strange contrast with the carefully decorated steed."[7]

This emotional relationship between the Turco-Mongol herder and his horse is well reflected in his oral literature, in which he has assigned to the horse an exceptionally important and often mythical role. In the Tartar epic poetry, for instance, a hero gets his name only when he becomes old enough to own a horse. He is then named by the name of the horse which carries him. In these legends the horse is pictured as having more sense than the hero, and as being the only absolutely loyal and dependable being in a treacherous and insecure world.[8] The horse is therefore worth more than a man, and is valued as such not only in the narratives but in actual life as well. In the Great Yassa of Genghis-Khan, for instance, it is stated that the man in whose possession a stolen horse is found, if unable to pay a fine of nine horses, "his children must be taken instead of the horses, and if he have no children, he himself shall be slaughtered like a sheep."[9]

The native religion, no less than the oral literature, seems to reflect the want of physical protection and emotional support which prevails in the steppes of Central Asia. The deep-seated feeling of anxiety and fear, extreme self-concern, drives of hostile aggression and urge of destruction which develop in such an environment might have been projected into the creed which envisions man as the center of a volcanic struggle between two gigantic supernatural powers: those of light in the heavens, ruled by Kaira Kahn, and those of darkness in the underworld, ruled by Erlik Kahn. Erlik Kahn is likely to corrupt men, to misguide them and to pervert them to evil. His power seems to be on the ascendancy. Cattle diseases, poverty, illness, death, and all kinds of misfortune and distress come from this king of the darkness.

In such circumstances, man must be constantly preoccupied with appeasing the forces of evil, lest they ruin him. Tartar epic heroes, for instance, often make journeys to the underworld

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which is inhabited by bloodthirsty and hideous beings, many of them women. They specialize in torturing and maiming humans and indulge in feasting on human flesh. Only through cunning or help of his horse can the hero get back to the earth safely, but many slayings are necessary before that is accomplished. The Tartar man is therefore terrified by the ruler of the underworld. At the same time he knows that he depends entirely upon him. Therefore he must be submissive to him, honor him, appease him by sacrificial viands, and call him "Father":

Men's skulls are thy beakers
O Erlik,
Erlik, my father,
Why persecutest thou the people thus?
Say, why dost thou destroy them?
O, Erlik, Erlik, my father,
From generation to generation
In the long course of time
We honour thee day and night,
From generation to generation
Thou art an honoured lord.[10]

The extent of feeling of complete personal dependency upon arbitrary powers, and resulting sense of hopelessness and fatalism are indicated also in the belief that there is an utter lack of understanding and of willingness to help on the part of the forces of life and light that dwell in heaven. These are engaged in constant bickering among themselves in their struggle for precedence. They are also tyrannical, conceited, deceitful, haughty and contemptuous, and are inclined to ignore the mortals who visit them. These gods of light themselves are not uncorruptible, nor just. If bribed with sacrificial viands, they wink at transgressions. They are envious of man's wealth and constantly expect gifts from him. Thus exposed to the whims of such vicious and arbitrary supernatural powers of light as well as of darkness which he cannot control, what can a man do but be on good terms with both of them through the medium of the shamans.[11] But these, realizing the overwhelming strength of the forces of destruction, are preoccupied with the sources of death and deal rather with the underworld than with the heaven. They spe-

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cialize in calling upon the powers of darkness both to help and to destroy men.[12]

His whole upbringing, surroundings, life experiences and innate drives tend to convince the Turco-Mongol nomad that the forces of destruction and death are definitely on the upgrade and will finally prevail over those of life. The Tartar desert dweller, for instance, in his lonesomeness and want of emotional and social security, is inclined to picture himself deserted both by god of heaven and by man. Thus, since even religion cannot offer him consolation, support and hope, he tends to envision the specter of an apocalyptic and total destruction of the whole of mankind, and of the earth itself in fire and blood:

Then the black earth bursts into flame,
Hosts of the people perish,
The rivers arise from springs of blood,
The mountains turn to dust.
The rocks fall crushing down,
The rainbow rocks trembling,
The waves of the sea are heaped up
So that the bottom of the sea is visible.

Now on the bottom of the sea
Nine great black stones are shattered,
And from each of these stones
Arises an iron hero.
The mighty iron heroes
Ride on nine iron horses.
On the forefeet of the horses
Shine brightly nine iron swords,
And on their hind feet
Gleam nine iron lances.

When they come in contact with a leaf on a tree,
All the trees fall prostrate.
When they come in contact with living beings,
They sink down destroyed.
Kaira Khan, the god, the father,
He, the creator of the world,
Then closes his ears,
Does not give ear to the crying of the people

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Shaljima then calls in vain,
Mai-Tara persists in silence.

Then two heroes of Erlik,
The hero Karan and the hero Kere
Come up out of the earth.
On Mai-Tara and Mandy-Shire
These heroes rage and fight.
From the blood of Mai-Tara
The earth now takes fire.[13]

Conditions of extreme insecurity and want of attachment on the family and community level do not favor group identification and solidarity and hinder the development of personal trust and of sense of social responsibility. Instead, self-orientation and self-aggrandizement at the expense of others become the main concern of one. As a result the narratives of these people, projecting the interpersonal relations which exist in their society, picture the hero as being primarily and exclusively concerned with his own person. He is a law to himself. He is gluttonous, slothful, callous of wife and home, negligent of parents and dependents; he spills innocent blood and is revengeful and cruel. But all these traits of the hero's character are condoned and even approved in these epic legends, provided that he is successful in battle, and that he can carry off much booty. It little matters by what means his success is gained, whether by incredible strength or skill, or by cunning.[14]

If, like his hero, the steppe warrior does not feel bound by moral laws and obligations, he becomes most ruthless in treating his enemies.[15] In his self-centeredness he considers that might is right and that compromise is weakness. He is therefore unable to act in free accord and is unwilling to make adjustments. But such a man is likely also to lack support from others. He can rely on nobody but himself. Thus he becomes very suspicious and is forced to look at any other person as his potential enemy who may eventually destroy him. Even food offered by others may be poisonous. Genghis Khan, for instance, forbade his people "to eat food offered by others, until the one who offers the food shall eat of it."[16]

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000 Hence, surrounded by an inimical environment, exposed to a want of love and attachment and lacking in social support, the steppe warrior tends to grow morose and vindictive. He becomes addicted to voracity, lechery, and drunkenness. At the same time, however, he shows a remarkable degree of resistance to physical frustration. He is able to withstand great hardships and can show a great degree of apathy and indifference to the heaviest blows of fate. He can go for days without water and for weeks without any food. He becomes almost insensible to wounds and might even stoically accept his death.[17]

The whole outlook and every action of such a nomad is geared toward personal gain, rather than social recognition or sense of honor.[18] And since it is the powerful and the rich who control the values which he covets, he is willing to cringe before them, to abase himself and to betray even his own kin in order to win their favor. But when in power or free of superior control or threat, he is proud and brave and is even likely to show generosity and be goodhearted and honorable.[19]

II

It might be that this lack of human attachments, social loyalties and moral bonds fosters the want of stability which prevails on all levels of this society of predatory nomads. In the inner clan and tribal relations of these people, for instance, "The young and strong plunder the old and weak, as soon as they feel themselves in a strong enough position to do so, and quite irrespective of any previous relationship which may have existed between them."[20] The power and influence of local leaders depends upon their fighting strength, ability in raiding and success in battle.[21] In disputes over clan or tribal leadership local leaders remain cautiously neutral until it becomes clear which of the claimants is likely to emerge victorious.[22] Chieftanship of the clan is often gained by a violent usurpation. Election of a chief is almost unknown to these nomads. Chieftainship has to be constantly validated by display of superior power or by bribing, and is therefore seldom stabilized or generally accepted.

Clans, tribes, and larger entities, such as hordes, form integrated units as long as they have common interests to defend.

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They can be best united in opposition to others. But the camps which consist of six to ten blood related tents have a more stable organization. The leader of the camp is the eldest member of that family which possesses the most animals. The clan is a union of several camps related by common interests. But the interests of the camps within the same clan are frequently in conflict. The same is true for larger unions. The smaller units within these unions struggle for winter settlements and summer pastures. The conflicts are especially sharp when ice appears and when penetration into the neighbors' territory to save herds becomes imperative. Moreover, in this society the wealthy and the illustrious always know how to take advantage of the poor, the lesser, and the weak.[23]

In such conditions larger and more permanent political unions, the states and empires, have grown either as a result of alliances which were formed to fight a superior common foe, or as a result of lasting superiority in wealth and arms of one tribe over the others. In the first case the political unity could last as long as the common threat had kept the tribes together. In the latter case the state could maintain itself mainly by means of a well organized system of informers and by using extreme ruthlessness in dealing with any signs of opposition.

Such political relations explain why torturing, maiming and capital punishment had to be inflicted on a great scale and for trifling offenses in Mongol empires.[24] Also periodical wholesale extermination of recalcitrant populations or resettlement of large areas became an imperative principle in dealing with organized or widespread resistance and uprisings. Fostering and perpetuating internal dissension was another way to maintain power. For instance, Ablai Khan, one of the rulers of the Kazaks, is said to have advised his sons never to solve completely the intertribal affairs "for only disagreement and discord can be the unshakable support of the Khanite rule."

All these circumstances have favored the unlimited power of the ruler at the expense of human values or interests of the subjects when these conflict with the ruler's designs.[25] He then comes to consider himself as the true owner of his subjects and acquires the power to dispose of their bodies and of their properties at

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will,[26] analogous to the power of the father in the family. No subject dares to settle in any place to which he has not been assigned. Whatever is ordered by the sovereign is promptly carried out.[27] Law is conceived not as an instrument of justice but as a personal weapon applied in the interest of those who hold power. Said Kuyak-Khan: "The duty of a Mongol is to carry out my will, to come when I shall call him, to go where I shall order, to put to death whomsoever I shall name."[28] Extreme superordination and complete subordination, and a system of favors, privileges and sharp stratification and regimentation is the result.

But states, like tribes which lack internal cohesion based on moral and emotional bonds and depend instead for their existence upon external threat, repressive measures, intertribal discord, and personal favors of the ruler, can hardly be stable and lasting. Thus, in the political systems built by Mongol warriors it often happened that as soon as a ruler or a local chief showed signs of weakness or was defeated in war, his power crumbled. He was immediately deserted by his former followers and allies. These would, without any delay, shift their loyalty to the ascending central or local authority.

It was, therefore, in the course of successful expansions abundant with unlimited opportunities for plunder, or when exposed to lasting threat on the part of common enemies, that the Mongol system of power had a better chance to survive for a longer period. Otherwise, in times of prolonged peace, each imperial structure built by these nomadic horsemen tended, as a rule, to become internally decomposed as a result of mutual rivalries, animosities, feuds and struggle for power and self-assertion among the ruling cliques or between these cliques and the ascending claimants for leadership.[29]

In seeking self-aggrandizement and gain the steppe warrior of Central Asia is inclined to seize any opportunity for booty, plunder and rapine. Hence, driven by thirst for loot, quest for power, and lust, these people have from times remote invaded the steppes and plains of western Asia and eastern Europe. Meeting no natural geographic barriers nor significant resistance on the part of the native soil cultivators, they laid waste to these lands and boasted to be the "scourge of God."[30]

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With an energetic Khan at the head of such raiders, who knew how to organize them along military lines, a horde of looters was often able to transform itself into a highly disciplined army.[31] Being in the midst of a hostile population, the conquerors held fast together. Thus, despotically governed principalities and states were formed and ruled by small bands of horsemen who knew how to use their military advantage over the subjugated and disarmed peoples. It was in this manner that these nomadic warriors had in the early centuries of this era imposed their rule on the Old-Slavonic agricultural population between the Volga and Dnieper rivers.[32]

3

POWER-INDIFFERENCE OF THE OLD-SLAVONIC PLOWMEN

I

ACCORDING to both linguistic and historical evidence, it appears that the early home of the Old-Slavonic peasant folk was centered in the middle Dnieper and its western tributaries, a region known as Polesie. Before drainage, this area consisted of deep swamps (Pripet marshes) throughout which were scattered many islets of land. The scantiness of cultivable soil forced the inhabitants to subsist by means of very intensive tillage. Hand hoes and hook-plows, to which men yoked themselves, were the principal modes of cultivation. For clothing and oil, flax and hemp were planted.

The people were, on the whole, vegetarians. Some hogs were raised but few sheep or cattle. There was, however, abundant fishing and some hunting. Bee-keeping was prevalent and an intoxicating drink was fermented from honey. Communication between the islets in this marshy land proved difficult during all seasons; therefore, the population, in order to survive, had

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174 to maintain a system of economic self-sufficiency which was restricted to small villages or groups of such villages.[1]

175 181 In early documents these Old-Slavonic plowmen are described as peaceful, moderate, mild, and humane, patient and sober, disinterested in power, hard working, living in social and political democracy. They are pictured as being opposed to subjection, but unable to offer much resistance to a foreign aggressor since they were not skilled in warfare. Procopius (6th century), for instance, said that "these people are not ruled by one man, but they have lived from of old under a democracy, and consequently everything which involves their welfare, whether for good or for ill, is referred to the people."[2] And Emperor Leo (9th century) stated the following:

> . . . jealous of their liberty they have always refused to submit themselves to the Empire. . . . even those who have accepted Christianity keep as much as they can the forms of their ancient freedom. . . . This is a numerous nation, patient in difficult times, and very industrious. Heat, cold, hunger, and want of all things do not beat down these people. . . . They used to be very hospitable and still maintain with great care this virtue. They are affable people and receive travellers with much kindness, show them the way, and protect them against insult. If a traveller would not be well treated by his host because of host's fault all the people would attack the host. They behave with much gentleness also toward their slaves; they do not condemn them to perpetual slavery, but fix a time of service . . . after which time . . . they free them. The women are well-behaved, and attached to their husbands. . . . These people are very frugal . . . they prefer to live with much freedom. . . . They like to take refuge in the woods or in inaccessible places.[3]

175 631 [565] The people of Polesie seem to have been politically organized in a system of smaller groupings of self-governing villages or even in single autonomous villages connected among themselves, not in the form of a central authority or state, but rather as a loose confederation of independent units. Apparently, there were no marked social distinctions or differences in class and rank in this society. There was no aristocracy, no separate class of priests or warriors, no cities, no temples. There was, therefore, no class or clique which sought power and expansion over others,

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and hence, no group support could be found if a leader had attempted to form a centralized political authority or an imperial system over the whole area. The old Russian Chronicle of Kiev (12th century) describing a tribe with such a culture (the Polians) states that among them each kindred group (*rod*) lived in its own separate locality and had its own government.[4]

In a like manner, principles of dignity and moderation, as well as personal autonomy and lack of coerciveness, prevailed in family relations of these people. The Chronicle, for instance, states:

> The Polians had customs of their fathers, customs mild and peaceful (*krotok i tikh*); they showed a kind of reserve (*stydenie*) towards their daughters-in-law (*snokha*) and their sisters, towards their mothers and their parents, towards their fathers-in-law and their brothers-in-law; to all of the persons named they showed great reserve. They had marriage cusoms: the bridegroom did not go to seek his bride; she was taken to him in the evening, and the following morning they brought what belonged to her (*chto vdaduche*).[5]

It appears that the family organization of the Polians rested on mutual respect of all family members; that the bride brought the dowry which remained her personal property; that she might have had the initiative in wooing. This contention is supported by other evidence. Cosmas Pragensis, for instance, speaking of the old Bohemian Slavs, states: "It is not the men who choose the maids, but the maids themselves who take the husbands they like, and when they like."[6] A French writer who visited Ukraine in the seventeenth century wrote: "In Ukraine, contrary to the customs of all other nations, the husbands do not choose their wives, but are themselves chosen by their future consorts."[7]

There is also other evidence concerning some matriarchal traits of the early Slavs.[8] Throughout ages, women of the plains betwen the Dnieper and the Volga maintained property rights over their dowries and also over income from vegetables, poultry, dairy products and yarn that they produced and sold, though such rights were not recognized to men.[9] Although a woman in Russia did not have any claim to the property of her father or her brother, and only a limited right to that of her husband, she had the privilege, denied to a man, of saving and building up a

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

562 611 [583] *korobka* (chest) of her own. When a girl married, she took her korobka, together with the property given her by her father or brothers, to her new home as a dowry and was allowed to dispose freely of it. At the same time her husband was not responsible for her debts.[10] When a married woman died, if childless, her [428] korobka, as a rule, returned to her mother (matrilineal succession) and only if her mother was not alive, to her father. In some provinces the husband would inherit his wife's property if he lived with her four years or more.[11] If she had children, her property was inherited by both sons and daughters equally.[12]

Matriarchal traits are evident in contemporary folk philosophy and many folk customs in the Bielorussian villages as well as in some parts of the Ukraine. In the oral poetry of these [772] people, for instance, the sun is represented as a female who is wooing the moon, her bridegroom. In some songs of these peasant folk the maidens contend with the male youths in duels and defeat them.[13] Even today in some of these regions it is often the girls who take the initiative in finding their suitors. During harvest festivals, it is the maidens who play the leading part. Traces [583] of the capture of the bridegroom still persist in the folk customs of the Ukraine. In Ukrainian and Bielorussian folk poetry [593] women, especially the mother, play a very significant role, while the place of the father is less outstanding. In popular opinion in this area, the consent of the mother in the marriage of a daughter is considered more important than that of the father.

582 Marriage among the Old-Slavonic peasant folk was endogamous within the village community and perhaps even within the joint household community (*verv, zadruga*)—not unlike in the Croatian zadruga of our days.[14] There was also, apparently, 593 a particularly developed brother-sister attachment as is manifested by brother-sister incest which seems to have taken place occasionally in some Russian regions until recently.[15] There were, therefore, abundant opportunities for emotional attachments in the Old-Slavonic family, since there were no external political, economic, or social pressures that might have disturbed internal equalitarian family relationships. Such relationships have persisted until present times in certain parts of Ukraine:

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Ukrainian family is the basis of the Ukrainian democracy. The wife has a position equal to that of her husband. We do not have the oppression of the father over the will of the children. The daughter selects her companion according to her own heart regardless of the taste of her mother, or interests of her father. Hence the Ukrainian family, based on free choice and love, exists a long time and it is seldom troubled by the difficulties of internal dissension.[16]

U. [156]

It might be expected, therefore, that the child in such a well-balanced family would feel emotionally secure and would tend to identify itself with the group. Growth of feeling of personal dignity, group orientation and solidarity, as well as respect for the rights of others, are fostered in such an environment. In such a family community whose whole structure is built upon the principle of diffusion of social power and in which there is a considerable degree of economic self-sufficiency, of individual independence, of opportunity for self-assertion and for emotional satisfaction, deep tensions tend to be rather rare; instead, self-control and a sense of individual and social responsibility tend to prevail. A great deal of evidence concerning the character of the farming folk of Polesie indicates that these people displayed a highly socialized and stable behavior, showed a high degree of tolerance of frustration—both physical and emotional, and were devoid of those deep emotional tensions and strong animosities that trouble the horse-breeders and marauders in the Eurasian steppes.

U. [152]

U. 181

Thus in contrast to the self-centered and gloomy view of life of the nomadic herdsmen and warriors from the steppes of central Asia, the soil cultivators of the Dnieper river basin showed strong gregarious inclinations, an optimistic world outlook and a great sense of joy in life.[17] Even today the people in that area have countless festivals, dances, rituals and songs in which the worship of nature and love of life is emphasized.[18] The folk sayings of these people, for instance, stress the need for moderation, emotional balance, and harmonious social relationships—deploring hostility, greediness and aggressiveness. "Do not kill even a mosquito; he is good," they say.[19] They also say: "And the people judge, and will not overjudge; and the sun dries, but does not over-dry, and the rain soaks, but does not oversoak."[20] Also the

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Ukrainians RD4

need for personal responsibility is stressed in these sayings: "No one is to blame. He is to blame himself"; "For a good man all goes well."[21] And when they quarrel they are not expected to become vindictive, but to forget and say "Words are like wind."[22]

These people are very fond of intoxicating drink which in their society seems to be a way to increase sociability and channel aggressiveness rather than a means of escape. They drink in groups, not alone, and then they sing and dance and appeal to Lada, who was the Goddess of Love in their heathen past. They tend to turn even sad and mournful events into occasions for merry-making and are inclined to minimize fear of death.[23]

II

Interpersonal relations and philosophy of life of the early Slav plowmen seem to have been projected into their supernatural world. According to the early beliefs of these people, the universe was governed by a great many deities, fairies and spirits. Most of these supernatural beings were pictured as benevolent, some mildly malevolent. They lived in families and had children. They could be found everywhere; in the house as well as in the lakes and rivers; they could be seen swinging from every plant and tree; or heard singing and handclapping in every barn and on every threshing floor. Until very recently, the Belorussian peasant could see the sun dancing if he got up early in the morning on a certain day of the year.

The whole cosmic view of the early Slav agriculturist seems to have consisted of pantheism and animism. All nature was possessed of spirits that behaved like human beings. Human beings themselves were identified with nature, with animals and plants. This identification of man and nature found its expression, for instance, in personal names which were those of seasons and natural spectacles, of trees, flowers and fruits, birds and other animals. These semi-matriarchal plowmen also apparently practiced a special cult of Mother Earth and of Rozhanitsy—the female beings who presided over the birth and destiny of man. Sacrificial meals were offered to these fairy-like spirits, consisting of meatless dishes.[24] The sermons of the first Christian missionaries

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were directed not only against this cult, but also against that of the Fire and of the Sun.[25] There was no cult of war-gods in the mythology of the Old Slavs nor was there any epic poetry in their folklore.

Unlike the patriarchal, rigidly stratified and dualistic religious system of steppe nomads which was full of tensions and struggles, the supernatural world of the Slavs of Polesie was anarchic, equalitarian and peaceful. Apparently projecting their own social organization into the supernatural world, the Old-Slavonic plowmen conceived it as being composed of both sexes but without a hierarchy of power among themselves. The deities that inhabited that world were neither arbitrary nor corrupted, nor did they fight among themselves for the control over man. Festivals in their honor were celebrated with the accent on drink, song, dance and lovemaking.

Accordingly the Slavs of Polesie did not have to appease their deities nor try to be on good terms with both the bad and the good ones. They believed that after death bad and wicked people would roam the earth in the form of werewolves and vampires; but, they also possessed simple means of protection against these evil ghosts, such as pieces of torn clothes, which were accessible to everyone.[26] There were always persons of both sexes who maintained contact and control over the spirits of evil and were willing to help anyone in distress. Hence the Old Slavs trusted their wizards, the *veshchy*.[27]

According to the religious and social philosophy of the Slavs of the Dnieper, there are some general all-embracing rules of behavior to which all people, all the universe as well as all the deities, are subjected. In such a religious and philosophical system, the deities could not be capricious. They could be relied upon to behave according to commonly accepted rules of conduct and should not therefore be distrusted and feared. It is this optimistic view of destiny and of the universe, in which order and anarchic equity, not sword or might nor caprice prevail, that perhaps had found expression in the Old-Slavonic concept of law which was identified with truth and justice (*pravda*). The same view of life had perhaps found expression also in the Old-Slavonic concept of judgment which was identified with destiny

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(*sud*). Accordingly, in the mind of these people, the universe and peace (*mir*) were also identical.[28]

Great calamities occasionally befell the Old-Slavonic communities—frequent raids and plundering by the invaders and slave hunters; then cattle plagues and epidemics. These were thought to have been brought on by certain demons and malevolent ghosts, but the Polesie people knew of ways to cope even with such disasters. Contagious diseases were prevented or stopped by means of magic, especially by the magical powers of women. As for their enemies, the soil cultivators of the Dnieper basin were not prepared for any offensive or defensive warfare and were an easy prey for many aggressors. Being not armed, their defense consisted of hiding themselves. They sought safety in impenetrable marshes and forests and even resorted to such ruses as lying submerged on the bottoms of marshes and breathing by means of cane sticks until the danger was over.[29]

Since the Old-Slavonic agriculturists contracted their marriage unions early in life, as a means of labor supply and since they were not exposed to exhaustion of constant warfare, the region which they originally inhabited soon reached its limits of population. Thus, in spite of their autarchic and intensive agricultural techniques and their attachment to the soil, the early Slav folk were forced to leave their original habitat in search of new lands. They did not migrate in a fury and did not traverse great distances like the mounted nomads of the steppes; rather, they moved slowly and quietly for short distances and by stages always keeping in touch with the mother community from which they had sprung.

In this manner the Old-Slavonic tillers penetrated new regions and territories, not by force and conquest like the predatory steppe raiders, but by cultivating new soil along the river basins, in the midst of forest clearings, drained marshes or irrigated steppes. Living in village communities which remained ethnically uninterrupted, they transplanted and perpetuated in their new homes their native agricultural techniques, their beliefs and customs, their family and community organization, as well as their philosophy of life. Thus as late as the twentieth century, the social organization and personality traits of the Zadruga peo-

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ple, in the plains between the Drava and Sava rivers, showed cultural and personality traits similar to those of the Old-Slavonic plowmen.[30]

In their migration, these early Slav soil cultivators were often able to Slavicize the natives among whom they had settled and even to absorb the numerically small bands of steppe raiders who had conquered them. These assimilated invaders were then often employed to fight against new nomadic incursions.[31] It was in the course of such acculturations, due to migrations and conquests, that in the regions between the Volga and the Dnieper a peculiar fusion of contrasting cultural patterns of the steppe horsemen and of the tillers of the soil had developed. Structural relations, personality traits and the religious, social and political ideologies that resulted out of this blend of the two conflicting worlds formed the basis of Russian society and have been at the root of its political instability throughout centuries.[32]

4
TURCO-MONGOL INVASIONS AND FORMATION OF RUSSIAN SOCIETY

I

THE MOUNTED warriors of the steppes were accustomed to covering great distances on their raids and migrations. After they had devastated and annihilated much that was in their way, they would impose their rule with ease over whatever was left. Then they would proceed to organize nomadic federations, principalities and empires.[1] The political systems which thus arose in the area between the Ural mountains and the Carpathians apparently followed the pattern that had been originally established by the Scythians and Huns in the same territory.[2]

Being extremely self-centered and insecure, a strong driving

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force behind the war expeditions of these predatory warriors might have been their need for self-assertion and dominance, as well as an urge for destruction. They were therefore likely to indulge in sadistic cruelty and in mass plunder, in lechery and debauchery.

It is important to notice, however, that in these conquests the mounted nomads would often invade and settle distant areas without their womenfolk. Therefore, when these womenless, predatory, patriarchal and polygynous horsemen invaded the plains and river valleys between the Ural mountains and the Carpathians, where the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators, Fino-Ugric hunters and other folks were settled, the newcomers not only imposed themselves as political rulers, but it became necessary for them to abduct native women *en masse*, to buy them, or to demand them as a tribute, and make them their wives, concubines, and slaves. Not only the historical records but the Great-Russian marriage customs, folk poetry and other oral literature testify to this trend of events. Marriage by capture, bride price and the use of women as slave laborers figure prominently in all these documents.

At first a great cultural diversity in the society at large resulted out of such a situation. Many early observers of the peoples of this area noticed this phenomenon. Often the customs of the peoples that went under the same name were very dissimilar. The same names covered a conglomeration of tillers of the soil, pastoral nomads, nomadic hunters, and warlike tribes. Some of these people were matriarchal, others patriarchal. Some of them lived in wagons and tents, others built houses. Some cremated their dead, others practiced inhumation. Some were cannibalistic, others vegetarians.[3]

It is for this reason that early observers when speaking of "Slavs" sometimes give contradictory data.[4] Such accounts are likely to confuse a student of early Slav society unless he keeps in mind the ethnical mixture and blending of cultures that was taking place in that area in the course of many centuries. Tacitus, for instance, noticed that "The Veneti [Slavs] have borrowed largely from Sarmatian character; in their plundering expeditions they roam over the whole extent of forests and mountains. . . ."[5]

[3] [i.e. of the Turko-Mongols — Analyst]

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In a similar manner the old Kiev Chronicle points out the cultural differences between a number of Slavic-speaking tribes, such as the Polians—the "field-people," and the Drevlians (Drevlyane)—the "inhabitants of the forests," in the middle Dnieper basin. While the former are described as peaceful and mild, organized along egalitarian lines, the latter are represented as ferocious and wild, organized along monarchial, predatory, warlike, and polygynic principles. The Drevlians, says the Chronicle, ". . . lived like beasts; friends killed one another (*ubivahu drug druga*) . . . no marriage took place amongst them, but they captured young girls on the banks of the rivers."[6] And as for some other tribes, such as the Radimichi, the Vyatichi, and the Sever, the Chronicle says that ". . . shameful things occurred amongst them between fathers and daughters-in-law . . . there was no marriage . . . but the villagers would get together for dancing and satanic games, and there they captured their wives . . . they had generally two or three wives . . . they burned their dead."[7]

It is to be expected that under such circumstances cultural dualism and internal conflict and tension occurred within many individual families in this area. A Slavonic woman as wife or concubine of a Turco-Mongol horse-breeder and warrior might know nothing about his nomadic and predatory way of life, about horses and mares, about weapons, wagons and tents. She might therefore introduce into her new family agricultural techniques and a more settled way of life.

Being raised in an equalitarian society with some matriarchal traits, and with emphasis on self-respect and personal autonomy, a Slavonic woman would not be inclined to be completely submissive to her Turco-Mongol husband. Following child rearing customs of her own society the Slavonic woman would tend to remain close to her children, would teach them Slavonic speech, and might even be in a position to give them protection from the arbitrariness and impulsiveness of their warlike father. Such a situation reinforced and even magnified the traditional distance between the Turco-Mongol father and the members of his family.

At the same time the invader would insist on a subordinate

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role of the women and children in his family and on complete subjection of all people under his control. To accept anything else would have been contrary to his view of life, to everything he stood for. It would have conflicted with his temper and his character to have acted differently. It might have meant not only loss of face but loss of power as well.

The invader was therefore likely to maintain his social distance, to resort to physical force and violence, to the *knut*,[8] to impose his dominance on and to expect unconditional obedience from all the members of his household as well as from all others who were settled and worked on the land which he had conquered and which he controlled. He was backed in such attitudes and practices by the traditional philosophy of the steppe warriors which tells them that might is right and that only unchallenged power imposed by means of fear and awe brings personal satisfaction and security.

Such conflicting marital and social philosophies, however, provoked intense social conflicts, witnessed, for instance, by the history of Slav-Avar relations. The oppressed Slavonic concubines and wives, together with their children, tended to revolt against their tyrannical and inscrutable Avar husbands and fathers:

> The Chunen [Avars] came every year to the Slavs to spend the winter among them, and abuse the wives and daughters of the Slavs. . . . But the sons of the Chunen men and the wives and maidens of the Wenden [Slavs] did not tolerate this oppression; they refused to obey the Chunen and started an uprising.[9]

Such resolute and fighting women have been perhaps personified in Russian epic narratives by Polenitsi (steppe women), the female warriors. The physical strength of these Russian Amazons is represented as being greater than that of the Bogatyri, the legendary heroes. Polenitsi are pictured as daring, bold women, who fight, torture, maim and kill the Bogatyri. But they also invite these heroes to sleep with them and resort to various tricks or to sheer force to coerce the Bogatyri to take them in marriage.

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II

The Slavonic soil cultivators, depending upon economic self-sufficiency and cooperative effort in marshy and forest regions, as well as in the steppes, practiced a system of joint-family ownership of land (zadruga system). But when nomadic warriors imposed their rule over the tillers of the soil, the invaders considered the land over which they ruled to be their property and forced the peasants who were settled on it to pay them tribute in grain and other agricultural produce. According to the expanded version of the *Pravda Ruskaya*, for instance, after the death of a *smerd* (peasant) his sons would inherit the land, but if there were no sons the property went to the prince.

It is possible that already at that time some of the Asiatic conquerors occasionally divided and redistributed the land among the peasants according to the changing size of their families, the ability to till it and pay taxes and tithes. This might have been the most expedient way by which the conquerors sought to increase the income from the lands which they controlled. At the same time the peasants that formed a land commune were held jointly responsible by their over-lords for a predetermined amount of tributes, as well as for criminal acts committed on their territory.

The system of joint community responsibility was a well-known practice in the society of steppe nomads. It was especially applied as a means to procure fines and force the payment of debts. In that social system if a wrong-doer was unable to pay a fine, his nearest relatives, and failing them, the whole camp, had to provide it.[10] Therefore when these predatory herdsmen imposed their rule over the farming folk, they might have introduced the principle of joint responsibility as the most expedient way to collect the tributes and to exploit economically the subjected peoples.

It was by such social processes that the non-warlike and stateless society of the Old-Slavonic agricultural folk was incorporated into a military society of power-oriented horsemen of the Eurasian steppes.

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Eurasian steppes. As it had been a long-established practice among these predatory marauders, the war leader who showed himself competent in organizing a successful war expedition or in controlling a certain area would soon collect a considerable retinue of warriors. When Slavicized, the chieftain of such a band of raiders was known as *voyvoda* (warleader) or *knyaz* (prince). His retinue became known as the *druzhina* (band). The most outstanding members among these *druzhiniki* (band-men) and *muzhi* (men) formed an inner advisory body (*veche*) to the warleader or prince and became known as the "leading men" (*muzhi perednie*), or *boyari*. The voyvoda would reward his druzhina or boyars for their services by granting them land and dividing war booty with them.

It is important to note, however, that the boyars at this time received the granted lands as perpetual hereditary homesteads, and that they were free to leave one prince and enter the service of another at any time.[11] Before the formation of the Muscovite Empire, the plains between the Volga and Dnieper rivers were controlled by numerous such petty potentates, each surrounded by a retinue of boyars and other servicemen. Under those conditions there was no possibility of preventing these professional warriors from leaving one warleader and entering into the service of another. The only way for a local prince to retain his druzhina was by being successful in warfare, collecting large war booty, and offering land and villages together with the peasants in hereditary possession to his comrades in arms.[12]

In the meantime another stratum of the population was being formed in the centers of trade, that of the city people or burghers. The nomadic conquerors were not only looters and pirates, but traders as well. They traded in what they looted. When their authority was well established, they endeavored to promote centers and routes of commerce as a means of increasing their wealth. It was in these centers of trade and market places that cities developed. Soon city people became stratified into the well-to-do (*zhitie lyudi*) and the lower urban classes (*molodshie lyudi*). In these urban centers where the warriors became traders the trend was toward concentration of power in the hands of the economically powerful, just as among the professional military

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class the tendency was toward the concentration of power in the hands of the more mighty princes.[13]

This concentration of power in the hands of the city plutocracy found its expression in the principle of an unanimity vote in the city assembly (*Veche*). Data on the early political and social organization of the Russian urban communities show that the unanimity in decisions was the rule. The old documents about these gatherings tell us that "what has been established by the oldest city, is maintained by its boroughs," that "all thought and spoke as one man," that "all were unanimous in the desire," and that the decision was reached "by all the oldest and all the youngest men of the assembly."[14]

But we also learn that this unopposed group consensus was achieved by means of threat and terror against all those who might show an inclination to disagree or who disagreed after the assembly had been held and after a resolution had been passed. The dissenters were often beaten with rods, despoiled of their property, or murdered. Sometimes they might escape such fate if ready to pay a fine that varied according to the rank of the dissenter. In this manner a minority, backed by physical force was able to enforce its will on the rest under the guise of "unanimity."[15]

Pressure for the unanimous consent on the part of the people was applied also in the village assemblies, and later in the land commune (*mir*). In some other customs of the Great-Russian peasantry, even in our own times, the unanimous consent was considered necessary. In marriage ceremonies, for instance, custom demanded that the bride when leaving her parental home obtain blessing from all her neighbors. There was, however, a threat against neighbors who refused their blessing. Curses were invoked against them: "Those who do not bless her, may they never marry their sons and daughters" (*Kto ne blagoslovit tomu vek sinov ne zhenit a docheri za muzh ne vdavat*).[16]

The principle of unanimity was apparently the procedure in the local assemblies of the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators of the Dnieper river basin. Such an unanimity was also practiced until our times in the Zadruga society of Croatia.[17] But in those pacific and anarchic societies the principle of unanimity was real, not

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623 626 [661] a fiction. Lacking means of physical enforcement because of the lack of a centralized political system, common action could take place only among those who voluntarily agreed. But when small bands of mounted warriors imposed their rule over the multitudes of non-warlike peasantry, the power-oriented conquerors made use of the Old-Slavonic system of unanimity for purposes of regimentation and governmentalization from above. That is, they imposed a dictated consensus by means of force else the opposition of the peasant majority would soon have deprived the ruling minority of its power.

634 [152] In this manner a number of band chieftains of nomadic origin ruled groupings of small peasant communities, in the form of manorial principalities. Each one of these local potentates, even though Slavicized in speech or born in mixed families, still exhibited extreme self-seeking characteristics and cherished personal power and aggrandizement above everything else, a tenet that had characterized his nomadic predecessors. Each, therefore, following steppe traditions, had a scheme of his own; each was interested primarily in accumulating riches for himself and his immediate family. In consequence, these local princes and their war bands constantly intrigued and fought among themselves. They also transferred their personal and factional strifes to the neighboring towns of burghers. In these squabbles and struggle for power and expansion, the feuding princes and fighting factions did not hesitate to call on the common enemies in their neighborhoods, such as the steppe marauders or the Viking pirates to come in and help them defeat their opponents.

[579] 628 It was in the course of such an internecine strife (*vsta rod na rod*) in Novgorod region in the middle of the ninth century that a band of Scandinavian merchant-pirates was called on to come and help one clique of native princes against the other.[18] These "Varangians" not only came in but stayed, founding later the Russian state in the Dnieper river basin, at that time the most [487] important merchant thoroughfare in that part of the world. [177] These Norse conquerors and state builders were soon assimilated by the natives. In the course of time a series of new principalities was formed and old factional bickerings and fratricidal warfare was renewed.[19]

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These feuds did not affect only the relations between local lords; intense strifes and vendettas were flourishing within the family of each one of the princes. Struggle for power and expansion often caused fratricidal warfare among the brothers after the death of their father. The old chronicles and other historical documents are full of examples of such family feuds. Murder, torture and blinding among the brothers and even between fathers and sons apparently were frequent.[20] The life of each one of these local potentates was spent in perpetual warfare, in feuding, and in plundering adventures.[21]

Power-thirstiness, factionalism, and rule of crude force prevailed among these petty rulers in no lesser way than among their nomadic predecessors and overlords. The internal system of rule on the domains of each prince was not more advanced. As the Russian written laws of that period testify, the killing of prince's representatives on the part of the peasants must have been frequent. City populace often rose in riots and revolutionary outbursts against the oppressive conditions imposed by these lords.[22] It was such conditions of physical, social and emotional insecurity that favored perpetuation of the institutions, practices, and other behavior traits which were introduced by the nomadic invaders and conquerors.

III

The changes that in the course of several centuries were taking place in social and psychological structure of the Old-Slavonic world as a result of the imposition of the rule of the nomadic warriors seem to have been well reflected in the Great-Russian folklore, especially in its epic legends. The military, the peasants, the burghers, their conflicts and their character traits are personified in these narratives by a number of popular heroes.[23]

The general picture which these folk documents present shows that the social stability which existed in the Old-Slavonic society was completely shattered as a result of nomadic invasions and conquests. The invading warriors not only caused great havoc but they provoked rapid and fundamental changes in the structure of the old society. Moreover the social disorganization and the political and economic instability that resulted out of these

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events were apparently manifested in a widespread sense of emotional and physical insecurity which fostered destructive aggression and mass violence. In such circumstances extreme self-seeking and dominance-submission relationships tended to substitute the Old-Slavonic egalitarian and anarchic system.

565 538

The plight of the Slavonic peasant strata has been symbolized in these products of folk imagination in the person of Mikula Selyaninovich ("the Villager's son") and in that of Ilya of Murom, who is often referred to as "the peasant's son," and as "the old Cossak." Mikula is pictured as a superb plowman and field laborer. He has a keen knowledge of husbandry and possesses the best mares and the best farming equipment.[24] He is endowed with such tremendous strength and is entrusted with such heavy responsibility that he carries "the weight of the whole world" in a little shoulder bag. This villager, however, comes into conflict with the city people over the custom duties and over the haughty manner of the urbanites. The tolls imposed by the city are too high. Moreover, the burghers treat Mikula in a despicable and undignified way. So he is enraged and loses his self-control:

[369]

> I was in the city no longer ago than the day before yesterday,
> On my light bay mare,
> I carried thence two whole bags of salt,
> Two bags of salt of forty pud each.
> The folk there are no better than robbers.
> They demand two kopecks toll;
> But I had a leaded whip for toll
> I paid their two kopecks toll.
> Whoever was upright I left seated
> And whoever was seated I left prostrate,
> And whoever lay prostrate would never rise again.[25]

As a result of such conflicts, Mikula finally came to the conclusion that tilling was not profitable any more. He found that there were other and better ways which would guarantee to one safety, economic gain, and self-respect. So he gave up husbandry and joined Volga Buslavlevich, the bandit-warrior. In his new role in which he uses great physical power not as a productive force, but as a means of coercion, he makes a strong imprint on

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the mind of the burghers. As a result, the city folk changed their attitude and instead of haughty bearing they now "bow low" to Mikula.

Ilya of Murom, the other hero of peasant origin, is portrayed as "being crippled" for many years. Then suddenly he acquires gigantic strength from two sources: from psalm singers and from Svyatogor, a hero of supernatural origin and superhuman powers. By means of this acquired strength and by employing cunning, Ilya gets rid of Svyatogor and, like Mikula, joins the bandit-warriors. However, the professional warriors do not accept Ilya on equal terms because of his low origin. But by constant demonstration of superior physical strength employed as a means of intimidation Ilya is finally accepted by the ruling military aristocracy. After a terrifying demonstration of physical strength which shook the whole town to its foundation Prince Vladimir became so panicky that he hurried a messenger to humbly invite Ilya to a prince's feast:

> Knock upon the door five times
> Then cross yourself in the prescribed manner
> Make your bow as it is enjoined,
> Offer humble salutations, and beat with your forehead
> Upon the floor of bricks,
> Upon damp mother earth herself,
> Before the old Cossack, Ilya of Murom.[26]

It seems clear that in these two heroes of peasant origin we find reflected the vicissitudes to which the Old-Slavonic society has been exposed after it has been subjugated to warriors and traders. The moral and productive values of the peasants, symbolized by Mikula's strength, his skill in productiveness, his social responsibility and feelings of dignity and equality, were rapidly declining in the changing conditions. The peasants became an easy prey of the new ruling classes. The result was moral corruption on the part of the soil cultivators, disinterest in land, and an urge to revolt. The peasantry became "crippled." First they expected help from supernatural forces. Then finally they began to rely on guile and on terror to protect themselves. They realized that in the new political atmosphere it was superior physical force which was admired and respected. Many peasants

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therefore were leaving the land to move to the cities or to join the bandits as traders and warriors.

These bandit-warriors are pictured in the Russian folk epic as ruling by such terrifying violence and dreadful terror and craft that all the living beings on the earth flee and hide, or lie prostrate, and even the earth itself shrinks and the sun sinks away at their appearance:

> The red sun was sinking
> Behind the dark woods, behind the broad sea,
> Multitudes of stars studded the clear sky
> When Lord Volga Buslavlevich was born
> In holy Russia.
> When Volga Buslavlevich was five years of age,[27]
> Lord Volga Buslavlevich went forth over the damp earth
> Damp mother earth was rent,
> The wild beasts fled away up to the clouds;
> And the fish scattered in the blue sea:
> And Lord Volga Buslavlevich went
> To learn all craft and wisdom,
> All the various languages;[28]
>
> Volga grew in strength and stature.
> He chose for himself a bold druzhina,
> Of thirty youths save one,
> He, Volga making the thirtieth.
> His dear 'uncle' bestowed upon him,
> Gracious Vladimir of Royal Kiev,
> Three cities with their peasants.[29]

The hero knights of these legendary *Byliny* (the events of the olden days) when they find themselves in circumstances which appear to be under their control, are likely to be boastful, quarrelsome, disrespectful, sensitive to rank and inclined to belittle the strength of their adversaries. In such circumstances they spend their time either in plundering, fighting, maiming and killing, or in feasting, debauchery, and drunkenness.[30]

The extreme power-compulsion and delusions of grandeur of these supermen, as well as their complete lack of self-control, are well symbolized in folk narratives about Svyatogor. This hero has an irresistible urge to bring the heaven and the earth to-

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gether and to subdue the whole of the universe to his personal control. But he is at the same time utterly incapable of controlling his own gigantic strength. Hence he provokes the whole earth against himself ("Mother Earth could not bear his weight"):

> He saddled his heroic steed
> And rode forth on his way.
> His young heart was throbbing,
> His strength vibrated in his sinews,
> His energy was like to overflow,
> And he was heavily burdened with his strength,
> Heavily burdened as with a grievous load;
> He could not control his heroic strength.
> And he threw away his steel club
> Which vanished out of sight about the clouds,
> And caught it again in his white hand;
> "If I should take to walking on the earth
> I would fasten a ring to heaven,
> I would bind an iron chain to the ring,
> I would drag the sky down to mother earth
> I would turn the earth on its end,
> And I would confound earth with heaven."[31]

There is no deed that these warriors and bandits would hesitate to commit in order to increase their personal power. The Great-Russian folk narratives agree with the early Russian chronicles and with later Russian historical documents that these men were ready to murder even their own closest kin in order to achieve their personal aims. In a folk epic this extreme bloodthirstiness and quest for power is symbolized by young Shchelkun, a hero of Tartar origin who murders his own son, and then, like the Scythians of old, drinks his blood. By this act of extreme cruelty he seeks his own self-aggrandizement:

> Stab your son
> Your beloved son,
> Fill a bowl of his blood,
> Drink up this blood,
> This warm blood,
> And then I will grant you

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Tver the ancient,
Tver the wealthy,
And the two brothers,
The two bold Borisovichi.
At once young Schelkun
Stabbed his son,
Filled a bowl of his blood,
His warm blood,
And drank up the bowl of that warm blood:
And straightway Tsar Azvych
Bestowed upon him
Tver the ancient,
Tver the wealthy,
And the two brothers,
The two bold Borisovichi.[32]

However, as soon as such "Good bold youths who have robbed and slain" find themselves in circumstances which appear to be unsurmountable, they are inclined to become cowardly, are overwhelmed with gloom and fear, and tend to rely on crouching servility and on guile and cunning as a means of self-preservation. When in such a mood they picture their enemies as superhuman, beastly beings possessing supernatural strength, thus justifying the lack of fair play in dealing with them.

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It is possible that this radical change of social structure was projected into the new folk concept of the supernatural world. The Old-Slavonic fairyland inhabited predominantly by benevolent spirits was apparently transformed under the new conditions into a demonland full of beings with terrifying and macabre qualities. Blood-sucking vampires, heart-devouring witches, fiends that feast on human flesh, and other murderous and rapacious beings similar to those found in the underworld of the steppe nomads replaced the Old-Slavonic helpful deities and moderately malignant spirits.

In the same manner the Old-Slavonic benevolent wizards apparently evolved into rapacious and slaughterous witches who specialize in child eating. The Old-Slavonic beautiful and benevolent water spirits developed into monsters who bewitch people, especially the youths, and then draw them down into the deep waters to put them to death. The Old-Slavonic friendly and

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attractive forest fairies who used to help travelers changed into beastly demons who trick wayfarers into making them lose their way and then cause them to perish.

The imposition of the rule of nomadic warriors over the soil cultivators brought about not only insecurity of life and property, but disintegration of the old ways of life and of the old morals. Social disintegration favored detachment from the group, caused decline in group identification and solidarity, tended to increase self-concern, fostered destructive aggressiveness and anti-social behavior. Hence, drunkenness, debauchery, orgiastic practices, together with robbing and killing, became prominent. According to Fedotov, the old Christian sermons are so full of invectives against such behavior that some studies of Russia's religious life consider that these themes formed the main content of anti-pagan literature of those days.[33]

Perhaps as a result of such social disorganization the Old-Slavonic Goddess of Love (Lada) was relegated into the background and obscurity. Instead, male gods of bacchanalian passion and Dionysiac orgy (Iarilo, Pereplut) became outstanding in folk imagination.[34] A phallic rite was observed at wedding banquets and sexual promiscuity during the feast gathering of young people became prominent, according to the old sermons.[35]

It was under these conditions of social disorganization and insecurity, and ascendency of power-oriented patriarchal system over the old stateless, semi-matriarchal and equalitarian order that the attitudes toward women changed radically. Mounting hostilities generated by conditions of strife and insecurity can be vented not only through inordinate sex life, alcoholism and delinquency, but also by aggressive behavior against all the unprotected and the weak. And just as sex life tended to take the form of lechery, and love that of uncontrolled passion, the attitudes toward the women changed from respect and reserve to that of scorn and contempt. They came to be looked upon as impure and unclean physically and morally.[36]

It is possible that the new unsatisfactory social conditions might have also affected the concept of the Christian God and attitude toward death. Not only did popular imagination in conditions of disorganization and insecurity tend to see in this

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God a wrathful, irate and revengeful Old Man, but the Church leaders themselves, affected by the conditions of their society, were inclined to emphasize the fear aspect of the Christian God rather than his love and compassion. They also tended to preoccupy themselves with death, describing it as a terror-striking event. In some early Church sermons even the messengers of God, the angels, were represented in a terrifying manner:

> Then, two angels appear, sent by God for the soul. As soon as the soul has seen them, it will be horrified; all its image and beauty and face will change; feet and hands will be torpid, and the hearing as with the tongue will be chained by silence; and man will be all sorrowful and invalid and woeful; and afterwards, appears death. And then, with a terrible pain the soul will issue from the body . . .[37]

These feelings of anxieties and fears, combined perhaps with a strong sense of guilt of the Church leaders, are manifested in the life histories of most Russian saints. These people, as portrayed in their hagiographies, were being constantly threatened by temptations and intimidations of dreadful demons. Hallucinations about demons became very frequent among the monks, and struggle against demons became one of the main aspects of ascetic life. Whole herds of these fiends were sometimes seen by the ascetics. The demons would disguise themselves as humans, as angels, and even as Christ, or they would appear in their true beastly form.[38]

Consistent with this gloomy and terrifying view of life and death was also an apocalyptic picture of the end of the world as pictured by Church leaders. According to the old Russian sermons the end of the world was very near and it was to ensue in fire and floods of blood brought about by a wrathful and revengeful God, (a picture that strongly reminds one of the vision of the end of the world found in the beliefs of the steppe nomads of Central Asia):

> Then undying fire will flow from the East to the West, devouring mountains, stones, trees, and the sea. The firmament will be dried up and turned like brick bats, and all existing things, except men, will melt in a like way by the rate of the fire. All the earth will be burned; and through this undying fire all mankind has to pass.

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There will be no place to run and hide oneself; it will be woe and pain without comfort, particularly for the repenting sinners. They will see the anger of God, full of rage and wrath, bearing the woe of revenge.[20]

Also the folk religious poetry began to emphasize the gloomy aspects of *post-mortem* life, especially that of the *Strashny Sud*— The Terrible Judgment. It was perhaps in such conditions that Destiny, together with the Truth, became dissociated from the idea of a supreme Justice that reigned everywhere and came to be looked upon as being subject to the caprice of arbitrary and uncontrollable forces that now dominated the Universe.

Such circumstances[1] might have meant quick disintegration of this society, not unlike the rapid dissolution of the Turco-Mongol empires, had it not been for agents that favored the stabilization and the perpetuation of this social system in spite of its internal weaknesses. One of the most important instruments in this process of social consolidation was the Byzantine Church.

5
THE BYZANTINE CHURCH AND MUSCOVITE MILITARY THEOCRACY

I

FOLLOWING the traditions established by the Roman Caesars, the Emperor of Byzantium (Basileus) was looked upon as the supreme war-lord, the sole legislator, and the chief justice, as well as the universal ruler. Therefore, the Church, which was subjected to the absolute and autocratic will of the Emperor, developed a religious ideology in accordance with the dominant political philosophy and practices of the Empire.

The Emperor assumed the duty of defending the Church, combating heresy, and spreading Orthodox faith throughout all the globe. In return, God had promised him universal dominion

1 [cf. ref. 116, pp. 52-55--Analyst]

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795 771 779 643 over the whole earth.[1] Through the support of the Church the absolute power of the Emperor became sacred, all-comprising and omnipresent. In the proclamation which announced his reign after he has been solemnly anointed by the Patriarch it was stated that he "proceeded from God, and not from man," and that to him, the "supreme master of the universe, absolute obedience was due from all."[2]

795 797 177 It was this Messianic ideology of politico-religious proselytism and world salvation which had united the Church and the state that helped Byzantium to solidify its rule and to spread its influence and control over the neighboring countries. In conquered, dependent and friendly territories numerous bishoprics of Eastern rite were established whose function was to obtain the moral support of the people for the Byzantine ruler. The conquered people were allowed a certain degree of autonomy in their internal affairs and one of their privileges was the right of the use of their native language in church rituals.

This politico-religious expansionism, however, had its weaknesses. The only tie that linked the subjected and the dependent peoples with the central power was the Church. Thus, as soon as the central power and the authority of the Byzantine Emperor weakened as a result of internal feuds, palace revolutions, civil wars, and invasions, some petty local potentates saw a chance to emancipate themselves from Constantinople and proclaim themselves as sovereign rulers. Such a local lord following Byzantine traditions would appoint from his own kinsmen bishops and Patriarchs whose function was to anoint the new king, to bestow upon him God-like qualities, and to sanctify his despotic rule among the subjects.

795 797 648 793 It is this pattern of Church and state relations that also developed between Byzantium and Russia by the end of the tenth century, when as a result of a political alliance with Byzantium Prince Vladimir of Kiev was converted to Christianity.[3] A Greek Metropolitan and a number of Greek Orthodox bishops were subsequently sent to Russia. Having an eye on the control of all other Russian principalities, the Byzantine Church bestowed upon the Metropolitan of Kiev the authority over all Russian

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territories. He was adorned with the title of the "Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias,"[4] a symbolic beginning of Russian religious and political unity.

When the Tartars in the beginning of the thirteenth century imposed their overlordship over all Russian lands, lacking an efficient administration and interested not so much in governing as in tributes, they restored to the native princes their old titles and gave them the right to collect tributes for them. In this manner in the beginning of the fourteenth century Ivan Kalita of Moscow succeeded in obtaining a *yarlyk* (charter of privileges) in which the Tartar Kahn recognized Ivan as the *Veliky Knyaz* (Grand Prince). A few years later Ivan also became the chief collector of tributes for the Kahn in Russian lands.

In his function as chief farmer of internal revenues Ivan practiced extortion from his Russian subjects and acquired a great personal wealth. His riches enabled him to purchase entire domains and apanages, and to buy the protection and backing of the Kahn. Seeing the ascendency of Ivan, and following Byzantine traditions of Church and state unity, the Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias moved his residence to Moscow and built a cathedral there, ready to support Moscow princes in their political ambitions.

The expansion of Moscow's power over other Russian lands was favored also by external circumstances and pressures. By the second part of the fourteenth century the central authority of the Tartar Empire, the Golden Horde, had weakened and as was customary in Turco-Mongol society, civil wars ensued among the contenders for the throne. This situation presented an opportunity for power wise princes of Moscow to change their policy of cringing and prostration before the Tartars into that of rebellion and bargain. From now on at times they fought the Tartars, at other times they were again kneeling before them; but they now knew how to take advantage of Tartar weaknesses and how to gain new possessions with Tartar assistance. In this policy of expansion at the expense of other Russian principalities the Muscovites had the support not only of the Khans but that of the Eastern Orthodox clergy as well. Their

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175 allies were also the local boyars who were traditionally always ready, at the critical moment, to abandon their own local princes and rush to join the ascending power.

[795] In the middle of the fifteenth century, the representatives of the Church of Byzantium, in the hope of obtaining the Pope's help against the Turks, agreed to a union with Rome. However, in Moscow, whose power was ascending in the face of the disintegrating Mongol Empire and where the Turks were not considered a threat, no need was felt for any Latin help. Thus the Metropolitan of Moscow who gave his approval for the union with Rome was deposed and the Russian Church was declared autocephalous and independent of the Greek Patriarch. This break with the Byzantine Church was of far-reaching conse-

[659] quences. It placed the Russian Church into a completely dependent position on the Grand Prince of Moscow. From now on, the objectives of the Russian state and those of the Russian Church became inseparable.

175 Another international event, the fall of Constantinople (1453),
795 removed the last ideological barrier to the growth of the Muscovite Principality into a world empire. Since the seat of the Greek Patriarch had fallen into the hands of the infidels, Moscow became the strongest and the leading Eastern-Orthodox state thus inheriting the Messianic ideology of world salvation and of a Universal Orthodox Empire.

In accordance with such traditions the Russian clergy began to consider Moscow as the only true successor of the first and of the second Rome, as the only depositor of the True Faith, and as the center of a Messianic politico-religious Orthodoxy. By the beginning of the sixteenth century this ideology of the "Third Rome" was fully developed. The Grand Prince of Moscow had already adopted the title of Czar (Caesar). At that time a monk of one of the old monastaries of Pskov stated this idea in a letter to Czar Vasili III, in the following manner:

[186] Two Romes have now fallen, and the third one, our Moscow, yet standeth, and a fourth shall there never be. In thy puissant Empire the council of our church doth shine throughout all the world with the light of holiness which is greater even than the light of the sun. In all the world thou alone art the Christian Tzar.[8]

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II

Following Byzantine traditions and being entirely dependent upon and identified with the dominant political power, the Russian Orthodox clergy supported the autocratic reign of Muscovite rulers by means of an apotheosis of the Czar. According to this theocratic ideology the role of the Church was to be the loyal ally and helper of the Czar who derived his authority directly from God. The Czar's judgment could be overruled by no prelate. In his effort, common with that of the Church to establish a divine order on the whole earth, the Czar had to be unconditionally supported.[6]

Native Russian, Byzantine and Turco-Mongol institutions and concepts were blended in this system of Russian imperial theocracy. According to the Mongol idea of imperial power the emperor was the owner of the body and of the property of each one of his subjects. He was, however, disinterested in their souls and conscience. Thus, as far as religious beliefs were concerned, the Mongol rulers showed a great deal of tolerance; being interested mainly in collecting the tributes and not in governing they did not look at religion and clergy as allies in ruling. The shamans among the Ural-Altaic peoples were not organized as a priestly class and the Mongol emperor, even after he had accepted Islam, did not see any potential threat to his imperial power in any religion. In that system of power there was a complete separation of religion and politics.

In Byzantium, on the other hand, the Church was a powerful and well-organized force with imperial ambitions. But the Church was subdued to the imperial and personal interests of the lay ruler. The Church often succeeded, however, in using the imperial power for its own ends. At the same time the Byzantine Emperor in legal theory did not rule in his own right, but derived his authority from the people. In legal theory, he was an elected monarch and was subjected to the supreme rule of law, even if the law emanated from him. There was thus in Byzantium a well established set of laws which bound equally the Emperor and his subjects and guaranteed also certain rights to the subjects.

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The ideology of Moscow imperial theocracy was rooted in the power-centered traditions of Russian princes, reinforced by a fusion of Mongol and Byzantine political ideas and practices. As among the Mongols, the Czar was considered to be the supreme owner of the body and of the property of his subjects, but as among the Byzantines he was also concerned with their souls. At the same time, according to the Muscovite political philosophy, the Czar as owner of his subjects derived his authority not from the people, as in Byzantium, but directly and exclusively from God.[7] Therefore, the Czar alone possessed rights, his subjects only duties.

In the Muscovite system of theocratical power not only was the Czar's freedom unlimited by any laws, but his personal will was not limited by any recognized human rights either. The Czar was considered to be limited only by his duty to God and by Divine law. The Czar, however, was himself the sole judge of his duty to God. He himself was the sole interpreter of Divine Law in regard to temporal affairs. Even the head of the Church could only supplicate but not advise him in these matters. The Czar was therefore at liberty to use the law capriciously as an instrument of his personal power, or to break the law at his convenience. And so he often did.[8]

Supported by the imperial ambitions of the Church, Muscovite rulers had two main objectives. One was the solidification of the unlimited personal power of the Czar to which all institutions of law and order were subjected; the other consisted of territorial expansion at the expense of the neighboring countries. The hereditary magnates—the local princes and the boyars—were obstacles in the path of both of these objectives. This landed aristocracy, following the traditions of early Russian princes, insisted on their personal and manorial privileges and resented any interference of the Muscovite Czar. They were therefore in favor of limitation of the Czar's power.

At the same time, however, these magnates were members of an advisory council to the Czar (*Boyarskaya Duma*); in this council some of them were closer to the Czar and formed an inner circle which exerted more power and influence on the affairs of the state. The boyars were therefore not unified and did not

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form an organized opposition; instead they fought among themselves over priority in rank and position (*mestnichestvo*), over estates and crownlands, and over the favors of the Czar.

The lack of unity and struggle for power existed also among the lesser nobility, most of whom obtained their rank not by right of inheritance but by the favor of the Czar or as a reward for their military services. Some of these service nobility were rich in vast possessions, others did not differ much from common peasants in the amount of land they possessed, in standard of living, and in formal education.

Internal squabbles among the landed magnates and the service nobility were weakening the strength of the Czardom in relation to its adversaries. This situation offered a strong argument in favor of the Czar's despotism and at the same time eased the crushing of the opposition in the interest of unlimited power. "If subjects submit not themselves unto their ruler, never shall strife cease in the land," said Ivan the Terrible.[9]

The best way to break the power of the landed aristocracy was by making them economically dependent upon the Czar. This objective was achieved in two ways. One was forceful expropriation, resettlement, imprisonment and assassination of recalcitrant boyars. The other consisted of the increased emphasis on *pomestie* system of conditional land tenure as against *votchina*, or hereditary land property.

According to the pomestie system, which followed Mongol traditions, the crown lands, together with the peasants settled on them, were donated to the holder of an office or of a military rank under the condition of obligatory and loyal service to the Czar, and only as long as the loyal service on the part of the land recipient lasted. The *pomeshchik* was obliged to provide a contingent of soldiers according to the size of his donation. This obligation devolved from father to son. The older sons would obtain from the Czar new pomesties and the youngest son would, as a rule, inherit the pomestie of his father.[10] In the Byzantine Empire, too, the land was given in reward for service, but there the land became hereditary property that could be disposed of at will by the holder. In Russia the system of conditional land ownership meant, like in the Mongol political system, complete

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565 423 701 dependency of the land recipients upon the Czar, because the Czar could at any time withdraw the grant.

642 565 423 By means of the pomestie system of land tenure which prevailed in the second part of the sixteenth century the Muscovite rulers obtained both of their objectives: unlimited power and permanent war preparedness. Once the owners of the estates became dependent upon the Czar for the possession of their lands, any opposition on their part could be crushed easily, especially if the caste solidarity and the development of an *esprit de corps* among these people could be prevented. By the end of the seventeenth century the hereditary land tenure and the conditional land tenure were equalized. As a result all nobility became service nobility (*dvorianstro*), dependent upon the Czar for their lands. All therefore became *holopy*, the slaves of the supreme *gosudar* (master). Neither type of land holder could alienate his land either by sale, exchange, or any other process. The principle was that "He who owned land should serve the Czar."

178 642 565 Thus, by the end of the seventeenth century, by making the nobility economically dependent and having the support of the Church, the Muscovite Czars were enabled to eliminate all potential opposition to their rule and to perpetuate their despotic power. After the nobility was subdued and regimented, the other classes, including the clergy, followed suit. By the end of the seventeenth century the slaves and free land tenants were equalized and bound to the land and burghers were bound to their [486] *posads*. It was prohibited for any person to move from one town or borough to another without special permit. There could be a penalty of death for such flight or desertion.

By this time, therefore, all persons were bound to their status. A rigid caste system was established for the purpose of securing for the Czar permanent and controllable bodies of people whose function was either to pay cess or to render military and state service. The whole state was regimented and militarized for the [641] purpose of the Czar's aggrandizement, defense of the realm and military campaigns; each person had one duty only—to serve the Czar and the country. The whole society was geared to increase the revenues and the military might of the Czardom.

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III

The atmosphere of despotism, servility, fear and awe which developed under this system of total regimentation and dependency left an imprint on the habits and the attitudes of the people and had some influence on the shaping of their values and of their views of life. In conditions of complete dependency and domineering-subservience relationships, self-concern, destructive aggressiveness, as well as fatalistic resignation, are likely to thrive, not personal and social responsibility, moral obligations or group solidarity.

This trend of events meant also increasing social restlessness and political instability which in turn favored the rise to leadership of ruthless power-seekers and psychopaths. Lack of limitation on the personal power of the Czar, dissensions among the nobility and want of responsibility and of emotional balance in the person of the Czar led often to extreme excesses in Czar's rule.[11] All the attempts of the boyars to transform the Boyarskaya Duma into a legislative body were unsuccessful. Since the end of the seventeenth century even the *Zemski Sabor*, the consultative body of representatives of all classes, ceased to be convoked.

Only when the throne became vacant and the omnipotent Czar was gone did this nobility sometimes attempt to squeeze out promises and pledges from the pretenders to the throne. But, even then the remnants of the old boyar class and the new service nobility clashed over the question of control. Hence as soon as the new monarch was installed he did not have any difficulty in establishing his unlimited control and in proceeding to rule arbitrarily in face of a divided dvorianstvo.

The Czar could do anything he pleased with the nobles, including personal chastisement. They were treated as minors by the Czar and trained in blind and unconditional obedience. In the Czar's presence they observed dead silence. Anything that came from his hand, even the most degrading treatment, was to be received with resignation or even regarded as a sign of distinction. At the same time, however, while the nobles were exposed to all kinds of threat, terror and indignities on the part

7 [i.e. Czardom by end of 17th century -- Analyst]

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of the Czar, they became increasingly rank-conscious, domineering and abusive toward all lower in rank or under their power.[12]

Such a ruling class, with its open misrule and arbitrariness, could not inspire the subjected classes with confidence and respect. The lack of social and political security was manifested in want of initiative, in disinterest in productive activities, in loose morals, in hazard games, in a low value of human life, and in a general lack of trust.[13]

On the other hand, perhaps as a reaction to these conditions of insecurity and of social disorganization, there was an urge of complete renunciation of the world and its strife, an urge to detach oneself from the group, a tendency to isolate oneself completely from human society and seek personal consolation and personal salvation in religion. This trend of social withdrawal and self-oriented feelings brought about a great development of hermitism and of monastic life. Many of these people, completely detached from human society and preoccupied exclusively with their own self, sought peace and communion with God in lonely, remote depths of forests, in the solitude of the wilds and deserts. Here "far removed from men" they spent their lives in prayer, fasting and self-maceration.

At the same time the masses of the people who lived in great misery and who were exposed to arbitrariness, exploitation, and other forms of oppression on the part of the mighty, sought consolation and hope in supernatural forces. Beliefs in miraculous powers of wonder-working icons and in life-giving properties of the Cross were taking deep roots. On all sides sprang up prophecies and apparitions. Saint men and prophets, often mentally unbalanced, would appear in the streets and openly voice their protest against the Czar and his government.[14]

These were the only signs of an open opposition to the existing system that was becoming increasingly unbearable. Such "idiots" were considered saintly by the people not only because of their strange behavior and their ability to endure extremes of hardship, but also for their unheard of courage to speak openly against the Czar:

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They used to go starke naked, save a clout about their middle, with their haire hanging long and wildely about their shoulders, and many of them with an iron coller in chaine about their neckes or middles, even in the very extremity of winter. . . . Among others at this time they have one at Mosco that walketh naked about the streets, and inveyeth commonly against the state and government. . . . Another there was, that dyed not many years agoe . . . that would take upon him to reproove the olde emperour, for all his cruelties and oppressions done towards his people. His body they have translated of late into a sumptuous church neere the emperours house in Mosco, and have canonized him for a saint. Many miracles he doth there. . .[18]

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Another form of protest or of reaction against the existing conditions consisted of mass vagrancy. Many thousands of these restless people were roaming the roads, the forests, and the deserts, as beggars, as pilgrims or as agricultural nomads. Many of them spent whole lives wandering, unable to find peace and rest.

IV

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Conditions in which abusive dominance-submission relationships, self-concern, lack of trust, and destructive aggression thrive do not favor unification and stability of an empire. Yet the Czardom showed a steady and remarkable development in spite of such unfavorable circumstances. In the course of several centuries it had grown from a small principality into a great world power. Just as in the states of steppe nomads, the social agents which were responsible for self-seeking, power-orientation and internal restlessness and explosiveness encouraged also external expansion. But unlike the empires of the steppes, there were in the Empire of the Czars several circumstances which fostered ideological and moral unity, such as the politico-religious philosophy of the Orthodox Church and conditioning on the family and community level. It was perhaps this combination of the explosive and unifying tendencies which was responsible for steady expansiveness and growing consolidation of the Czardom.

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From its very inception the Russian state was a military soci-

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From its very inception the Russian state was a military society. The military campaigns and territorial expansion were needed in this society to provide land to pay for the services of a class of military nobility whose chief occupation was state service and warfare, not land cultivation. War gave the Czar an opportunity to distribute land grants, to bestow ranks and offices and to win the support of the nobility. At the same time warfare offered an opportunity for the nobles to exert more personal power, to release their destructive urges, and to compensate for indignities and humiliations to which they were constantly exposed on the part of superiors in rank and office. Thus, by engaging these people in constant warfare the Czars directed their aggressive impulses against the enemy instead of against the ruler. The wars were not only a means of occupying a potentially restless and turbulent military class, but they were necessary to enhance the Czar's prestige, to solidify his rule, and to impress his subjects with the idea of his might and invincibility.

In such circumstances, prolonged and costly wars were to be avoided. The military nobility, whose loyalty to the Czar was conditioned upon his power and favors, could not be completely depended upon to remain loyal to the Czar under adverse conditions or in defeat. Therefore, in military campaigns the emphasis had to be put on numerical superiority over the enemy. Another way of fighting the enemies was to frighten them into retreat by sudden and unexpected attacks from ambush combined with wild sounds of the drums, trumpets and shouting, in Mongol fashion. Soldiers and officers were ready to flee if the enemy showed considerable resistance. Their preference was fighting from a distance, or from a place of advantage from where they could annoy the enemy, but hurt themselves least.[16] Hence their most common way of taking cities and fortresses was by a siege, in the course of which they would force the population to surrender by means of mass starvation, or by provoking internal dissensions and treachery.[17] Small, weak and unprotected adversaries would be threatened into submission by "psychological warfare" methods without even resorting to an open war.[18]

In earlier days, the means employed to keep conquered people in submission were the same as those practiced toward Russian

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subjects: coercion and dependency. One such method was to massacre a large part of the population, to loot the conquered territories, and to leave those that remained alive in abject misery. The plunder of the conquered peoples sometimes went to such extremes that they were exposed to prolonged famines and food had to be brought from Moscow to save the remaining populace from starving to death.

When a non-Russian territory had been brought to impotence by such means the Muscovite rulers would settle the Russian people among the natives, dividing the territory into a number of administrative units. The next step was to appoint persons who were strangers to those places to govern them. Following the Mongol pattern, these governors were changed often and never allowed to stay long enough to become friendly with the natives and to develop a genuine local power of their own. As a rule, in one and the same place two personages would be appointed, one of higher nobility to hold the office in name, and the other of lower nobility to control the former. Moreover, special overseers and watchdogs were periodically sent directly from Moscow to spy and check on both.[19]

This system of checking on persons who held high offices was practiced also in the army where large army units were headed by persons of the old high nobility, who were not trusted. To these nominal commanders, officers of lesser nobility would be appointed as deputy commanders. It was often these "political commissars" who had the real power.[20]

Just as in the tribes and states of the steppes the conquered people were kept in subjugation also by fomenting continual dissension between various classes and within each class of the population. The Czar at the same time relied on the numerical strength and loyalty of his personal guards and selected garrisons which were strategically distributed throughout the conquered country. The conquered people, brought thus by the conqueror to helplessness, fell to their knees and begged their overlords for mercy.

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6
WESTERN TECHNOLOGY AND RUSSIA'S BUREAUCRATIC AUTOCRACY

I

THE STRUCTURE of Muscovite power had some advantages in comparison with the Turco-Mongol system of rule. The steppe warriors had not developed an efficient system of administration. They depended upon their vassals for the collection of taxes. This practice gave an opportunity to the vassals to enrich themselves, which strengthened their feelings of independence and of revolt. In the same manner the principle of religious tolerance and the practice of granting Church autonomies helped to perpetuate religious, linguistic and cultural differences among the subjects, a situation that did not favor ideological unification and centralization of power. In Russia, on the other hand, a system of centralized administration which followed the Byzantine pattern took care of revenues and of military manpower. The enserfed agricultural population was a source of steady income. Furthermore, state dominated Church tended to Slavicize linguistically and to unify ideologically all subjects under the Czar.

However, this system of Muscovite military theocracy that was efficient in dealings with the Mongols, proved inadequate in Russia's relations with its adversaries in the West. Since the end of the middle ages Western countries went through a series of ideological and economic changes which had fundamentally affected the structure of the Western world. Humanism and Renaissance, Reformation and Counter-reformation, the industrial and political revolutions had brought about considerable intellectual and technological advance and radical structural changes. Compared to the West, Russia had many drawbacks in her economic system. Its power-centered and militarized social struc-

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ture was detrimental to the development of trade and industry. For centuries its economy remained founded on a system of primitive agriculture. Lack of large centers of trade and industry adversely affected rural economy. There was no stimulation for agricultural improvements and for freeing of the serfs. Instead, the emphasis was on the exploitation of serf labor as the most expedient means to satisfy the demands of the landlords and of the state. The landlords were mostly absent on military campaigns or other state duties and were generally disinterested in land improvements. At the same time the system of using the land as a pay for military or other state services, in a country whose war campaigns and military contingents were increasing, tended to diminish the size of the donations and increase the burdens imposed on the serfs.

The lack of urbanization, together with the low standard of education of the service nobility, kept also the intellectual development of Russia far behind that in the West. Intellectual activity was limited mainly to the court circles. The ideology and practices of the Russian Church favored intellectual stagnation. Russia accepted Christianity from Byzantium after the Greek Church had already given up classical traditions of Hellenism. By the time Byzantine Christianity entered Russia, Byzantine literature had assumed an almost exclusively ecclesiastical character, and education consisted almost entirely of religious teaching and the reading of the lives of the saints. Art, too, became exclusively religious and stereotyped. All thought was regimented according to religious dogmas and political objectives of the power-holders.

In Russia this type of intellectual rigidity and inactivity was emphasized because of the use of the Old-Slavonic language in the Church, which resulted in neglect of Greek language. And it was considered a sin to learn the "thrice accursed Latin tongue." Thus, the Russian clergymen became isolated from the West because they lacked the possession of the only instruments in which human knowledge was communicated in those days. Moreover, Russian Orthodoxy, like the Byzantine Orthodoxy, was based on monasticism. But unlike the manifold monastic practices of the Western Church, the monks in the Russian Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.

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Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.[1]

However, from the seventeenth century on, Russia's expansion, which was earlier oriented mainly toward the East, turned westward. The wars with the West which heretofore were mainly defensive, tended to acquire an increasingly offensive character. But the wars with the advanced Western countries were more difficult and much more costly than those with the economically and technologically backward Asiatics. The defeats which Russia suffered at the hands of the Swedes and Poles made it imperative for the Czars to increase the military effectiveness of their country to meet the challenge. This need dictated changes in the internal structure of the Czardom, in the direction of administrative and industrial advance along European patterns. Even before Peter the Great, measures had been taken in this direction. But it was Peter who dramatized the issue by himself going abroad as an apprentice in Western industries to become "the first carpenter of the Empire."

In accordance with such need the old system of administration based on service nobility was replaced by a system of salaried officials (*chinovnichestvo*). According to this *chin* (civil rank) system which was introduced by Peter the Great and which followed the Western pattern it was no longer necessary to belong to the dvorianstvo class in order to obtain state service. On the contrary, any one who served faithfully and efficiently could rise in chin and rank and thus obtain the status of a hereditary or of a personal *dvoryanin*, without even owning land. In this way a new salaried military and bureaucratic caste, entirely dependent upon the Czar, was growing at the expense of the landed dvorianstvo. As a result, the dvoryanin-guardsman, the chief state functionary of the eighteenth century, was replaced by the *chinovnik*-commoner in the nineteenth century. Chinovnichestvo absorbed and replaced dvorianstvo—just as earlier the dvorianstvo had absorbed and replaced boyarstvo. Now bureaucracy instead of military nobility became the main instrument of governing.[2]

This change in the structure of the Czardom, however, was accomplished from above, that is, by means of imperial decrees,

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not by means of a popular revolution as in the West. Accordingly the new bureaucratic rule was based on the *Ukaz*[3] and the knut as much as the old order. For the same reason, though the state was formally secularized, the traditions of an autocracy, divinely ordained and supported by God, were carried on by every official as the representative of the Czar.[4]

Therefore the new system of autocracy based on bureaucracy, the same as the old one based on service nobility, could not recognize any political or personal rights of the subjects. Nor could there have developed any *esprit de corps* among the new governing class. This new class of officials owned little or no land and had to live on meager salaries, but was eager to follow the traditions and the high standards established by the old landed nobility. The chinovnichestvo therefore became even more dependent upon the Czar than the dvorianstvo was earlier. There was even less *esprit de corps* and less solidarity in the new governing class than in the old. Each official was constantly in fear of jeopardizing his own social position if he stood up in defense of any of his colleagues. Besides, in this hierarchical system of power the ruin or falling into disfavor of one official often meant the ascendancy of the other. There was, therefore, a tendency to take advantage of such a situation, to resort to intrigues and calumnies, and to help to destroy rather than to rehabilitate a victim.

All the powers, the lawmaking, the application of law, and the justice were placed into the hands of these bureaucrats. At the same time the system of checks and controls was very deficient. Laws were enacted by special temporary commissions of high officials, and created *ad hoc*. The Council of State, a supreme policy-making body, composed of about seventy to eighty highest dignitaries, was appointed by the Czar to serve him only in advisory capacities. The final decision rested in the hands of the Czar, or with the camarilla clique which happened at the moment to be most influential. The Empire was administratively divided into provinces (*gubernia*) which were usually headed by army generals. The gubernias were divided into districts which were headed by chiefs of police. The governors, supported by the police, ruled autocratically in their domains. They were

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631 625 responsible only to the Czar; and the police, not being responsible to the public, but only to their immediate superiors, tended to be arbitrary.

647 What mattered in Russia's bureaucratic system was obedience to one's superiors. That was the primary criterion of judgment of the fitness of a civil servant, not his ability or personal integrity. Seldom was an employee dismissed because of corruption and injustice. A functionary could not be prosecuted for acts committed in the exercise of his functions except with the consent, or, on the initiative of his superiors. And the higher placed the offender, the less real was his responsibility. At the same time a subordinate employee, a soldier, or an inferior officer had no redress if wronged by his superior. A subordinate did have the right by law to lodge a complaint against mistreatment on the part of his chief, but according to the rules of Russian hierarchical discipline, no public servant, civil or military, could present a petition or complaint except through his own superior officer.[5] Few ever dared to do so.

647 871 This bureaucratic irresponsibility and impunity assumes an especial significance if one has in mind the low status of education and training of Russian officials. By the end of the nineteenth century in the provinces, according to an official investigation, out of a hundred employees, only one or two were found to have attended a university, five or six to have graduated from secondary schools, ten or twelve from primary schools. Eighty out of a hundred had had no formal schooling whatever and had passed no examination.[6] Many former soldiers and war veterans with little or no formal schooling crowded civil administration. At times the higher the education the less chances one had to enter state service.[7]

II

647 557 In such a system excess in zeal was often rewarded. On the other hand, initiative and originality, if not successful, were fraught with great personal risks. Therefore, shirking from work and responsibility, and struggling for office and rank became the rule. It was only by achieving higher position and by winning

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the favors of one's superiors that one hoped to exercise more power and to achieve a higher degree of security.

Such a situation often demanded self-abasing and cringing humility toward superiors in the hierarchy as an adjustment to a situation of permanent insecurity and threat. ". . . those employed believe that they can never do enough to show their zeal."[8] "Without being base, it is impossible to get on," the officials themselves would say.[9] At the same time, perhaps as a compensation for degradation and loss of self-respect, there developed the propensity of the officials to show haughtiness and arrogance to those below them in rank and status. "A man, as soon as he rises a grade above the common level, acquires the right . . . to maltreat his inferiors to whom it is his duty to transmit the blows that he receives from those above him."[10]

In such conditions preoccupation with one's self rather than interest in group ideals and objectives thrived. There was therefore a tendency for selfish and petty concerns, greediness, venality, and corruption. Careerism prevailed over loyalty. Fortunes were made by many in public service as a security for the uncertain future.[11] The public opinion itself supported such behavior because it was expected that people who acquire office or any other positions of trust would take personal advantage of the situation. In some departments because of the inadequacy of the salaries and in order to meet the expected high standards of living the officials were considered to have tacit permission to have recourse to illicit perquisites. Administration, justice, police, the army and the navy, and even the clergy, all had their acknowledged perquisites, which often included bribes.[12]

In such conditions in which extreme self-concern thrived, the Czar himself did not feel safe and secure. This sense of insecurity on the very peak of power was reflected, for instance, in the tendency of the Czars not to tolerate any outstanding personalities in their midst.[13] The same feeling was reflected in the idea that any concession on the part of the Czar would be considered as a sign of weakness. The result was that the Czar was often surrounded by sycophants and careerists and had no close friends whom he could trust and on whom he could rely for support at all times. In such circumstances the Czar might feel isolated,

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643 imagine himself threatened by "enemies," and live in fear.[14] As
157 a defense against such feelings the Czar might be inclined to follow the advice of those of his officials who favored concentration of power and who advised against giving up any of his prerogatives or against any yielding to the demands of the opposition. "Constitution" to such a Czar and his camarilla was as dangerous as "revolution."

But such policies, which are rooted in a sense of extreme insecurity themselves tend to strengthen such feelings. Mistrust of people, fear of the "enemies," suppression of all opposition and tendency to concentrate increasingly the power in one's hands, to dominate and to demand absolute submissiveness is therefore perpetuated. Hence, power-relations in Russia of the eighteenth and nineteenth century tended to follow the pattern of rule established earlier in Muscovite Czardom:

661 The emperor Nicholas I ruled his country like a gamekeeper. Under
643 his administration of the empire, based as it was upon a system
566 of flogging, imprisonment, and exile to Siberia, the great could indulge their caprices with impunity . . . But . . . in reality . . . the masters were also slaves. Every man, whoever he might be, was dependent on someone more powerful than himself who could with impunity make him wretched, and over him again there was someone still mightier. The lord, it is true, lived in comfort, and the serfs in squalor, but that was all. They were all slaves, one as much as the other . . . I have seen both oppressors and oppressed at close quarters, and I can aver that the inhuman regime of bondage corrupted and depraved one as much as the other.[15]

625 Just as in the political organization of steppe nomads and in the Muscovite Czardom such relations of insecurity, mistrust, self-seeking, abusive domineering and blind subordination demanded an efficient system of watchfulness, vigilance, checking and counterchecking. A special attention therefore had to be paid to the institution of secret political police. Since the days of Czar Nicholas I, the secret political police, known as the Third Section, was placed above all ministries, and was directly subject to the Emperor himself, just as in the days of Ivan the Terrible. Like the Oprichniki of Ivan the Terrible the Third Section was the main agency of vigilance, the chief watchdog of the state. It

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was invested with the most extensive powers and was given as its special mission the task of looking after the safety of the state and overseeing the doings of all departments, of all public functionaries, and of all people. The security police was an omnipotent and all-powerful body before whom all subjects were considered guilty unless they proved the contrary. This institution—developed in the course of centuries—became of paramount importance to its rulers. It became one of the most essential wheels of the government and one of the chief cares of the ruling class.[16]

III

Hierarchical relations of strict superordination and subordination in the military and bureaucratic ranks might foster feelings of identification with the mighty and the powerful. It is on such grounds that imperialistic nationalism and ideas of national superiority and grandeur thrive. And when state is fused with the Church in a system of theocratic militarism then nationalism might acquire also the aspects of religious fanaticism.

Expansion, greatness of the state, ideas of grandeur and Messianic ideas of world redemption or world domination might provide also compensation for humiliations, self-abasement, feelings of inferiority and unworthiness and other frustrations which are fostered in a system of abusive domineering-subservience relationships. As a result love of show, display of military might and need for conquests preoccupied the ruling strata of post-Petrine Russia as much as those of the Muscovite state. The Czar's court, the nobility, the military, the bureaucracy, the Church, the cities and the villages tended to display a grandeur that was in sharp contrast with the poverty of the country.[17]

This tendency toward exhibitionism and ideas of greatness was manifested also in the glorification of Russia, and the belief in the sacredness of its exalted mission in the world. Such attitudes and feelings which were rooted in the rigidly hierarchical military and bureaucratic structure were supported also by the Third Rome traditions of the Russian Church according to which Providence itself had bestowed upon Russia's rulers the role of the redeemers of mankind. According to these traditions and teachings Russia was a God-chosen country, the only country

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where true Christianity was preserved. In the official statements, in the prayers, in the Church sermons and school textbooks, the Russian Empire was represented as a Holy Land (*Sviataya Rus*).

Accordingly, official geographic studies and statistics tended to magnify everything within the frontiers of the Empire. Russian possessions and might, the resources and riches of the Czar, the progress and virtues of the country were pictured in the school textbooks in a fabulous way. A steady and imposing territorial growth of the Czardom in the course of many centuries at the expense of the East and the West undoubtedly supported these feelings of greatness. In this manner successes in policies of external expansion promoted desires for further conquests.

As long as the authority of the Church remained unshaken the power of the Czar rested on solid foundations. The Czars were able to increasingly concentrate and monopolize all social power while the Czardom expanded territorially in all directions, in spite of all its internal weaknesses.

In the meantime, however, the economic, educational and religious reforms introduced since the eighteenth century tended to undermine the sacredness of the Church as well as the power of the Czar. It was in such circumstances that feelings of revolt bred on all levels of social organization had an opportunity to come into the open, challenging the Czarist regime and all the institutions on which it was based. The people who were treated like wards and minors and were kept in oppressive dependency in the family, in the local community and on the state level rebelled against the system which kept them in perpetual bondage, a trend of events which finally brought about the downfall of the Czardom. The family roots and the development of this personal and social revolt which had shattered the Czardom will be discussed on the following pages.

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III

Personality Development

7

PATERNAL VIOLENCE AND COMPASSION

I

TWO CONTRASTING family types, the Turco-Mongol and the Old-Slavonic—one patriarchal and power-oriented and the other matriarchal and equalitarian—seem to have provided the elements out of which the structure of the Great-Russian extended household was shaped. This family community was known among the Great-Russians as the *bolshaya semya* (the great-family). In its fullest development the Great-Russian joint family consisted of grandparents and their descendants, or of a number of married brothers, their wives and descendants, together with some other incorporated persons—such as adopted husbands or children of a widow married to a member of the household. They lived in a number of *izbas* (huts, cabins) built around the *dvor* (courtyard).

This family collective was ruled by its eldest male member known as the *bolshak* ("the great man").[1] An elderly woman known as the *bolshuka* ("the great woman") was in charge of the

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596 women and children of the household. The power of the bolshak was lifelong, but in case of mismanagement, prolonged illness or want of mental powers, the family adult male members or the village elders could remove him and place another adult male as the head man of the household.[2] All the property: land, farm implements, cattle, buildings, household furniture, and utensils were considered common property of all household members, particularly male adults. But women's clothing and other personal belongings, such as linen and canvas, brought as a dowry or produced by women were considered their private property. When such a household was broken up the common property was divided equally among all the adult male members, regardless of the degree of blood relationship.

The bolshak was assisted in his management by a family council (*soviet*) consisting of married male members, while the bolshuka was assisted by the married females. Though the bolshak's place after his death was taken by his eldest son or his eldest brother, it happened occasionally also that such a household came to be ruled by a woman, if she proved to be an exceptionally resolute personality and good manager.

596 178 476 The remnants of such a family collective persisted in some rural parts of Russia until the beginning of the twentieth century. Such a household in which some of the Old-Slavonic traditions were still in existence was looked upon as a labor association, as much as an association of blood-related families. This is why the heads of such a family commune were designated, not by parental names, as father or mother of the family, but by functional names, as managers of the common property.[3]

596 651 621 Originally the powers of the household soviet were an important check on the authority of the head elder. The soviet assured protection against inequity and tended to maintain equalitarian relationships among the married members of the household. However, early in the development of the Great-Russian society the events tended to favor the power of the bolshak. Following the practices of Mongol rule, frequent censuses were held and frequent levies were imposed on the population according to the number of households or according to acreage. The village community which composed a cess district was made jointly respon-

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sible for the whole amount of the tributes and taxes assessed. It was, therefore, in the interest of this land tax commune to favor concentration of power in the hands of the household head and to support his strictness in rule so that each household might contribute at the end of the fiscal year its share of the common tax assessment. With the lack of such a system of control, the taxes of the defaulters might fall on other members of the village community.

To meet the obligations to the tax commune it was necessary for each household to have sufficient manpower and all the farm equipment it needed. Household partition, which implied dispersal of manpower, need for new equipment, and increased taxation, was therefore frowned upon. Loitering or prolonged absence from the community also had to be discouraged. Early marriages, joint households, and rigid supervision by the elders were fostered. In addition, internal household conflicts provoked by forced regimentation and intensified because of lack of privacy, crowded quarters, insufficient food and clothing increased the need for autocratic rule:

> All in the household well know and have learned by experience that in the interest of the well-being of the household it is absolutely necessary that all obey one elder, who has knowledge and experience about the household and upon whom would depend all matters of husbandry.[4]

The landed nobility and the land-owning Church also supported the absolute power of the bolshak and disapproved of household partitions on their estates. The estate owners were bound to furnish the timber and other materials for the construction of new izbas in case of the division of an old household. They also had to provide the new households with farm equipment, all of which was a burden because it implied additional expense for the landlords. At the same time the government, which was constantly engaged in warfare and was increasingly in need of new recruits, found it more expedient to get these from large households so that the tilling of the soil would not suffer and the tax-paying powers would not decrease while military campaigns were taking place. Therefore, all the authori-

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596 565 641 ties—the state, the Church, the landlords, and the village tax commune—joined hands in backing the collective household system and the power of its head elder.

II

596 178 In this manner, under the pressure of circumstances, the *bolshaya* system of jointly ruled community household was gradually giving way to the *otsovskaya* system, that is, the patriarchal family in which the power-oriented steppe traditions tended to take precedence over the Old-Slavonic egalitarianism. Patriarchal traits prevailed especially in the urban strata. The father became absolute master as well as the exclusive owner of the family property in the otsovskaya system. As a result of this change in household structure all family members became economically and personally dependent upon the father; and as long as his power was supported by the state and the Church, they were expected to submit unconditionally to his will; there was no appeal against his arbitrariness, favoritism, and even misbehavior.

As a result of such a development the steppe traditions of life and death power of the father over his wife and children, the relationship of absolute dominance and complete subordination tended to be reinforced and perpetuated. The Church was par- 795 ticularly instrumental in this matter. Under the influence of the 596 Church the father was likened, in the popular mind, to the Almighty. "As God is to the people, so is a father to his children" (*Kak Bog do lyudey, tak otets do detey*),[5] the people would say.

The father had at his disposal a number of ways to impose his will. Owing to the Church teachings, one of the main paternal sanctions consisted of invoking God's wrath This was done [789] by means of malediction or withdrawal of blessing. Parental curse, as well as lack of parental blessing, was certain to bring great misfortune to the disobedient child (*Lisheniem otsovskogo blagoslovenia shchitaetsa chelovekom propashchim.*)[6] The emphasis on need of parental blessing and fear of disastrous consequences of parental curse is stressed in many Great-Russian folk customs and in their folk sayings, folk songs, and folk tales.[7]

Another instrument at the disposal of the father in imposing

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another instrument at the disposal of the father in imposing

discipline on his son consisted of threat of disinheritance and banishment. If an unmarried son left the paternal house during the lifetime of his father to establish his own separate household, the father was not obliged to give him anything and might even let him go "with nothing but his cross" (*s odnim krestom*).[8] But if a married son left with his father's consent, it was the privilege of the father to determine what his share should be.[9] Also in his testamentary disposition, the father was entitled to dispose of family property at will. The father also had the right to disinherit his son and chase him away from home as a punishment for bad behavior, especially disobedience.[10] He also had the power to select the disobedient son for military conscription. According to some sources the father had the right to sell his son "four times."[11] He might show predilection in testamentary disposition.[12] Many tales tell of a father's favoritism toward an obedient son.[13]

But the way the father used most often to impose his will and assert his power was coercion (*prinuzhdenie*) by means of physical beating (*poboi*). The horse whip and the birch rod (*rozga*) were used freely in family relations. The *Domostroy*, a code of Great-Russian family practices and ethics of the urban strata compiled and edited in the sixteenth century by Priest Sylvester, a councillor and confessor of Ivan the Terrible, prescribes in detail the application of corporal punishment as a sanction of the father's authority and rule:

> Beat your son in his youth, and he will comfort you in your old age . . . And do not weaken in beating the child. Beating with a rod will not kill him, but will make him healthier . . . If you will be weak in his childhood, he will make you suffer when he grows up . . . And give him no power in youth but crush his ribs while he is growing, because when he is big he will not obey you, and you will feel annoyed and ill at heart, and your house will be ruined . . . and your enemies will rejoice at your misfortune.[14]

The popular philosophy of life as expressed in the Great-Russian folk proverbs approves of the teachings of the Domostroy. "If God gives you sons, don't be lazy, teach them and beat them"; "If he did not obey his father, he will obey the whip,"

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593 861 the people would say. Hence, made secure by the prevailing philosophy of life, upheld by court decisions and supported by Church teachings on the supernatural sanction of his will, the father might be tempted to take advantage of his unlimited power and to expose his son to excessively severe and humiliating treatment. "I had born you and I shall kill you," said Taras Bulba to his son and shot him to death.[15]

593 The father might also take advantage of his uncontrolled power in the use of family property and funds. He might gamble them away, spend them on debauchery, or bring the family to ruin as a result of drunkenness or mismanagement. Such incidents in Russian families are often described in autobiographies and other writings of Russian men of letters. It is characteristic of Great-Russian family relations that the other family members were not expected to complain against such extreme abuse of paternal authority.[16] Hence in all strata of Russian society, there was a tendency to accept anything the father did, even the most degrading treatment, as his paternal prerogative. Even if a father had ruined his family because of gambling or lechery he was still held in reverence both by his society and by his children.[17]

606 835 Occasionally, particularly among the peasants, the father might take sexual advantage of his daughters-in-law, a practice which became known as *snokhachestvo* (*snokha* is daughter-in-law). This habit, which was already noticed by the writer of the Kiev Chronicle, was favored by the frequent absences of married sons who spent a part of the year in the city as workers or who were away from home for many years, or indefinitely, when conscripted for military duty. "The more women in the house, the more sin" (*Bolshe bab v semie, bolshe greha*),[18] the people would comment.

593 562 As much as the traditions of the steppe warriors prevailed in the Great-Russian patriarchal family the wife was placed on an equal footing with her children in relation to her husband. She had to show absolute submission and blind obedience to her husband. "The husband is father to his wife" (*Muzh zhene otets*);[19] "Christ is the head of the Church, the husband that of

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

his wife"; "The husband is the law unto his wife," the proverbs say. As a result of such a view of husband-wife relations, the husband had the right and duty to apply brutal force to his wife as a means of discipline, the same as to his children. "It is woman's fate to be always beaten," the people would say.[20]

The description of folk life in the eastern parts of Russia corroborate this attitude toward wives as expressed in popular sayings. The informants tell of the "miserable fate of the women" (*nepriglyadnaya uchast zheny*),[21] the constant fights of husband and wife (*muzh deretsya s zhenoi*), and the thrashing (*poboi*) to which the wives were exposed on the part of their husbands. In case of adultery the punishment for the woman was "merciless beating" (*neshchadnoe bitie*) or strangling (*udushenie*).[22]

Domostroy, which was under the influence of Church teachings, agrees with this philosophy and practices and even offers elaborate and detailed precepts to the husband about how to treat his wife ". . . if the wife is not afraid of the punishment and does not follow the instructions, the husband should beat her." According to Domostroy only if the wife is blindly and unconditionally submissive "everything will run smoothly in the family." The wife must do everything "to please her husband and God and she must listen to him with fear and awe."[23]

Domostroy was compiled primarily for the urban classes of the Czardom. Its rules reflect a certain deterioration in the status of women as they moved from the peasant to the urban level. In the cities, especially among the merchants, the women were confined to the *terem* (gyneceum) and had less opportunity to work and earn for themselves. In the urban environment, the Turco-Mongol influences were therefore reinforced.

In the rural areas the women retained their role in economic production. The peasant women were thus enabled to retain some of the the Old-Slavonic traditions; they often knew how to assert themselves and influence family affairs. In a like manner, with the increasing opportunities for schooling in urban centers, a growing number of city women emancipated themselves from family ties and became economically and socially independent. In such circumstances also many women in the urban

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middle and upper strata knew how to assert themselves and increase their role and influence, thus reviving the Old-Slavonic traditions.

III

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Though the father was to be severe and strict, he was expected also to love his wife and his children. Just like God in Heaven, father's duty was to inflict harsh punishment, but he was also to show compassion, kindness, understanding and constant solicitude for the members of his household. He was responsible before God and men for the failings and misdeeds of his family members, and he was therefore to look after their well-being and salvation. Thus love and violence were often mingled in the Great-Russian family. A number of folk sayings express this ambivalent trait of attachment and hostility when referring to the attitudes and behavior of the father. "To love one's wife is to hold her in terror" (*Lyubit zhenu-derzhat grozu*); "Whom I love I thrash" (*Kovo lyublyu togo i biyu*).[24]

One of the basic underlying motives in the father's violence seems to have been his self-seeking and urge for dominance as well as a need for succor. "Beat your wife oftener, it will be useful for the future," the men would say. The Domostroy justifies child beating in a similar manner ". . . he will comfort you in your old age and will give beauty to your soul. . . . and he will make you happy when he grows up. . . . and your enemies will envy you. If you will be weak in his childhood, he will make you suffer when he grows up; will set your soul on edge."[25]

There is in some proverbs also an indication of an expectation of "masochistic" indulgence according to which violence and deprivation would arouse love. "Not to beat one's wife is not to be loved by her" (*zhenu ne bit i milu ne byt*),[26] the people would say. In a folk song, for instance, the husband buys gifts for his wife, but it is of no avail. When the husband buys a knut and gives his wife a beating with it, it is only then that she responds with love. In another folk song the wife boasts the knuting "is an honor to me and is not painful" (*Mne to za chest, ne bolno.*)[27]

Though the father felt dependent upon his wife and children

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and was expected to love his family, he was to remain detached and distant. Such paternal behavior was particularly noticeable in the urban strata where both the Turco-Mongol and the Church influences were stronger. "Do not smile at him, do not play with him" is the advice of the Domostroy concerning father-son relations.[28] The father was not supposed to show any outward signs of emotion, neither anger nor affection toward his wife, children, or his servants. Even during the beating the father was expected to remain cold and detached, according to the Domostroy. His love was to be of a charitable and compassionate character. Any kind of personal closeness and familiarity with his wife or children might have undermined an authority that was based on sternness, fear and awe.

A number of autobiographies and other writings of Russian men of letters, as well as the accounts given by foreign observers, stress this duality in the behavior of the father. He is pictured as compassionate, kind and goodhearted, but also as detached, harsh and abusive.[29] A number of these documents tell about the *groza* (terror) in which the father or the grandfather had held all his dependents; about his detachment even when playing with children, and about his inability to be with them on comradely terms or to laugh with them. They often tell about the difficulties the children experienced in attempting to approach their father on intimate and friendly terms, though they felt that he had a "good heart" and was "compassionate":

My father, true to the family tradition, took up the profession of soldiering . . . To his children he was a comparative stranger but we were terrified of him. We only saw him at meals; he spent the rest of his time in his private rooms which none of us dared to enter save at his command. A masterful, violent nature, he either could not or would not control his temper, and was an object of terror to us and to his servants. However, he had a good heart. But at the period when he lived, harshness had become a moral principle. To show benevolence was to be weak, to be cruel was to be strong . . . and my father, like most men, was cast in the mould of his period. He carefully concealed his feelings under a mask of harshness. He was certainly brutal; he was also compassionate in his own way . . . At this period children, the poor and the weak, and still more the serfs, were scarcely considered to possess a soul. My father reigned, but did not govern.

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593 157 Like Jupiter, he only interfered in the affairs of mortals in moments of crisis. But when he did interfere it was no laughing matter, and everybody, from cellar to attic, trembled in his shoes . . .[30]

776 771 This God-like, unapproachable, inscrutable, absolute and arbitrary power of a stern and violent but also benevolent, compassionate and solicitous father was apparently projected into the Russian supernatural world in the form of the *Domovoy*, the house spirit. According to the Great-Russian folk beliefs, the Domovoy was the protector of the house; he had patriarchal prerogatives over it, but also depended upon it. He demanded from the family all kinds of honors. At the same time he was as unpredictable in his behavior as any stereotyped family head in the Great-Russian patriarchal family system.

Thus the Domovoy was at times protective, benevolent and compassionate, but at other times he would become wicked, vindictive and mischievous. He was endowed with supernatural powers and could bring either fortune or calamity upon the family, depending upon his frequently changing moods and dispositions. It was, therefore, considered wise to address him as "Grand Father" and to propitiate and appease him by frequent offerings in viands. If such attention were shown to him he was likely to be helpful. But if he were neglected, he would become [782] enraged and full of wrathful vengeance. In such a case, he could be atoned only by blood; the corners of the izba were sprinkled with blood of a cock that was killed for the occasion and various incantations were uttered.[31]

8
FAMILY CONFLICTS

I

593 THE FATHER treated his family members as wards and minors because he was responsible for their well-being, their behavior and their salvation. He had to show a constant solicitude for them (*neustannaya zabota*). The blame for their

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failures and their sins would fall upon him. He was emotionally and socially dependent upon the members of his family, yet he had to be stern and distant to maintain his authority.

At the same time, the family members were expected to completely identify themselves with the family as a whole. This submerging of the individual in the family collective was manifested, for instance, in the ideas of common family good, rooted in the Old-Slavonic principles of mutual reponsibility and mutual aid of all community members ("all for one, one for all"). The elder brothers were expected to take care of their minor brothers and of their unmarried sisters; the aged or disabled parents were in the care of their children; the father was expected to maintain his daughter-in-law if she lost her husband or if her husband were away.[1]

Earlier, following Mongol traditions, the family was collectively responsible for the misdeeds or crimes of any one of its members.[2] In early Russia, according to the Expanded Version of the *Pravda*, "if anyone attacks and kills another without the slightest provocation, the inhabitants of the district do not make payment for this kind of a murderer, but they shall surrender him, with his wife and children, for sentencing to banishment or imprisonment, and his home shall be given up for plundering."[3] Also later in Muscovite Russia all members of a family were considered involved in the offense of a member.

This complete identification with one's family and this penal philosophy of collective responsibility, of implied collective culpability and family hostages (retained in Russian police practices until nowadays) favored family self-centeredness and self-concern. There was therefore a tendency to draw a curtain of secrecy around the family in order not to expose it to accusations and to protect it from defamation. In the urban strata the master of the household was very much preoccupied with this problem. "Your neighbors will reproach you, and your enemies will rejoice at your misfortune," warns Domostroy. Such family centeredness, which was a result of the ascendency of an autocratic state, favored social isolation and lack of intimate contact with neighbors; hence, it fostered also lack of social trust.

Family centrism, family isolation, and lack of trust in one's

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Family centrism, family isolation, and lack of trust in one's
592 neighbor were apparently projected into the supernatural world
771 where one's own Domovoy, though at times arbitrary, ill-tem-
776 pered and spiteful, was generally considered to be benevolent—bringing good luck to the household which was under his care and solicitude. The neighbor's Domovoy, on the other hand, was always a malevolent and wicked being who could never be propitiated and who was likely to steal your hay or drive away your cattle for the benefit of the home which was under his protection.
[789] The Russian peasants, therefore, developed means of defense against the neighbor's Domovoy in the form of spells and exorcisms.

156 Lack of social trust is not favorable to the development of
621 solidarity within a community. Therefore lack of group identi-
578 fication among the peasants and burghers, the same as the lack of the *esprit de corps* among the nobility, contributed to the perpetuation of the autocratic rule. Lack of communal identifications was an obstacle to the turning of group hostilities against the ruling classes. In such circumstances a great deal of personal aggressiveness had to find outlets and targets within the local community and within the family circle itself. Only when the authorities suffered crushing defeat and loss of prestige the hostilities would turn against them and mass uprisings would take place, demanding re-establishment of old communal values.

With the ascendancy of the otsovskaya system, family relations came to be organized in a hierarchical system along the lines of paternity, marriage status, seniority and sex. At one time, only married male members formed the family council (soviet). The males had priority over the females. Within each sex category the elder had priority rights over the younger. When the family was partitioned, custom demanded that the older brothers leave
[428] the ancestral home while the youngest, following Mongol tradi-
[582] tions, remained on the paternal *koren* (root).[4] In marrying the daughters it was the eldest who had to be married first.

593 In the patriarchal family, in their relations to the father, all family members were expected to accept his rule with fear and awe (*strakh*) and with humility (*smirenie*). They had to show absolute submission and blind obedience (*besprekoslovnoe povinovenie*),[5] as well as love and gratitude (*blagodarnost*).[6]

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These attitudes implied complete dependency and self-abnegation on the part of the wife and children in relation to their master. The wife and the children were expected always to speak with respect to the father, that is, in the second person plural instead of the second person singular—the way the children addressed each other or their mother. The wife did not address her husband by his first name, but by his first and second name (patronymic) which was the way less intimate acquaintances addressed each other. The children had to demonstrate their thankfulness for the father's care and solicitude by kissing his hands. Before a bride left her parental home, custom demanded that she say to her father, "God will help you for bread and salt." And he would advise her to be obedient to her new relations: "Be obedient to them the way you were obedient to me" (*slushay kak menia slushala*).[7]

Emphasis on fear and awe, obedience and gratitude was very outstanding in the Great-Russian patriarchal family relations. These feelings and attitudes had a supernatural sanction. As a result of the teachings of the Russian Orthodox Church, it was considered in popular opinion that any disobedience or disrespect of the father's will was mercilessly punished by God who brought life-long misery and misfortune for such unfilial behavior. Even after death, the soul of a disobedient and ungrateful child could hardly escape punishment in the eternal fire of hell. Many Great-Russian folktales place a great emphasis on obedience and gratitude and stress the cruel penalty and fearful fate that awaited a disobedient and ungrateful son.[8]

Such family relations in which demands of a harsh and detached, and even capricious and arbitrary father had to be answered by humility, unconditional submission, blind obedience, love and gratitude; in which family members fought over priorities and rights; where all felt dependent upon one another and isolated from the rest of the world, could not fail to provoke tensions and cause intense family antagonisms and animosities. Such tensions and conflicts became characteristic of the Great-Russian patriarchal family and were manifested in the relations between husband and wife, father and sons, between the siblings and between the in-laws.[9]

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II

[582] Perhaps as a result of family centeredness and the need of 606 keeping a distance from one's neighbor, there developed the practice of looking for the bride not in one's own but in another, more remote locality. Brides from afar, who did not have an opportunity to keep frequent contact with their own parents, were considered not only more amenable to control and easier to assimilate, but less dangerous from the point of view of the family's collective responsibility and isolation. "Do not buy a horse nor marry a daughter of your neighbor: both will run away"; "Get a wife from afar, buy a cow from near," the people would say.

[584] Very often there was nothing for a girl to look forward to in her new family. Her mate was not of her choice; he and his family were often complete strangers to her. She might not have even seen any of them before the day of her marriage. Wedding songs always refer to the bridegroom, his home, his father, and his village as "the abode of the strangers," "the unknown, far off land." As soon as the father had "stuck the hands" with the match-maker, the bride-to-be would start to lament and implore her father not to "give her away to the strangers." On the eve of the bride's marriage, her girl friends would come to her home and spend all evening singing *piesni plachevia*—"weeping songs,"[10] while the bride would cry and wail continuously. In these songs the future bride imagines herself as being left completely alone and without any affection in a distant, unknown and unfriendly world.[11]

[538] The anxieties and fears felt by the bride when going away to marry a stranger in a "strange land" might have found, perhaps, a symbolic expression in the *Zmey* tales. Zmey is a mythical being whose function is to deceive and rape young maidens and keep them forever in captivity. In the Great-Russian folk tales the Zmey is pictured as a terrifying "winged" and "many-headed" monster which throws fire from his nostrils and his mouth, but assumes the form of a youth of marvelous beauty before he abducts his victim.[12]

The prospect of the bride's relations with her husband's

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parents and brothers, and with her sisters-in-law was not any brighter. In folk sayings the father-in-law is often referred to as "worse than a dog," and the mother-in-law as a "wicked satan." Her expectations about the treatment on the part of other in-laws were not more cheerful, as witnessed by the folk songs.[13]

When married, she soon realized that "before the husband the wife is always guilty" (*Pered muzhem zhena vsegda vinovata*). And there was no one to whom to complain or from whom to seek comfort. Her own parents and brothers were "far away" or indifferent to her fate, now that she was "cut off from the loaf" and belonged to another family. And if she did not develop an attachment to her husband or to her children, she might have sought an escape from such a difficult emotional situation in extra-marital love affairs, or in fantasies about such affairs. The Great-Russian folk songs are abundant with such themes and often justify these liaisons as a need for love and attachment which was denied to the bride in the home of the husband.[14] Extreme husband-wife antagonism as expressed by murder is occasionally the theme of Great-Russian religious sagas and more frequently the theme of folk tales[15] and of folk songs:

Against my will was I married;
I have taken an evil wife,
An evil one, not to my liking,
Neither in feeling nor in thought.
Lovingly live with her—that will I not.
Across the stream will I go,
Love will I make to the girls.
As for that wife of mine
I will go pray for her death.
Along the bank of the stream
Death, the beautiful, goes.
"Ho there! My beautiful Death!
Turn thee back again, Death!
Make an end of my wife."
Scarce had I spoken—when Death
Began her work with my wife.
Scarce had I time to look around—
Shrouded in linen white was her corpse
Struck was the stroke on the bell.[16]

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III

593 No less intense seems to have been the tension between father and son. The son in this family was placed in a difficult position in respect to the absolute power of his father, sanctioned by the Church, by the local authorities, by the landlord, and by the law of the state. According to the Church teachings and according to the popular opinion, the parent's blessing brought good fortune and the parent's curse life-long misery. There was also fear of disinheritance, banishment, and military conscription. But there was also a strong desire for freedom and independence from an arbitrary and brutal paternal authority.

Open rebellion against this authority was not expedient, nor advisable. Leaving home without the father's consent was practically impossible because all the authorities would support the [486] father against the son. Without father's consent the police would not issue a passport which was necessary for travelling within the country. There was also a strong emotional resistance against fighting back one's father because, according to the popular view of life, "The hands which beat the father shall never be able to earn anything." Besides, as long as the father was physically stronger the outcome of such a struggle did not look promising.

There was, however, also a tendency on the part of the son to attach himself to his father, and to identify himself with him. But since the father tended to be detached and stern and might even abuse his son, the son had difficulties in experiencing a close and warm relationship with father and to identify himself with him. And since the father was not always harsh but often good hearted, compassionate and kind, the deprivation of a friendly and intimate contact with the father was painfully felt as a rejection. The result was the development of ambivalent feelings of identification and rebellion, of love and hatred in father-son relations. "When I have a father, I feel like killing him; when I have none, I feel like buying one," was the people's saying.

A son's wounded pride and rebellion against a tyrannical and abusive father took on normally a silent and inner form, at least as long as the father remained physically stronger than his son. This inner form of revolt was sometimes manifested in a secret

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

desire for his father's death.[17] Only then was there hope for freedom. A folk maxim, for instance, says: "When the earth takes the parents, the children get their freedom." Such an extreme form of revolt, however, was not so simple because it went counter to the accepted image of the father, his supernaturally sanctioned absolute power, his care and solicitude for the welfare of all the family, and the traditional obligation of love and gratitude towards him on the part of the family members. Hence antagonistic attitudes against the father were regularly mixed with strong feelings of guilt.

Both the feeling of guilt and the fear of being rejected by the father might have perhaps been manifested in those folk tales which tell gruesome and frightful stories about children who were abandoned by their parents[18] and left at the mercy of wild beasts, frost, open sea, and in those folk tales in which the children are dismembered by their own parents and thrown away in small pieces. That the father himself sensed a potential feeling of rebelliousness on the part of his son and that he himself might have had a feeling of guilt because of his treatment of his son is witnessed by folk sayings which express a dread of old age with its dependency upon one's own children: "To pay old debts and to feed old parents are the hardest things in the world"; "One father will feed nine children sooner than nine children will feed one father"; "God take away my life rather than let me be under my son's care."[19]

There were other tensions and conflicting situations in the Great-Russian patriarchal family, particularly in the urban strata. The principle of seniority, for instance, reserved disciplinary privileges and responsibilities for the brothers in relation to their sisters, and for the senior brothers and sisters in relation to their juniors. At the same time a father's absolute power often took the form of favoritism in respect to a younger son, or to a daughter, which was counter to the established principles of seniority and therefore considered unjust. There was therefore plenty of opportunity for resentments, rivalries, jealousies, hatreds, and fights among the siblings, or between the older and the younger family members:

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The family was divided into two clans, the elder and the younger. The elder ones were proud, rich, all powerful, fearing none but Jupiter [father]. They had fine rooms where they could run about and play without fear of colliding with the furniture; they lived in style and despised us, and punished us. The youngsters were weak and oppressed, with only a little room as their domain; they were kept running errands and had sweets to eat only on the rare occasion when they were given a few. They were teased and were accused of lying when they were not telling lies; . . . They had none to defend them against the iniquity of the elders . . . The two clans carried on constant warfare. The elders . . . would treat the youngsters as vassals and make fun of them.[20]

In the homes of merchants and petty officials, frictions, tensions, and animosities were so outstanding a feature of family life as late as the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, that they formed a recurrent theme in Russian belles-lettres of those days, such as in the works of Dostoyevsky and of Ostrovsky. N. Dobrolyubov, a noted Russian critic, commenting on the writings of Ostrovsky, asserted that it was the system of tyranny which caused cunning, hatred, lack of justice and of human dignity in the family.[21] In a similar way Peter Kropotkin, observing family relations in various strata of Russian society in the second part of the nineteenth century, claimed that, "quite a network of habits and customs of domestic slavery, of utter disregard of human individuality, of despotism on the part of the fathers, and of hypocritical submission on that of the wives, the sons, and the daughters, had developed."[22]

9
MOTHER-CHILD ATTACHMENT

I

THOUGH the internal situation in the Great-Russian patriarchal family tended to be rather tense, the role played by the mother was likely to introduce into that family an element of moderation and emotional integration.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

ment of moderation and emotional integration. In the early Slav society, mother's role in all family affairs was very significant. With the growth of the patriarchal family, one of her important duties came to be that of intercessor and of protector against the wrath of the father. In the patriarchal family the mother was not the chief disciplinarian; therefore she did not have to resort to threat, violence, privations, and humiliation as a means of discipline. Her punishments were mild and her main means of control were those of love and reasoning. Her authority and self-respect were therefore not endangered by being close to children and by being on familiar terms with them. She was always available and approachable. The children, therefore, felt much more at ease and free in the presence of their mother than in that of their father.[1]

The mother, if feeling neglected, abused or degraded by a remote and harsh husband, was likely to seek compensation for the lack of love and for wounded self-esteem by being over-protective and over-affectionate in relation to her children, expecting indulgent response from them. The son, if barred in his desire for attachment to his father or if abused and humiliated by him, might feel the more attracted to his mother as a means of emotional outlet and as compensation for feelings of rejection and humiliation.

It is this role of the mother as warm protector and close friend that has been expressed in folk sayings and other products of folk philosophy and imagination. "Fear your father, and respect your mother" says a Russian folk proverb pointing out the sharp contrast in the attitude of a child toward his father and his mother. The folk sayings emphasize also the intimate and tender bond that exists between mother and child and the importance of such close ties for the child. "Without a father the child is half orphan, without a mother a child is a complete orphan"; "Mother's beating does not hurt"; "Mother raises her hand high, but does not strike hard." Because of such close mother-child relationship, it was considered in the popular view of life that mother's influence on the child was in the long run deeper than that of the father. "What mother puts into the child's head, the father will not knock out," the people would say.

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The Great-Russian epic legends have the same image of the mother. One of the most peculiar and significant aspects of these narratives is that in times of distress, in moments of gloom or when gripped by strong feelings of guilt it is often the mother who comes to the rescue of the *bogatyr* (legendary hero), gives him solace, helps him with advice, places her treasure at his disposal.[2] The mother is considered to be of such a great value that heroes, in the course of their feasting and drinking bouts, when boasting of their war exploits, of their horses and possessions, boast also of their mothers:

> One boasts of his good steed,
> One boasts his silken breeches,
> One boasts his villages with hamlets,
> One boasts his towns with their suburbs,
> One boasts of his dear mother,
> But the foolish one boasts of his young wife.[3]

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Mother's role as a moderator *vis-à-vis* a harsh and detached father was expressed very early in the Russian religious lore. For instance, one of the most popular religious tales of early Russia was the one of the "journey of the Mother of God through the Inferno." In this story the *Bogoroditsa* (Birth-giver to God), impressed by the tortures of sinners, implored God to pardon them. At first God was implacable, but finally, as a result of Bogoroditsa's supplication, he promised some relief in their suffering.[4] In the same manner the contemporary Russian religious folk poetry often pictures the Mother of God as the "fastest helper" and as the "warm interceder":

> Mother mine—Mother Maria,
> Purest maiden—The Most Holy
> Mother of the World—Maria,
> Most holy Birthgiver to God,
> Beautiful sun,
> Purest dove,
> Mother of God,
> The fastest helper,
> The warm interceder
> Intercede, save and have mercy.[5]

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This idealized image of mother as a helper and interceder that was projected into religious lore has been manifested also in widespread Madonna worship. The cult of the Bogoroditsa was noticeably developed in Russian society from the days of its conversion to Christianity. The old Russian princes of the Kiev period invoked the help of the Mother of God, dedicated their cities to her, and wrote prayers to her.[6] Throughout many centuries Madonna icons were very widely in use and prayers to Madonna were very frequent in the religious practices of the Russian Church. Some of the most outstanding Russian Orthodox cathedrals have been dedicated to the Mother of God.

Identification with mother is seen in the often used phrase "Mother Russia" and in the word *rodina*—"mother-country." Also rivers and cities are regularly identified with mother (Mother Volga, Mother Moscow). The days in the week which are considered holy or consecrated are sometimes identified with mother, such as Mother Wednesday, Mother Friday.[7] And in Russian epic poetry, the whole earth is invariably identified with mother in the often-repeated phrase *Mat syra zemlya*—moist Mother Earth.

Of course other attachments took place in the Great-Russian family as manifested in the identification of a younger brother with his older brother and in frequent father-daughter emotional ties. There were, also, families in which mother appeared not in her expected role of close friend and protector but in that of a domineering and tyrannical despot. All such relations had their particular effects on the development of a child's personality, as we shall see on the following pages.

10
DEPENDENCE, SENSE OF GUILT, FEAR

I

WHEN a child's demand for attention and love is thwarted by a dominating and forbidding father, feelings of

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inadequacy and dependency, lack of self-reliance and need for complete submissiveness to authority might be fostered. At the same time the attraction to an unapproachable and unattainable father and the feeling of revolt against his despotism, seeking solace from mother and reaction against her over-protection might cause a constant alternation between extremes of these emotional reactions and therefore reinforce the sense of guilt. The feeling of guilt might then provoke a need to confess, to accuse and punish oneself and to submit again completely to the parent's will in the hope to win his acceptance. Self-incriminatory tendencies which have been acquired in this manner might be generalized and extended to relationships on other social levels.

Lanin, an English writer who closely observed Russian behaviour in the second part of the nineteenth century, found that the sense of guilt was "extremely developed."[1] According to this observer there was not only a tendency to confess one's guilt but there was also on the part of the public an insistence on confession of guilt. Moreover, as in the teaching of the Russian Church, confession of guilt was often accepted in social relations as equal to an eradication of sin and therefore demanded forgiveness. "He who confesses has repented, and he who has repented has wiped out his sin," is a Russian folk saying.

Such attitudes and feelings supported the inquisitorial system of justice where the emphasis was on the formality of confession, regardless of the means by which confession has been extorted. Thus since the main emphasis was on confession everything was done to obtain it. If the victim showed any reticence or reluctance, his accusers did not hesitate to employ moral coercion and physical torture to force confession out of him. Once confession was obtained, the conscience of all the participants seemed to have been satisfied:

> . . . Straightway the people rushed
> At the three fleeing murderers; they seized
> The hiding miscreants and led them up
> To the child's corpse, yet warm; when lo! a marvel . . .
> The lifeless little one began to tremble!
> "Confess!" the people thundered; and in terror
> Beneath the ax the villains did confess . . .[2]

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Aware of such attitudes and practices and sometimes also moved by a genuine sense of guilt, many of the accused were ready to confess and to incriminate themselves. Hense self-accusatory confessions became common to all strata of Russian society, including the intelligentsia. Thus, for instance, when the Russian anarchist leader Bakunin had been extradited to the Czarist police he wrote a *Confession to the Czar* full of extreme self-recriminations. In his confession this leading Russian conspiritor and revolutionary said that he merited the sternest penalties known to Russian law because his thoughts and actions had been "in the highest degree ridiculous, senseless, presumptuous, and criminal . . . criminal against God, my Emperor, criminal against Russia, my country, criminal against all laws, political and moral, divine and human."[3] Formerly, said Bakunin, he stifled the voice of conscience which warned him of the wickedness of his ways. But now "he can only be thankful that his arrest has been brought to an end," before more harm could be done by "my idle, useless, and criminal career." In his confession Bakunin had put himself completely at the mercy of the "wrathful and dread" Czar, admitting that he deserved the sternest penalty. It is of interest to note that Bakunin had also compared himself to a repentant son before an irate father: (". . . a prodigal, estranged and perverted son before an insulted and angry father.")

In a like manner, Leo Tolstoy, the apostle of the philosophy of non-resistance, in his confession humbly repents and tends to go to extremes in castigating himself for the sins of his youth:

> . . . I wished with all my heart to be good but I was young, I had passions . . . I cannot recall those years without dread, loathing, and anguish of heart. I killed people in war and challenged to duells to kill; I lost money at cards, wasting the labour of the peasants; I punished them, fornicated, and cheated. Lying, stealing, acts of lust of every description, drunkenness, violence, murder. There was not a crime which I did not commit . . . At that time I began to write through vanity, avarice, and pride. In my writings I did the same as in life. In order to have glory and money, for which I wrote, I had to conceal what was good and speak what was bad. And so I did.[4]

On the folk level the strength and prevalence of guilt feelings combined with a deeply rooted need and demand for forgiveness

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783 [167] might be indicated in the farewell greeting phrase: *prashchaite* (forgive me). The same sentiment is manifested in readiness to shed tears at the slightest provocation. Easy and frequent weeping is found in all strata of Russian society, men and women alike. Autobiographies, belles-lettres as well as folk literature, give ample evidence for this phenomenon. Religious practices of the Russian Church support such needs and demand that repentance be manifested in frequent tears. There are even practical precepts in Russian Church literature about how to provoke tears:

> If you have no tears, do not despair; sigh frequently and heavily from all the heart; for tears are the gift of God, and by and by, with sighs and prayers you will obtain them from God. . . . Having found tears, preserve them with all your strength.[5]

II

It appears that this sense of guilt and passion for confession and self-incrimination, which are rooted in patriarchal family structure, might be strengthened and promoted by a social system in which one is utterly at the mercy of arbitrary superior forces that are not bound nor limited by any moral obligations or any superior principles of law or justice. If one has aroused the anger of such forces he may have a slight hope of forgiveness and salvation only if he completely gives up his individuality, renounces all struggle, and prostrates himself before the omnipotent powers, begging for pity and commiseration.

783 771 157 The annals of Russia's political, social and juridical history give much evidence of such feelings and attitudes. It is perhaps in the field of religion where such sense of utter helplessness before a fearful superior force is projected. There is a tendency in Russian religious beliefs to picture at the one end of the Universe a stern and implacable God and at the other end of it a helpless mankind which is at the complete mercy of this detached and fearful Ruler. But the orphans, the poor, the needy and the repentant, in other words those who are utterly helpless and dependent can expect compassion from Him.[6] Hence there is emphasis both on fear and humility in Russian Orthodoxy.

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That image of God and attitudes toward him might be to a certain extent projections of social and political relations could be seen, for instance, in the *Hundred Chapters,* a practical code of several centuries of Russia's early Christian life. This code stresses the need for fear and awe of earthly powers as a way to train oneself in fear and awe of God. "A pupil fears the master's cudgel more than the master himself"; "After them (masters), bow your head with humility, before every rich man"; "Those who have received power and fortune from their Tsar require glory also from their friends and demand veneration from minors." "Bow your head to everybody senior to you . . . fear the prince with all your power . . . from him you will learn how to fear God. . . . Who does not fear the earthly lord, how will he fear Him whom he does not see." "With the fear of God, as with a bridle, restrain your mind, keeping a watch on yourself every hour."[7]

This tendency to project the fear of omnipotent earthly powers into the supernatural world persisted as long as the autocratic and despotic powers of the Father and of the Czar were perpetuated and as long as the Church identified itself with the state. Describing her confessor, a Russian princess said that: "His [the priest's] principles were exactly those of my uncle; he was an extreme monarchist representing God as absolute monarch of the universe, and identifying the ideas of religion with a kind of rigorous bureaucracy, controlling every detail of life."[8] The image of a demanding God giving nothing in return penetrated all the strata of Great-Russian society, the peasants and the merchants, as well as the nobility and the intelligentsia:

> *Nyanya* [nurse] was entrusted with my religious instruction . . . She thought God was just like the Czar, except that one lived in heaven and the other on earth. He was the most powerful of all beings and inclined to be stern rather than merciful. At any rate she always spoke of his severity and never of his goodness. "He'll teach you to behave yourself! He doesn't forgive people! He is pitiless when He is offended!" . . . The saints were of negligible importance in her eyes.[9]

Chaikovsky, the renowned Russian composer, had a similar idea of God as a fearful being: "I had toward Him (and even

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771 776 now my feelings have not changed) a feeling of wonder but at the same time also of fear. He created Heaven and earth. He too created me—and still even though I bow before Him, there is no love."[10] Michael Bakunin only elaborated on this basic popular concept of the Russian Orthodox God when he pictured the Lord as "God of vengeance and rage" who delights in eternal torturing of human beings and who is so "bloodthirsty and cruel" that he decided that his own son should be tortured and put to death by means of crucifixion.[11] A similar image of a self-seeking, dominating, arbitrary, and cruel God is found also in some Russian religious folk poems: [538]

> Your gifts are not dear to me
> But dear to me are your souls.
> And I will be God above Gods,
> I will be Tzar above Tzars.
> And I will pick the apostles myself,
> And I will give them my mark,
> And I will give them my baptism.
> I will send them in all countries
> Who will receive them, will save himself
> And who does not, he will be tortured.[12]

Before such a God, like before the omnipotent earthly powers, there is nothing one can do but resign himself to his fate and await for God's decision at his *Strashny Sud* (Terrible Judgment). Thus when Fletcher asked a Russian Orthodox Bishop if he knew he was going to be saved the answer was that ". . . he knew not whether he should bee saved or no: but if God would *poshallovat* (take compassion on) him, or gratifie him so much as to save him, so it was, hee would be glad of it; if not what remedie?"[13] Such an image of an omnipotent, fierce and arbitrary God, the same as that of an all-powerful and harsh Father or Czar, might inspire humility, blind obedience and unconditional submissiveness; it might provoke also strong feelings of guilt, and a need for repentance and expiation of one's sins. Thus, next to fear, Russian religion emphasizes meekness and asceticism as a means of survival in the face of all-mighty and arbitrary powers.[14]

In this manner popular religious ideas and practices which

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[Ivan the Terrible]

In this manner popular religious ideas and practices which might have developed as a response to the interpersonal relations in the family and in the Czardom in their own turn tended to perpetuate the existing social and political order, its institutions and practices. There were, however, other aspects of interpersonal relations intrinsic to that social organization which provoked responses that tended not to perpetuate it, but to undermine it and to destroy its very foundations. These important agents of structural change in Russian society will be discussed on the following pages.

11
POWER-SEEKING, MISTRUST, AND DESTRUCTIVE AGGRESSION

I

A CHILD who has been rejected and humiliated by a stern and scornful father, but who has been spoiled by an overindulgent mother might respond to such a situation by developing an exaggerated concern for his own ego, and an extreme intolerance for privations and denials. And in case the mother cannot serve as a satisfactory substitute for rejection by the father, complete detachment from the group, and pity for an abandoned, degraded and suffering self might develop. In such circumstances also a deeply rooted suspicion of others, an unbridled desire for power, and an overwhelming hate and urge for destruction of all those who stand in one's path might take place.

The life histories of a number of Russian rulers and intelligentsia apparently show such an effect of their family environment.[1] Childhood experiences and character traits of Ivan the Terrible, for instance, provide an outstanding example. There is sufficient evidence for the contention that the strange behavior of this Czar was rooted in rejection and in alternating mistreat-

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[Ivan the Terrible]
[Dobrolyubov]

593 ment and indulgence to which Ivan was exposed as a child. Early
154 in his life Ivan was left an orphan. His father died when he was
159 four and he lost his mother four years later. As a child Ivan was reared among crouching servility as well as among arrogance, violence, and contempt. He was greatly pampered on the part of some of his tutors and courtiers, but also often deeply wounded on the part of others. Some of the boyars at the court would annoy him and insult him. They would arrest and threaten with death persons to whom Ivan was attached.

In his own writings, Ivan tells us how much he suffered because he was deprived of his attachments and frustrated in his expectations. It is possible, that it was as a result of such experiences that Ivan developed ideas of rejection, persecution and self-pity, as well as an urge for self-assertion by means of destructive aggression. He sought for himself power which was as overwhelming as that of omnipotent God and asserted himself by means of ruthless violence. "My parents never had a care for me," he claimed. He also said: "In vain I have looked for some man to have pity upon me, but have found no one. Yea, no comforter have I found, but only such as have rewarded me evil for good and hatred for love."[2] He felt emotionally very dependent upon his wife and blamed the courtiers for her early death. He himself explained his assassinations of the boyars on that ground. "Why divided ye me from my wife? Had ye not taken from me my *unitza* (heifer—young wife), never had there been the slayings of the boyars."[3] The old documents say about Ivan
[157] that "He pitieth not men, nor yet yieldeth. Likewise, he loveth not contrary speech, but doth conceive anger against them who do speak it."[4] He is described by his biographers as "self-seeking, opinionated, ferocious and self-willed."

More recent evidence of the effect of rejection-indulgence is given by Dobrolyubov, one of the outstanding Russian intellectual rebels of the second part of the nineteenth century. According to his biographers and according to his own diary, Dobrolyubov was thwarted in his attachment to his father, a clergyman, who was detached, harsh and even brutal in dealings with his son. Dobrolyubov was very close to his mother, but this relation apparently did not compensate for the thwarting and

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[Dobrolyubov]

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humiliating treatment which Dobrolyubov experienced at the hands of his father. As a reaction to such a family situation, Dobrolyubov developed strong needs for emotional attachment and felt very disillusioned and deeply embittered when his need for dependency was frustrated. When he was sixteen years of age this "forerunner of Bolshevism" wrote in his diary:

> No matter how many attachments I had formed in the past, always the evil fate would whisk the beloved being far away from me; and in my soul remains only the sorrowful memory and bitter realization of my despair . . . I could never live without love, without attachment to someone. This has been so ever since I remember myself. But this constant irony of fate, which makes all my hopes and dreams usually crash into dirt, constantly hardens and chills my heart, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that soon it will be both hard and cold as stone.[5]

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Later, apparently, Dobrolyubov found an outlet for his repressed hostilities, in his writings in which he tended to emphasize the dark sides of Russian society ("Realm of Darkness"). He joined that group of "Nihilists" who excelled in their philosophy of extreme individualism, who attacked the existing society and devised the ways to destroy "coldbloodedly" its very foundations, including the family. It was in this ideology of "Nihilism" that Russian Anarchism as well as Bolshevism have been rooted.

000

The demand for unlimited power as a means of compensation for humiliations and deprivations and as a means of satisfying craving for acceptance and support tends to perpetuate a political system which gives one a chance to indulge such needs through relationships of absolute dominance and unconditional submission and through destructive action. Such a social and political structure, in its own turn, tends to reinforce paternal despotism and absolute obedience in the family. In this manner, just as in the society of steppe marauders, power-seeking, mistrust and destructive aggression are perpetuated, become generalized and are manifested in many social relations.

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On the folk level desire for power was manifested, for instance, in the customs connected with childbirth. On that occasion the midwife would place the child on a sheepskin coat or furcoat so

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that he might be rich and powerful in life.[6] For the same reason money was placed in the water when the child was bathed for the first time.[7]

In marriage customs the urge for power was expressed in certain activities performed during the marriage ritual and believed to contain magical properties that enabled either one or the other spouse to dominate. Also in the wedding party the bridegroom was called "knyaz" (prince) and his party "boyars"; an important part of the marriage ceremonies consisted in *velichat gostei*, that is in mutual glorification of the wedding guests.

The phrase *Kak vas velichat?*—how to glorify you?, which is employed when asking another person his name might indicate the same feelings. In early Russia personal names were formed by a combination of words which conveyed the image of rule, glory, power, holiness and destruction, such as Sviatoslav (the holy and glorious), Yaropolk (blazing power), Mstislav (the glory of revenge).

Another manifestation of power-seeking, mistrust and destructive aggression on the folk level is revealed, for instance, in attitudes toward women. The folk image of the woman is in remarkable contrast to the image of the mother. The derisive name for woman is *baba*, and baba is said "not to be a human being" (*Baba ne chelovek*), according to a proverb. Therefore mistreatment and abuse of women may be justified.[8] In the folk parlance distinction is made between *Krestyane* (Christians, peasants) and *zhenshchiny* (women). In the folk maxims women are pictured as immoral ("Three babas Sodom"), shameless ("A baba laughs where grandpa blushes"), more cunning than the devil ("Where the devil fails he sends a baba"), the cause of all man's troubles ("She was the cause of Adam's banishment"), and source of all evil ("We cannot expect any good from our rib").[9]

This folk concept of woman as an inferior being is found on all levels of Russian society. Comparatively few women have been admitted to the rank of saints in the Russian Church. Count Leo Tolstoy, a philosopher and novelist, who has been otherwise renowned for his ideas of Christian love, all-human brotherhood and an anarchic social and political equality, showed a great deal of misogynism. In his diary he pictures

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women as stupid and nasty, conceited and licentious, and as the mainspring of all calamities of the world.[10] But Tolstoy, too, like the Russian popular view of life, did make a distinction between the woman and the mother.[11]

Hostile drives, mistrust and destructive aggression might be revealed also in attitudes towards strangers. These are sometimes likened to animals, especially dogs. Comparing people with beasts indicates an inclination to abase them and to mistreat them. Such an attitude is shown especially toward those who are considered to be "enemies." When talking about the Tartars, the people would say "the dog of a Tartar." In a like way, xenophobia was manifested in the attitudes toward the "thrice accursed Latins," that is, the Western, non-Orthodox peoples.

Perhaps this need to abuse and to destroy in order to demonstrate one's power was manifested also in treatment of those who were abandoned and helpless, such as prisoners in foreign wars, as well as prisoners in rebellions and civil wars at home, or convicted criminals. In the rebellions and civil wars atrocities were committed by both sides, the government troops and the rebels, the Orthodox and the Dissenters, the Whites and the Reds. In a similar manner convicted criminals, domestic servants and serfs were often used as targets of destructive aggression.

Tendency to abuse was manifested also in the relations between merchants and customers, capital and labor. In the lowest strata ruthless self-seeking took also the form of begging. There was a great number of beggars; begging became a widely spread business. Some of the beggars became people of considerable means. Leaders among the beggars would mutilate, deprive of eyesight, and deform healthy men and boys to use them as their instruments in begging. Entire villages, and even some regions were said to have made begging their regular profession.[12]

II

In circumstances where power-seeking, destructive aggression and mistrust prevail any accident may be interpreted as a sign of another person's hostile intentions. The other person tends to be looked upon as a potential enemy. "You mustn't stroke anyone's head—you might get your hand bitten off," said Lenin.[13] And as

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a self-protection on any sign of hostility a preventive war or feud must be initiated.[14] Hence also craftiness and cunning, readiness to lie and to commit perjury[15] and a general wiliness and wariness might easily develop.[16] When a society is to a large extent governmentalized and regimented, such traits are reinforced because in such conditions the feeling of insecurity and lack of trust favor ruthless domineering and coercive submission on all levels of social organization.

In circumstances where power-seeking, extreme self-concern and lack of mutual trust prevail there is a readiness of many people to spy on one another and to inform. There is also an inclination to caluminate[1] as a means of revenge and personal malice.

Destructive aggressiveness and feeling of insecurity, as well as need for succor, may explain the passion for hazardous games and intoxicating drink, and the inclination toward lechery. That liquor is used as a compensatory device which provides a feeling of power and security as contrasted to a reality in which one is cowed into submission is well expressed in folk philosophy. According to a proverb, "When the peasant is drunk, he feels equal to a nobleman; when he is sober he is afraid even of a pig."[17] Hence, in a society in which people find themselves subdued, degraded, and oppressed and where their needs for attachment and acceptance are thwarted, a safe way to rebel against such conditions or to find a convenient substitute may be in drunkenness and debauchery. The early Church documents, as well as the recent evidence, point to the perseverance of such practices:

> Numerous are the sermons devoted to invectives against drunkenness and the pagan character of banquets . . . This wild debauch of popular feasts was preserved until the twentieth century, with the same scenes of drunken fighting and killing as are depicted in this document of the thirteenth century. Orgiasm . . . unrestrained emotional outbursts, stimulated by alcohol, dancing, fighting, or sex, always has been an outstanding feature of Russian temperament.[18]

[1] [Sic -- Analyst]

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12
IDENTIFICATION WITH SUFFERING AND DEMAND FOR ACCEPTANCE

I

WANT of affection and self-pity experienced by a rejected child could be generalized. Identification with a humiliated and suffering mother might foster or reinforce the same tendencies. As a result sympathy is extended to others who suffer and desire might be expressed or action may be taken to alter conditions which cause all human misery. These ideas and attitudes are then strengthened by those patterns of family relationships which stress responsibility of one for well-being and salvation of all and which favor group orientation and social solidarity.

Such family experiences might affect the whole life careers of some people. If these happen to be intellectual and political leaders, their emotional responses could have a significant influence on the course of the intellectual and political history of their countries. Thus, in Russia feelings of rejection and identification with those who suffer gave a strong emotional support to ideologies which sought a Messianic salvation of all suffering humanity.

A number of outstanding literary figures of Russia in the middle of the nineteenth century, such as Herzen, Belinsky, and Nekrasov, demonstrated in their writings a strong aversion for the existing social system in Russia, expressed irreverence for the old values, showed love of new and challenging ideas, and exhibited a remarkable fighting spirit of revolutionary character. At the same time, they all tended to idealize the Russian people, professed great love, enthusiasm and admiration for the common folk and felt a great compassion for the poor and the suffering everywhere. They believed that the main purpose of literature

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[Belinsky]
[Nekrasov]
[Herzen]

was to convey to the masses a social message. In their literary essays they stressed the social and political ills of Russia and believed in the Westernization of their country as a way out of its social and political difficulties.

It is reported that Belinsky grew up with the feeling of revolt against the despotism of his father who tyrannized the family. Nekrasov, "at the age of 17 . . . broke with his father whom he detested even as he idolized his mother" . . . And it was Nekrasov who in his writings showed an especially "great and unfeigned compassion for the poor and the suffering" and who "idealized and worshipped the Russian people,"[1] that is, the people who have been exposed to an age long misery. In a similar manner Herzen had generalized his childhood experiences and had transferred his reactions to all human kind. As a child he showed a strong reaction against his "inaccessible" father and a deep sympathy for all those whom his father abused:

> . . . the hushed voices and noiseless steps of the servants were no sign of devotion, but of repression and fear. All impulsiveness and frankness my father disliked and called familiarity; and all display of feeling passed with him for sentimentality. And when this proud old man, with his clear understanding and sincere contempt of mankind, played this part of a passionless judge, whom did he mean to impress by the performance: A woman whose will he had broken, though she never tried to oppose him; a boy whom his own treatment drove from mere naughtiness to positive disobedience; and a score of footmen whom he did not reckon as human beings! . . . Always on his guard, discontented with everyone, he suffered when he saw the feelings he inspired in every member of the household. Smiles died away and talk stopped whenever he came into the room. Stinging mockery and cool contemptuous irony were the weapons which he could wield with the skill of an artist, and he used them equally against us and against the servants. There are few things that a growing boy resents more; and, in fact, up to the time of my imprisonment I was on bad terms with my father and carried on a petty warfare against him, with the men and maids for my allies . . . did I deserve that he should preach even the truth in a manner so repulsive to the heart of youth? His intelligence, chilled by a long life spent in a corrupt society, made him suspicious of all the world; his feelings were not warm and did not crave for reconciliation; and therefore he remained at enmity

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[Herzen]
[Sophia Perovskaya]

with all his fellow creatures . . . I felt intense pity for the old man, but I could do nothing—he was inaccessible.[3]

The liberalizing influences which were penetrating Russia from the West reinforced urges of revolt against despotism as well as feelings of identification with suffering masses. By the second part of the nineteenth century the reaction against the tyrannical family environment and oppressing political system took often an extreme form. It is common knowledge that many Russian terrorists and assassins of the second part of the nineteenth century grew up exposed to constant family tensions and personal humiliations, and sought total destruction of society. Others were inclined to identify themselves with all who were abused. Thus we find the urge for destruction and identification with suffering as fundamental aspects of the ideology of Russian revolutionary movements. For instance, Kropotkin, the outstanding Russian Anarchist directly related his revolutionary activities to his identification with all those who were persecuted. He appealed to all who were exposed to maltreatment to rise against their oppressors:

Ay, all of us together, we who suffer and are insulted daily, we are a multitude whom no man can number. We are the ocean that can embrace and swallow up all else. When we have but the will to do it, that very moment will justice be done; that very instant the tyrants of the earth shall bite the dust.[3]

Or take, for instance, Sophia Perovskaya, one of the plotters in the assassination of Czar Alexander II. According to her biographers her father was a willful despot "such as the patriarchal system alone could have produced," and her mother, "constantly humiliated and insulted," remained at home to protect the children. Thus, in her own family Perovskaya learned to hate oppression and developed her love for the oppressed and weak. For her mother, one of the down-trodden, she had a love "bordering upon adoration."[4] Catherine Breshkovskaya, another outstanding Russian revolutionary, who became known as the "little grandmother of the Russian revolution," tells us in her reminiscences and letters how her childhood experiences affected her feelings, thoughts, and actions throughout her life:

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[Catherine Breshkovskaya]
[Bakunin]

154 159 668 How many times, stupefied and shocked, I have been the witness of such humiliating, degrading, excruciating things! How many times I have thrown myself at my father's feet to implore pardon for a so-called culprit, whose only fault, perhaps, was to have fallen asleep while herding the sheep! How many times I have been indignant to see how hundreds of peasants would be kept waiting in the courtyard, bare-headed and shivering with cold, waiting for the master to appear, after making them wait all day, would send them off without a word, so taken up was he with gambling at cards with other lords, who in their turn were making their coachmen wait on the carriage box till their hands were frozen! These things tormented my childish mind, and pursued me even into my bed, where I would lie awake for hours, unable to sleep for thinking of all the horrors about me. Child as I was, I could not understand why these honest folk should bear the entire burden of work and of taxes. I saw that my father, good though he was, put much more heart into looking after his own interests than the interests of his serfs, and I was shocked at the inequality between the rich and the poor. From the age of eight, how to find justice was the question that troubled me.[5]

538 771 Identification with suffering is outstanding in the literary works of Dostoyevsky. Influenced by religious feelings, he considered his own sufferings as a blessing. He identified Russia with crucified Christ and regarded the sufferings of the Russian people as a means by which the wrongs of all mankind will be expiated so that a new and better order will prevail on the earth: "All men will be holy and love one another, and there will be no more rich nor poor, no exulted nor humbled, but all will be as the children of God, and the true Kingdom of Christ will come."[6]

II

593 159 668 Not in all families of Russian intelligentsia was the situation alike. There were families in which harmonious relations prevailed. There were also families in which reaction developed not against the despotism of the father but against the tyranny of the mother. Bakunin, for instance, describes his mother as "a vain, egotistical woman and none of her children loved her."[7] According to Carr, Bakunin "attributed his passion for destruction to the influence of his mother, whose despotic character

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[Bakunin]

[Saint Theodosius]

593 159 [668]

inspired him with an insensate hatred of every restriction on liberty."[8]

Identifying himself with all the oppressed, this leading Russian anarchist revolted not only against the family and the state, but against God as well, because God was a symbol of authority and fear. To Bakunin the concept of a God of fear implied abdication of reason and of justice, and was the negation of human liberty. He expounded therefore the overthrow of God as a necessary precondition of human liberation.[9] To Bakunin the revolt of Satan against God was the first attempt of free thought, of science, and of human freedom.[10]

Not unlike this was the reaction of Turgeniev toward the despotism of his mother. This outstanding Russian novelist apparently developed a great compassion for the Russian serfs and became a champion in the struggle for freedom and for the emancipation of the peasants because he identified his own sufferings with the plight of the muzhiks on the estate of his mother. Turgeniev's mother apparently gave vent both on her son and on her serfs for the sufferings of her unhappy married life, and in bringing up her own son she made few concessions. The same excessive strictness that she applied against serfs she exercised also against her own son. "I was flogged almost every day for merest trifles," says Turgeniev.[11]

[538]

593 159 792

An earlier case of reaction against a despotic mother and resulting identification with those who are humiliated is that of Saint Theodosius. This Russian saint was one of the founders of Russian monasticism in the eleventh century. According to Fedotov, the main theme in the hagiography of Theodosius is the "strife with his mother . . . the cruel treatment he endured, and his threefold escape. Many scenes are painted with truly artistic skill, particularly the portrait sketched of the mother, with her passionate transitions from outbursts of anger to caresses, with her appearance as a virago: 'She was strong in body, vigorous as a man: anybody who would not have seen her but only heard her voice would believe it was that of a man.' "[12]

Theodosius reacted to the despotism of his mother by wearing "uncouth and patched garb" like the poor and the beggars to the dismay of his parents, who were well-to-do people and felt hor-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[Saint Theodosius]

593 159 792 rified by such behavior. After his father's death, Theodosius used "to go to the fields with the slaves and work humbly."[13] Later when Theodosius finally escaped from his mother's tyranny by entering a monastery, he became the founder of that school of Russian monastic philosophy which emphasizes self-abnegation and meekness, as well as charitable love and compassion for those who suffer. In that manner Theodosius identified himself and his Church with all those who were tyrannized. But he was also active in protecting those to whom injustice was done. He became "intercessor for many before judges and princes, rescuing people."[14]

152 695 Deep sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them might explain why the Russian juries and the peasant courts were so ready to acquit the repentants. Juries and courts would often set free criminals who were found guilty by well established evidence. The verdict in such a case might be "not guilty" because of "commiseration for the poor murderer." A jury sitting through Holy Week would tend to acquit everybody, because "at the time of our Lord's Passion, it does not become Christians to condemn their brethren."[15]

152 538 Sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them is an outstanding trait of Russian literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Russian writings of those days exhibit a preoccupation with great social, political, religious and psychological problems of mankind. They picture a gloomy, painful, and tragic world, full of misery, injustice, blood and death. In the same manner the school textbooks of those days contained many heartbreaking stories full of compassion and commiseration for the suffering, unprotected, weak.

152 783 538 668 When identification with suffering is a manifestation of revolt or is combined with the urge for revolt, strong feelings of guilt might develop. On such grounds compulsion to suffer and to be persecuted might thrive. This "Russian Kenotism" is found among the early Russian monastics[16] as well as among the Russian nineteenth century revolutionaries and men of letters. Some Russian revolutionary factions, for instance, emphasized sacrifice and martyrdom to the point of self-destruction.[17] In the like manner Count Leo Tolstoy claims in his diary that he, "often

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

wanted to suffer, wanted persecution."[18] A number of heroes in Dostoyevsky's novels show the same urge.

Undoubtedly such feelings contributed to that tone of fanaticism and that readiness for self-sacrifice which was characteristic of many Russian revolutionaries and conspirators of pre-Soviet days and which gave a special vigor and intensity to their activities. Such extremes in emotional reactions were supported also by another trait in these people, that of emotional instability.

13
EMOTIONAL INSTABILITY

I

FEAR and awe (*strakh*), submission (*povinovenie*), and sense of guilt (*sovest*) are rooted in the structure of the Great-Russian society and are supported by its traditions. But so is compassion (*zhalost*), humility (*smirenie*), demand for truth and justice (*pravda*) and for egalitarian acceptance, as well as revolt and terror (*ustrashenie*), lack of trust and urge to destroy (*unichtozhenie*). It is the propensity to experience such contrasting sentiments that causes behavior which is alternatively bent in opposite directions. A person's behavior which has been conditioned by an environment which fosters such feelings and attitudes might show a lack of sense of moderation and a tendency toward extremes in responses to his social milieu.

It is such unbalanced peculiarities of behavior that have drawn the attention of many students and observers of Russian society.[1] A tendency toward diametrically opposite extremes, and frequent alternation between these poles has been often noticed. Kindliness and gentleness have alternated with lack of consideration, excessive severity, brutality and cruelty. Rebelliousness has been followed by resignation. Periods of feverish energy and confidence have been superseded by spells of inertia, languor and despair. Extremes in feasting have alternated with extremes in fasting. Tyrannical rule had its counterpart in demands for

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

absolute and unconditional liberty and denial of any laws, conventions or obligations.[2] Ideologies which sought universal salvation and identification with Christ's teaching (Dissent, Slavophilism) had their counterparts in the ideologies which demanded universal destruction and identification with anti-Christ (Nihilism, Terrorism).[3]

Among the intelligentsia a lack of a sense for methodical work, and lack of initiative were combined with preoccupation concerning grandiose and utopian plans on a world scale. There was a noticeable lack of preparation for these programs and a tendency to consider that having made plans was equal to their fulfillment. Such traits were so striking among some intelligentsia that they were given a special name (*Oblomovshtina*).[4]

It is known that a number of outstanding Russian intellectuals have shown a remarkable lack of emotional balance in their behavior. These would often move from one ideological camp into that of their bitter opponents. In ideological controversies no tolerance was shown for the opposite point of view. There was a tendency to treat all in the opposite camp as enemies. "Who is not with us is against us," was the principle applied in theory and practice. Some outstanding Russian intellectuals themselves admitted such traits in their character. Dostoyevsky, for instance, analyzing his own feelings stated: "In all things I go to the uttermost extremes; my life long I have never been acquainted with moderation." Not unlike this self-analysis of Dostoyevsky was that of Bakunin. In his "Confession to the Czar" he said: "There was in my character a radical defect: love for the fantastic, for out-of-the-way, unheard of adventures, for undertakings which open up an infinite horizon and whose end no man can foresee."[5]

According to General Golovine among the army officers there was a "tendency to drunkenness, churlishness and tyranny toward their subordinates," but there were also "many heroes among these negative types," and often a "regular officer showed such readiness to sacrifice himself that his superiors were forced to restrain his excessive ardor."[6] Lack of balance and stability was also reflected in the differences between military units. Often "next to a first class regiment there was another completely worthless."[7]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

Top ruling circles themselves often exhibited a great lack of self-control. A number of rulers showed a tendency toward excesses and extremes that bordered on insanity. Even the Czars of the nineteenth century, in spite of many Western moderating influences, showed tendencies toward instability and extremes in their behavior. Not seldom a new monarch would completely reverse the policies of his predecessor. The rulers tended to show great instability also in attitudes toward their advisers. They would turn suddenly against the old councilors and find new favorites. As a result often "the mighty of yesterday were sent to Siberia or the scaffold." But also barrack and bedchamber revolutions were frequent, reflecting the suddenly changing extremes in moods within the ruling cliques.

Lack of moderation and emotional instability was one of the favored themes of Russian belles-lettres of the nineteenth century. The heroes in these works often display an extremely unbalanced type of behavior. Feodor Chaliapin, who himself took part in producing such types on the Russian stage, states the following:

> . . . When I think of the characters I have created on the Russian stage, I am conscious not so much of the characters themselves as of an all pervading sense of the Russian temperament that is all extremes. . . . It seems as though Russian temperament is entirely devoid of moderation. . . . The fact remains that their contradictions are far more harsh and violent than those of most mentalities. . . . The Russian heart is infinitely pitiful and tender, but at the same time what gross and often completely aimless cruelty and tyranny are to be found in Russian life. The Russian soul is extraodinarily sensitized, but what brutality and lustful suspicion and vulgarism are to be found in human relationships. It is only too true that neither in good nor in evil can the Russian steer a middle course . . .[8]

In *Khovantchina* it is religious fanaticism, and how profound and powerful is that fanaticism! A normal mind could not possibly comprehend that perfect serenity which enables men to die for their belief. They stand on the sheer rampart, utterly oblivious of the stairway by which they might descend to safety. They batter their heads against the wall, unconscious of pain . . . In Rimsky-Korsakov's *Pskovitane* I take the part of Ivan the Terrible. He, the Tsar, cares nothing that the river runs red with blood, so illimitable is his knowledge of

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

his power over others, so unshakable is his belief in his own sovereignty. . . . There is tremendous strength in *Boris Godunov*, the part I would sooner play than any of the others of my repertory. Here again the Russian temperament is overwhelmingly manifest in the seditious license of the boyars, as it is in the boundless autocracy of Ivan the Terrible. It appears also in the lawlessness and drunkenness of Prince Galitski, one of the chief characters of Borodin's admirable opera *Prince Igor*. Galitski's excesses are as extreme as his cynicism.[9]

Some observers of Great-Russian music find in it traits similar to those of Great-Russian belles-lettres. According to Leroy-Beaulieu the Great-Russian music shows an "alternation between extreme emotionality and extreme peacefulness."[10] And according to General Golovine this music is a "combination of the vague and salient softness and harshness of sound, deep sorrow and uncontrolled gaiety, dreams and drama, restlessness and calm . . ."[11] Golovine specifically referred to the music of Glinka, Chaikovsky, Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakoff, and Rachmaninoff.

Extremes of self-aggrandizement followed by self-maceration, murder followed by tears, is noticeable also in the Russian folk psychology. The Great-Russian folk songs, for instance, are often full of cruelty, but are also heart-breaking and plaintive, full of sadness, melancholy and tragedy, sung in minor key. In folk tales and folk songs about Stenka Razin, this robber-bandit is represented both as magnanimous and cruel, as savage and pitiful. He revolted against those in authority, but rallied the poor and rebellious beneath his banner. At the same time he himself showed traits of barbarism and of self-laceration. One of the popular Russian folk songs, tells us, for instance, how once Stenka, "drunk with wine and mirth together," lifted the Persian Princess, his beloved "new-vow bride," over the side of his barque and flung her "forth into the hungry deep" of the Volga, as "a gift from a Cossack of the Don." Stenka acted in such a violent manner because some of his comrades had scornfully reproached him that in his affection to his bride he behaved like a *baba* (woman).

II

A number of interpretations are offered for such behavior.[12] Most of these explanations are either "geografic" or "cultural-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

diffusionist" in their general approach. Thus a number of writers attribute the ambivalent traits in Russian behavior to the influence of climate. The struggle with hostile forces of nature, say these people, has developed in the Russian man qualities of tenacity, energy, and strength; but at the same time the insuperable forces of nature have developed qualities of patience, resignation, and meekness. The former has developed hardness of character by the very bitterness of the struggle; the latter has taught him to sympathize with the afflicted and desolate.[13]

Other geographic theories point out not only the extremes in climate, but the contrasting nature of the soil as well, as a means to explain Russian behavior and Russia's life and history which are full of contrasts and contradictions. Russia's forest and marshy area is contrasted to the steppe regions as the basic foundations on which Russian society has grown.[14]

There are other students of Russia who tend to explain unbalanced traits in the Russian man on the ground of conflicting Asiatic and European cultural influences, to which Russia has been subjected throughout many centuries of its formation. This view is still shared by many. It had been advanced by a number of Russian intellectuals, among them Leo Tolstoy:

> One *Rus* has its roots in a universal, or at least in European culture. In this *Rus* the ideas of goodness, honor and freedom are understood as in the West. But there is another *Rus:* the *Rus* of the dark forests, the *Rus* of the Taiga, the animal Russia, the fanatic Russia, the Mongol-Tartar Russia. This last Russia made despotism and fanaticism its ideal. . . . Kiev *Rus* was a part of Europe, Moscow long remained negation of Europe.[15]

It would be difficult however to explain ambivalence in the behavior of individuals and peoples exclusively on the basis of such generalized influences of East and West, extremes in climate, and contrasts between forests and steppes. The circumstances which become significant as agents in personality formation have to be felt directly or indirectly on a number of levels of interpersonal and institutional relationships. Among these one of the more effective influences which shape and mold the personality of man seems to be the family environment.

Some Russian intellectual leaders and men of letters, such as

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

593 154 517 Some Russian intellectual leaders and men of letters, such as Dobrolyubov, Ostrovsky, Herzen and Kropotkin were very much impressed by the effect which Russian family atmosphere had in shaping the personality of the Russian people, especially the intelligentsia. Herzen pointed out that in a family in which there was "much to hate and despise, and almost nothing to love and to respect," the psychological development was not full, but warped. In a similar manner Kropotkin explains that people who are brought up in families in which the personal relationships between children and their parents are based not on love and mutual respect but on fear and unconditional submission become both domineering and servile, as well as rebellious:

[861] A child's spirit is weak. It is so easy to coerce it by fear . . . They make the child timid, and they talk to him of the torments of hell. They conjur up before him the sufferings of the condemned, and vengeance of an implacable God . . . and by that habit of submission the thought of the next generation attains this religious twist, which is at once servile and authoritative; for authority and servility walk ever hand in hand. . . . Then the degradation of the ruler and of the judges, of the clergy and of the more or less comfortable classes becomes so revolting that the pendulum begins to swing the other way.[16]

The family environment, however, is itself an integral part of the society to which it belongs and is therefore interacting with it. Hence an understanding of the structure of the whole society, of the view of life, traditional culture and general orientation of its various strata, of the configuration of its interpersonal, institutional and power relationships is necessary in order to explain personality formation and peculiarities of behavior of a people.[17] It is in such a total context that also the direct and the indirect influences of physical environment or of any other "external" pressures might be correctly appraised.

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IV

Ideologies and Movements

14

REVOLT OF THE LAND-OWNING INTELLIGENTSIA (WESTERNISM AND SLAVOPHILISM)

I

IN CONSEQUENCE of the reforms of Peter the Great the dvorianstvo obtained hereditary rights on their lands. At the same time their service to the state ceased to be obligatory. But the traditions of this class consisted of warfare and ruling, not of land cultivation. Thus when this newly formed landed gentry did not have to serve the state, many of them became a leisure class of people who occupied themselves by visiting Western lands, cultivating Western languages and fine arts and studying Western political and social ideologies. Few among these people were inclined to retire to the country and dedicate themselves to the management of their estates. The result of such a trend of events was that a large part of this leisure class people Europeanized themselves and developed high educational and intellectual standards. And it was from this group of a well educated landed gentry who were losing their

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[565] former role as main instruments of the Czar's power to a parvenu bureaucracy and military that leaders of first opposition movements were recruited.

Even before and during the French Revolution a number of Russian landed nobility became aware of the ideas of the Revolution. They were also becoming increasingly interested in constitutional forms of government in which they could take part in their own right, not depending upon the whims of a despotic monarch. Some of these people even became dissatisfied with serfdom because of its economic inefficiency. They were also becoming increasingly impatient with absolutism because of its oppressive and degrading aspects.

[701] Such ideas and feelings penetrated the officers' corps and a number of this military intelligentsia organized themselves into a secret society and formulated a concrete program for constitutional changes.[1] Some of these people came from high nobility. Others, especially those from the South, were impoverished nobles living on meager officer's salaries. In December, 1825 [669] these people attempted to seize power. However, owing to ideological differences and the traditional factional splits within the dvorianstvo, the attempt of this faction of military intelligentsia to gain power was thwarted.[2] Nevertheless, this uprising of the "Decembrists," though abortive, was the beginning of increasing revolutionary activities of the intelligentsia[3] which finally brought about the overthrow of the Czardom in the Revolution of 1917.

[442] The revolt of the Decembrists was a sign that the Czardom had already gone through such changes in its social structure that a change in its political system was overdue. The most important change in this structure was the formation of a class which, for the first time in Russia's history, became economically independent of the Czar, and which, though economically idle and not always prosperous, became intellectually very alert and also very sensitive to Western ideas.

In accordance with the traditional behavior pattern of Russian nobility, their reactions to the conditions at home and to Western thought tended to develop in the direction of two opposite extremes. One was that of the "Westerners" who were

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inclined to take a defeatist attitude and who in their defeatism tended to acknowledge little in the achievements of Russia. They took a very negative attitude toward Russia's social and political system, demanded a break with Russia's past and wanted a thorough Westernization of the country.[4]

Another group of this landed gentry tended to idealize the values of the Old-Slavonic culture and those of the pre-Petrine, pre-bureaucratized, pre-secularized, and Holy Russia. These people, who were highly learned according to Western standards, were aware of many of the inadequacies and deficiencies of the Russia of their times. At the same time they feared the expansionistic designs of the West and the infiltration of Western thought, institutions and practices. They were extremely sensitive to the criticism of Russia and the Russian people prevalent in those days among Western scholars and other Western observers.

Apparently as a reaction to such a threat and criticisms, and perhaps also because seeking compensation for their wounded pride, these people resorted to a flight into Russia's past and projected an idealized image of former values of Russia and of Slav people into the future. They were inclined to criticize the political and social system which Peter the Great had introduced and in which he followed Western patterns; they demanded a return to pre-Petrine and Orthodox Russia reestablished in all its former glory. Such a visionary image of Russia enabled these well off landowning intelligentsia to see also themselves regaining the grandeur, the self-respect, the social prestige and the political power which they were rapidly losing to a parvenu military and bureaucratic hierarchy.

These people reacted aggressively against a challenging Western world by over-stressing what they thought were superior qualities of Slavs and superior values of Russian and Slav culture. It was in this manner that a romantic view of Slav folk society and of the Russian man was developed. These ideas left a strong imprint on literature, art, philosophy and political thinking both of the nineteenth and of the twentieth century Russia and became known as "Slavophilism."

Brought up in a patriarchal family system which had condi-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

tioned them to dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships, but yearning also for the Old-Slavonic anarchic and egalitarian justice, the "Slavophils" tended to idealize especially those institutions in which paternalistic, as well as equalitarian, relationships were well established, but which they saw distintegrating in new circumstances. Such was, for instance, the *mir* institution, according to their view.

According to the Slavophil interpretation, the old Russian and Slav community was founded on the principles of obedience, mutual responsibility, social justice and equality, Christian love and humility.[6] They asserted that the Russian land commune was the foundation of an original and highly satisfactory culture which was exempt from the vices of the Western civilization, untainted with proletarianization, pauperism, and the problem of wages. The mir was an institution in which man felt as an organic and integral part of his community. There was no uncertainty, no insecurity, and no frustrations in that social system since in it the values were absolute and unchallenged.[6]

The Slavophils idealized Russia's patriarchal relationships based on absolute and unchallenged values, on faith and on total fusion of man and community, as contrasted to Western individualism, cosmopolitanism, rationalism and skepticism. They contended that reason, if separated from faith, introduces doubts, splits and conflicts between man and his society. They stressed the organic totality and harmony of the Old-Slavonic and pre-Petrine Russian society in contrast to the materialism and class strife of the West.[7]

The old pre-Petrine order which the Slavophils idealized had greatly depended upon Church support and religious sanction for its perpetuation. The Slavophils therefore feared that Western liberalism which was beginning to penetrate Russia would undermine its religious foundation. As a defense against such demoralizing influences, the Slavophils pointed out that the Western world was rapidly disintegrating because of the spreading of free thought and because of the decline of the faith. The West was a prey to Roman heathenism, they said, and it was from this traditional anti-Christian spirit that revolutions, free thought, the papacy, and the Reformation had sprung.

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According to Slavophils the doom of the Western civilization was sealed when rationalism was allowed to destroy faith. It was then that the human spirit became divided against itself, which meant its disintegration. God and man, intuition and reason, beauty and truth are one, they claimed. As soon as man does not possess such a mystic unity with the absolute, he is plunged into skepticism and disbelief, his reason is separated from his soul and he becomes a "split man."

Owing to the organic totality of his body and soul, of his faith and reason, the Russian man possessed the "inner truth," which is the real truth, as against the "outer truth" or superficial truth of the Westerner, the Slavophils said. Therefore in contrast to the "split man" of the West, the Russian man was a "total man" (*vsechelovek*).[8] In this manner, the Russian man who has achieved his unity with God has achieved also the unity of his nation with God. The Russian nation is therefore a "God-bearing" nation (*Bogonosets*):

> . . . do you know who are the only 'god-bearing' people on earth, destined to regenerate and save the world in the name of a new God, and to whom are given the keys of life and of the new world . . . Do you know which is that people and what is its name?[9]

Aware that without strong religious feelings such a man and society could not exist, and fearing the decline of the old Orthodox-patriarchal values in a bureaucratized and secularized Russia, the Slavophils demanded a return to the old pre-Petrine theocratic system, one in which the Church would absorb the state. In accordance with such an ideology the Slavophils asserted that when the Church has absorbed the state, then the state will ascend and become a Church over the whole world, a Church kingdom ruling over all the earth which is the "glorious destiny ordained for the Orthodox Church."[10]

The Slavophils asserted that the political organization as developed in the West was a system of conquest and force. Being therefore an instrument of oppression, such a political organization was foreign to the Slavs and to the Russian people, and it should not be maintained.[11] In accordance with the anarchic and egalitarian traditions of the Old-Slavonic society, the Slavophils

6: Tomasic 3-4 (1947-1948) 1963 RF1 Great Russia RF1

claimed that the commune should be the main unit of social organization of mankind. In the commune, it was not force or external coerciveness, not the minority or majority rule, but the collective mind, the inner motivations, the principle of unanimity and organic totality that prevailed.[13] It is only by being completely rooted in his own community and completely identified with his own people that man can be creative and can reach all-human ideas, they said.

In such a society in which the state disappears in the Church and in which the commune becomes the basic unit of social organization, instead of external and formal law and authority imposed from above, emotional bonds of unity, self-discipline, informal egalitarian justice and charity will prevail.[13] It is only in such an integrated community which has been fused with the Church and in which the total and organic unity of all members is established that real freedom of the individual can be realized,[14] according to Slavophilism.

Slavophil ideas exerted considerable political influence in Russia and in the rest of the Slav world. Exposed to the growing pressure of imperial designs of Western powers, and embarked on a program of their own imperial expansion in the direction of the Mediterranean and the Pacific, some of Russia's political circles welcomed Slavophil ideas as an ideological justification of Russia's foreign policies. Thus the idea of protection of Orthodox and of Slav peoples,[15] the idea of defense of the Slavs against the encroachments of the Germans and the idea of uniqueness and superiority of Slav culture played an important role in a series of nationalist movements and wars in which Russia became involved since the middle of the nineteenth century.

According to this Pan-Slav movement Russia was the only Christian land, the world outside Russia was "the land of the anti-Christ," the "incorporation of Satan." Accordingly, struggle with the West was not only inevitable, but necessary and salutary, both for Russia and the rest of humankind. And the victory will be undoubtedly on the side of Russia.[16]

For the continuance of its organic life the world required a centre. This centre must be found in a single nation able to

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lead the others. Russia was therefore predestined to fulfill this world mission. Hence the Pan-Slavs looked to Moscow, the ancient Russian capital, not the Westernized "City of Peter" (Petersburg) as the heart of Russia[17] and of mankind of the future—the Third Rome.

15
REVOLT OF THE RAZNOCHINTSY INTELLIGENTSIA (NIHILISM AND ANARCHISM)

I

BY THE second part of the nineteenth century, new changes were taking place in the economic relations as well as in the political and class structure of the Czardom. First of all, the process of disintegration of the old order under the impact of the industrialization and bureaucratization was rapidly coming to an end. Serfdom was abolished and with it there came the disastrous ruin of manorial estates which were not prepared to cope with the difficulties of a money and market economy. The result was that the number of impoverished and pauperized gentry was greatly increased.

At the same time the new laws tended to place emphasis on property. Thus, for instance, in the local assemblies of the noblemen the elective franchise was granted only to noblemen possessing a certain amount of land or a certain value of industrial establishment. This difference in civil rights according to the amount of property introduced a sharp cleavage into the gentry class. Earlier all dvorianstvo and all chinovnichestvo were considered equal in rights and had at least theoretically an equal chance to rise in power or to win the favor of the Czar. But now the new laws disfranchised and declassed a large part of the gentry. Similar laws favored the richer class among the merchants which meant that even in municipal affairs birth and education decreased in value in comparison with wealth.[1]

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178 In the new secularized and urbanized society, also, the position
565 of the clergy became increasingly precarious. Like other insti-
793 tutions of the Czardom the Russian Orthodox Church was organ-
ized along the lines of sharp social differentiation and domi-
nance-submission relationships. Russian Orthodox clergy as a
whole formed a closed caste institution. All lay clergymen and
many monastics were recruited from among the members of the
[582] families of lay clergy. Endogamous marriage was practiced
within this caste. The church maintained its own schools for
both the sons and the daughters of clergymen. In this manner
[184] the clergy had been separated from the rest of the society and
had developed a sub-culture of its own. The clerics were set
apart from others not only by their priestly garb, but by their
manners, and even by their names.

792 Internally, however, within the ranks of the Orthodox clergy
793 there was a sharp distinction between the monastic order (black
554 clergy) and the secular priesthood (white clergy). The monastic
order was rich in land donations and other possessions and all
the Church hierarchy was recruited from among its ranks. The
secular clergy was not only subordinate to the monastics, but
also poor. Among the secular clergy sharp class distinction ex-
isted between the city clergy and the village priests. This dif-
ferentiation was manifested in the differences in income, educa-
tion and prestige, as well as in the lack of intermarriage between
these strata. The difference was also reflected in the attitudes of
[369] the laity. While the city clergy were socially accepted by the mid-
dle and lower urban layers, the village priests were rather iso-
lated from the rest of the population.

However, the sharpest difference and social distance existed between the Church hierarchy and the rank-and-file clergymen. The heads of monasteries, for instance, behaved like real magnates. They took in large revenues, kept servants, horses and carriages, and hardly shared in the life of their monastic brothers, even though these Church dignitaries resided in monasteries. In the same way, the bishops were inclined to belittle the lay clergy under their control. They treated them with a great want of respect. They would abuse them, insult them and then even flog them.

3/4 [i.e. developing in the second half of the XIXth century – Analyst]

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It was this contrast between the alleged lofty calling of the minister of a privileged Church and his sad fate that must have depressed many a priest and made him bitter and resentful. Even before he became priest, while still a student in the divinity school, where he was educated at the government's expense, he was exposed to abusive treatment at the hands of his superiors. He was ill-fed, insufficiently clothed, and frequently beaten with the rod or lash. At one time these Church seminaries were so unpopular that children of the clergy had to be forced into them with the help of the knut and of the police. Embittered because of bad treatment, many of these young men nursed a grudge against their disciplinarians, as well as against the Church, the state, and the society at large. The instructors in these institutions, ill-paid and badly treated by their own superiors, were often as wretched and as discontented as their pupils.[2] In this manner the conditions in these institutions tended to reinforce feelings of rebellion which were nursed in the family.

As a result of such circumstances, Russian-Orthodox seminaries became a fertile ground for revolutionary political propaganda which was spreading with an increasing intensity in all the middle schools and universities of the Czardom ever since the abortive uprising of the Decembrists.[3] In this manner many Russian-Orthodox seminaries became hot-beds of subversive radicalism. Mutinies occurred and even attempts to assassinate rectors.

In the meantime, however, that is since 1869, services other than priesthood were opened to a priest's son. Since then the most rebellious youths from divinity schools and priestly families tended to leave church calling and engage in other activities. It was from among such rebels that many Russian revolutionaries were recruited. Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov among the "Nihilists," Nechaev among the Terrorists, Stalin among the Bolsheviks, are only a few outstanding examples in a long list of Russian professional conspirators and revolutionaries. Said Stalin:

> In protest against the humiliating regime and the jesuitical methods that prevailed in the seminary, I was ready to become, and eventually did become, a revolutionary, a believer in Marxism . . .[3]

3 [i.e. in December, 1825 — Analyst]

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668 647 701 554 In a similar manner revolt was brewing in the bureaucracy and the armed forces. In a system which was founded on the principles of absolute dominance, subservience and unconditional submission, it is to be expected that the civil service employees as well as many officers would be often exposed to caprice, arbitrariness and wrong doings on the part of their superiors. These, too, were left without possibility of redress as were the clergymen. Strong sense of rank and social distance were as marked in these strata as among the clergy.

871 565 The lay schools* were not much different in strictness and discipline from the priests' seminaries, and students in these schools were often as ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and as exposed to the rod and other degrading treatment. The student's parents, who were often impoverished gentry, petty chinovniks, or small traders with meager incomes and big families, were not always able to support their children throughout long years of schooling. At the same time in an economically and technologically [555] undeveloped society with strong traditions of service nobility, there was nothing that young people from such families could do but to enroll at a university or a military academy in order to obtain government office, or to engage in free learned professions. In Russian society of those days these were the only possibilities of obtaining positions of some prestige. Many of these students from impoverished strata had therefore to depend upon public or private munificence to finish their studies. Some of them became police informers to secure a meager income and to finish schooling. Many had to drop out of school because of lack of financial resources.

871 668 All Russian schools, therefore, on the middle as well as on the university level, became centers of revolt against an order which exposed them to humiliating treatment, but did not offer them opportunities in accordance with the established traditions of higher classes. Hence the higher the school, the more it was imbued with the revolutionary spirit. And the words "student" and "revolutionary" became synonymous.

517 647 641 When new laws were introduced and these ambitious and rebellious young men and women finally entered state service they found that in addition to being ill-treated and ill-paid, a

*[i.e. in the second half of the XIX th century -- Analyst]

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large part of them were disfranchised as well, because in municipal self-government and in district and provincial assemblies even persons holding university degrees, if they did not own a sufficient amount of property, were devoid of the right of suffrage.[4] And it was this underprivileged group of declassee nobility, of priests' sons, of former clerics, of sons and daughters of lower government employees, of unemployed professionals, of students and of former students who never had a chance to finish their studies, that became known as the *raznochintsy*.

The raznochintsy intelligentsia tended to lead a bohemian life and to engage in literary activities and journalism. But these vocations were greatly limited because of strict censorship laws. When the bar was established some raznochintsy practiced law as barristers, though they were very restricted in their activities because of traditional extra legal practices of the police. When under local self-administration (*Zemstvo*), a health, educational, and economic program for the improvement of rural areas was developed, a number of raznochintsy were employed by the Zemstvo as physicians, veterinarians, agronomists, teachers and bookkeepers. At the same time, their traditions and training, and especially their ambitions and expectations had conditioned the raznochintsy for intellectual pursuits and political leadership, not for routine administrative work or for business promotion and enterprise.

In such a situation the deeply rooted feeling of rejection which had been developed on the family level was greatly magnified.[5] Accordingly, self-centeredness, power-seeking, lack of trust, destructive aggression, as well as identification with suffering which were developed on the family level were heightened in these circumstances and found expression in ideologies which manifested extreme hostility and an urge for universal destruction. Many of these young rebels, for instance, denied all existing social institutions, conventions and restrictions, and demanded their total obliteration.

This ideology of extreme negation and destruction ("Nihilism") manifested, perhaps, the feelings of utter despair of the ambitious and self-seeking raznochintsy who felt impotent before the God-like power of the Czar and his omnipotent police.

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Thwarted in their drive for power and political leadership, these young men and women gave vent to their feelings of deprivation in phantasies and plans of destruction and death.

Much of the sadness, tragic sarcasm, morbidity and preoccupation with death and suffering which dominated Russian literature in the second part of the nineteenth century reflects such moods of despair. The predominance of social and political themes in the literary creations of these people and the insistence of literary critics of those days on literary "realism," that is, that a work of art should be judged not by artistic and esthetic criteria but by its portrayal of existing life and its faithfulness to reality, especially the brutal and dark reality, manifested the same feelings.

Pisarev, describing this psychological reaction of impotence and the urge for destruction before seemingly uncontrollable forces, stated that when men "find it impossible to transform life, their anger at their own impotence makes itself felt in the sphere of thought, where the destructive work of criticism proceeds unceasingly."[6] That the basic drive behind this urge for negation and destruction was extreme self-seeking is witnessed by some other ideas of the same writer. "Every living being," said Pisarev, "is for himself the center and the meaning of the universe . . . his personal joys, vexations, aspirations, and cares, are more important than universal revolutions. . . ."

Starting with such premises, some of the Nihilists refused to recognize any regulation, any moral law, any principle, whether above, external, or within a person as being "absolute." The result was preaching of extreme materialism and individualism, and denial of all "absolute" ethics, of duty and of responsibility, of ideals and of social values.

II

In the meantime, however, the effects of European revolutions of 1848 and the defeats of the Russian armies in the Crimean War (1854–1856) led some of the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia to the belief that the Czarist system was not as invulnerable as generally accepted. These people proposed direct and organized action against the Czarist regime in order to raze it to

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the ground together with all its fundamental institutions. Such plans for direct action aimed at total destruction of the existing order were developed by the Anarchists ("Our task is terrible, total, inexorable, and universal destruction".)[7]

Not unlike the Slavophils and the Nihilists, the Anarchists revolted against the existing formal law which was abused for personal gains of those in power. Just as the Nihilists, the Anarchists revolted against the family institution whose sacredness in Russian society often veiled arbitrariness, cruelty, injustices, and humiliations imposed by the elders upon the weak and unprotected. Like the Slavophils and the Nihilists, the Anarchists revolted against private property, the official Church, and the state because these institutions in the Czardom joined hands in supporting the system of serfdom and bureaucratic regimentation. "The only revolution which can do any good to the people is that which destroys, from top to bottom, every idea of the state, overthrowing all traditions, social orders, and classes. . . ."[8]

The Anarchists demanded a return to an anarchic and equalitarian brotherhood that strongly reminds one of the Old-Slavonic world. But following the patriarchal and Czarist traditions of unconditional power and dominance, the Anarchists, just as the Nihilists, usurped for themselves the right to cheat, to steal, to lie, to destroy, and to kill, as a means to do away with "deceit, cunning, exploitation, depravity, vice," of the ruling classes. Said Kropotkin:

> I will be immoral to snap a weapon abused by religion; I will do it, were it only to protest against the hypocrisy imposed on us in the name of a word to which the name morality was given.[9]

"The revolutionary defines as moral only that which assists the revolution, and defines as immoral and criminal that which stands in his way," says the *Catechism of Revolution*. In the same manner, Kropotkin, speaking of the Russian terrorists who assassinated Czar Alexander II, said that "these men and women . . . had conquered the right to kill. . . . 'They have the right to steal' . . ."[10]

In order to be able to destroy, to cheat, and to kill the exploiters and the representatives of the government, it was neces-

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sary to know how to hate them. The Anarchists therefore undertook to find ways by which extreme hatred could best be promoted. This, they said, should be done first by arousing passionate and uncompromising love for equality and freedom and becoming ready to suffer and to sacrifice oneself for these ideas; then by instilling burning hatred and urge of destruction of those who stand in the path of these objectives. "The terrorist," said Stepniak, "is noble, terrible, irresistibly fascinating for he combines in himself two sublimities of human grandeur: the martyr and the hero."[11] Such a revolutionary will "not hesitate to destroy any position, any place, or any man in this world. He must hate everyone and everything with an equal hatred."[12]

Ambivalence of hatred and love and justification of violence for the sake of salvation of others had their roots in the family and were reinforced by conditions in the society at large. Identification with suffering, guilt feelings, desire for martyrdom and self destruction had the same roots and reinforcements. On the ideological level of Anarchism these feelings and attitudes were formulated into principles of thought and action:

> . . . we do not forego our own capacity to love what seems to us good and to hate what seems to us bad. Love and hate, for only those who know how to hate know how to love . . . We only ask one thing, e.c. to eliminate all that impedes the free development of those two feelings in the present society, all that perverts our judgment: the state, the church, exploitation; judges, priests, government, exploiters . . .[13]

But since the primary sources of this ideology and conduct were feelings of rejection, hate and killing took the upper hand over love. Accordingly the Anarchists demanded severance of the relations with the rest of the society and complete dedication to destruction. "The revolutionary has broken all ties with society." He "should have no . . . attachments, no property and no name. All these must be wholly absorbed in the single thought and the single passion for revolution."[14]

Detachment from the rest of the society promoted self-pity and therefore reinforced destructive aggressiveness both against the others and against the self. Renouncement of all ethical, moral or other consideration in dealing with adversaries, pitiless-

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ness and ruthlessness both toward themselves and toward those who were not with them became in this manner an integral part of the revolutionary movement in Russia.[15] On such foundations a "science of merciless destruction" was developed:

> The revolutionary is wholly dedicated. He must show no mercy to the State or towards the civilized classes of society; nor does he ask for mercy for himself. Between him and society there is waged a mortal war declared or concealed, a relentless and irreconcilable fight to the death. He must accustom himself to torture.
>
> Tyrannical towards himself, the revolutionary must be tyrannical towards others. All the emotions that move human beings, all the soft and enervating feelings of kinship, love, friendship, gratitude and honor, must give way to a cold and single-minded passion for revolution. For him there exists only one pleasure, one consolation, one reward, one satisfaction—the success of the revolution. Night and day he must have but one thought, but one aim—merciless destruction. Coldly, relentlessly, he pursues his aim, and he must be prepared to perish himself, as he must be prepared to destroy with his own hands those who stand in his way.[16]

A revolutionary organization engaged in a life and death struggle with the rest of society precluded any internal disagreement. Bakunin, for instance, conceived a secret organization with a disciplined membership, a system of strict control of its members, and a rigidly centralized authority vested in one man only. Bakunin's secret society was to consist of three separate and independent groups which would function under different names and would be unacquainted with one another. Each one of these three groups was to operate in a different stratum of society. But each group was to be subject to a rigid hierarchy of power and each member of the group subjected to unconditional obedience to his superiors.

These secret societies were to be limited to a small number of people and were to include, as far as possible, only able, experienced, energetic, and influential men, professional conspirators, who, in strict obedience to a central control would lead the masses. All three secret societies were to be coordinated by a central committee which would have consisted of Bakunin and of three or four other members selected by him. Bakunin wanted

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668 to be sure that by means of such a "Politburo" he would be able to dictate the "Party line": "all the chief threads of the movement would have been concentrated in my hands, and I could have been sure that the intended revolution would not stray from the line I had laid down for it."[17]

The top revolutionary body was to regard all those below them as expendable in the interest of the revolution, "as revolutionary capital placed at their disposal."[18] This idea of a revolutionary elite leading expendable masses was justified by the Anarchist claim that masses are by themselves unable to achieve radical social changes. The Anarchists believed that only a minority consisting of professional conspirators, wholly dedicated to ruthless terror and destruction, can accomplish social revolution.[19]

This "science of revolution" had to be based on a thorough knowledge of a society which had to be infiltrated before it was destroyed.[20] *Catechism* had therefore classified all people into definite categories and had prescribed the attitude and the behavior of revolutionists toward each one of them. In the first two groups were the people who had to be immediately assassinated if the revolution were to be successful and counter-revolution prevented. ". . . their violent and sudden death will put fear into the heart of the government, break its will, and deprive it of its most energetic and intelligent agents."[21]

Next came the "highly placed beasts," that is, wealthy but not dangerous individuals with connections, influence and power; also ambitious careerists and "liberals of varying shades." All these were to be compromised and then blackmailed and compelled to serve the interests of the revolution. Finally came the categories of the intellectual "doctrinaires" who had to be "liquidated" unless won over to the cause of the revolution. "The majority of these will disappear but of the rest we shall make genuine revolutionaries."[22] Particular attention was paid [562] to women. Those completely won over to the revolutionary cause were considered "the most precious of our treasures."

Other methods in this "science of revolution" consisted of frightening the enemies, of cowing the neutrals and of terrifying their own followers. To that end assassination of members of

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revolutionary organizations was approved whenever such an act was considered necessary to strike terror into the hearts of the followers or to knit them more closely together.[23] Equally good was considered to be the method of deception, not only of the public, but also of the followers. Moreover, in order to achieve revolution and destroy the existing order, it was considered necessary to increase the existing evils. "The society will use all its resources to increase and intensify the evils and miseries of the people . . ."[24] so that the people would lose patience and be stimulated to a mass rising.

III

The extent to which Nihilist and Anarchist ideas had penetrated into various strata of Russian society by the middle of the second part of the nineteenth century may be indicated by the police records revealed during the many trials of Anarchists and Terrorists. Thus in a trial of a group known as the "Nechaevtsy," out of approximately 150 conspirators, about 30 of them or 20% were classified as nobles, about 50 or 33% of the accused were classified as students and former students. About 20 or 13% were sons of priests and divinity students. About 40 or 26% belonged to the class of bureaucrats and the military. About 15 or 10% belonged to the class of merchants and petty traders. There were five peasants, one artisan and one janitor in the group. There were also about ten women, married and single. The overwhelming majority of the conspirators were between 20 and 26 years of age, the median age being 22.[25]

As a result of Anarchist propaganda and agitation a number of secret revolutionary groups were organized and became known collectively as *podpolie* (underground).[26] One of them was *Zemlya i Volya* (land and freedom), organized in the early seventies. This society split a few years later into two factions, a moderate one, and an openly terroristic group known as the *Narodnaya Volya* (the people's will).[27] The *Narodovoltsy* initiated a series of terroristic acts and assassinations of high officials, including a number of attempts on the life of Czar Alexander II.[28]

The Czarist police fought back with the same weapons. The

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secret police had completely free hands in hunting down the members of the Terrorist movement, using the same cunning means as the terrorists did. Each party relied on terror, based on the principle that all means were justified. One of the principal victims in this struggle was Czar Alexander II whose ideas and policies were aimed at liberalizing the Russian society and raising it to the economic and educational level that had been achieved in the European West.

As a reaction against this event, Alexander's son and successor, Alexander III, instituted officially a regime of terror and declared a ruthless war of extermination of all terrorists and other subversive elements. The Russian public opinion, too, shocked by the assassination of Alexander II, was becoming alert to the dangers of terrorist practices.[29] Such circumstances had a disheartening effect on terrorist plans. A number of revolutionaries found it expedient to move the center of their activities to European capitals. Other young malcontents endeavored to "go among the people" (*iti v narod*) and start mass agitation and propaganda. These *Narodniki* wanted also to raise the educational and economic standards of the lower strata of the Russian society, particularly the peasants who were to play a significant role in the coming events.

16
THE STRUCTURE OF VILLAGE COMMUNITY

I

BEFORE serfdom, the land commune (*mir*) whose function was to distribute land periodically, to collect taxes and maintain order, was also an institution which protected its members from outside interference. It was an institution made up of peasants who were not differentiated economically and who knew their own needs and capacities. In such village communities the Old-Slavonic traditions of mutual aid and egalitarian

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brotherhood could still be maintained. Since the seventeenth century, however, expenditures for military campaigns and for growing ranks of salaried bureaucrats necessitated increasing state incomes which could be obtained without much delay. Since the state was industrially and commercially undeveloped, the only way to increase revenues was in finding new means to squeeze out of the peasantry a still larger part of its produce. Therefore the old system of direct tax collecting from the mir was found to function inefficiently on the estates of the nobility, and laws were passed which made the landowners responsible for the collection of state taxes from the peasantry. In this way ties between the manorial peasants and the central government were severed.[1]

As a result of such a change in the political structure, the manorial serfs became now entirely dependent upon the owners of the manorial estates. There was no more possibility for the peasants to appeal directly to the government. Between the government and the manorial peasants stood now the landlords to whom the peasants became exclusively responsible as a final authority in all matters, administrative as well as judiciary.[2] *Pomeshchik* was now looked upon as the "natural protector of people, their local judge, the guardian of their welfare, their tutor, the trustee of poor and orphans, observer of good order and law."[3] He was considered as the Czar's overseer and watchdog.[4] The patriarchal dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships which existed between the Czar and his subjects were now extended to the landlord and his serfs. Both the Czar and the landlord were addressed as *batyushka* (father).

The position of the serf, however, was now so much more precarious because in new relationships the power of the landlord was absolute. A life-long banishment to Siberia awaited him who lodged a complaint against his master. And since there were neither written laws nor any established customary law to regulate the relations between the serfs and the manorial lords, the serfs were completely dependent upon the degree of moral or ethical standards of their masters for their lives and well-being. These were often very low. Hence unprotected either by

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written or by customary rules of conduct and often exposed to the arbitrariness and mistreatment of their lords, the serfs on many manorial estates came to be completely dependent upon the will and capriciousness of their masters.

It is obvious that many landed gentry who were given such absolute rights over their serfs would tend to completely subjugate the mir also. In such circumstances the mir was likely to lose its character of a self-ruled and self-contained community and instead tended to become an instrument of landlord's power which made the landowner the absolute monarch of his estate. Under the overlordship of the estate owner the mir kept its watchful eye over every peasant, and made it easier for the landowner to manage his property, and for the government to rule the country. It was under such external pressures that the steppe traditions of an absolute, stern and distant patriarchal power were being strengthened among the peasantry.

II

The conditions of the peasants did not improve in these respects after the abolishment of serfdom in the second part of the nineteenth century.[5] The peasants were emancipated from the rule of the pomeshchiks and subjected again directly to the government. But now the government, pushed by pressing demands for increasing revenues, made the mir an instrument of state control and found in it one of the most exacting of tax collectors. In order to be assured of payment the state had to concede to the mir all of the most severe measures of authority. Now the mir was entitled to banish unsolvent peasants to Siberia. And when corporal punishment was abolished in urban criminal law practice, it was still left in use in the mir.[6]

After the abolishment of serfdom the mir came under the supervision of the district chief of police (*Ispravnik*). The law of 1874 gave the police the right to arrest and to fine the village elders, and even to demand from the governor of the province their discharge. The position of the elder became so undesirable that the mir sometimes had to exert force to obtain candidates for this office or to prevent those in office from resigning.[7]

There was another official in this system of rural administra-

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There was a petty official in this system of rural administration, the *pisar*, who, though only a salaried clerk, with no executive authority, frequently exerted great influence. He was usually a stranger to the commune because of his urban manners and dress. He might be a former divinity student, an army veteran, or a city clerk dismissed for inefficiency. He was ill paid as a commune clerk and inclined to make up for his low salary by accepting bribes.[8] But the real power in the village was often vested in the hands of the *uryadnik*, the village constable, who had manifold duties and many prerogatives. He tended to consider himself as Czar of the village and was inclined to be arbitrary and insolent. He often terrorized the peasants and "the government protected him in his practices, even to the point of prohibiting the newspapers from printing accounts of outrages he perpetrated."[9]

In the meantime other structural changes were taking place in the Russian village. Since earlier the landlords and now the government relied on a few peasants who controlled the mir, these often took advantage of their privileged position and tended to beguile the commune out of its best lands. Some of these people also owned taverns (*kabak*) and were money lenders and usurers. They tended to ape their masters, kept at a certain distance from other peasants and looked down upon them. Because of their greediness, misuse of power, and contemptuous attitude toward the peasants, they became known among the peasants as *miroedy* (mir-eaters) and as *kulaki* (fists).[10]

According to the established custom the decisions in the village assembly were arrived at unanimously and by acclamation. If there was a minority opinion the minority was expected to expressly or tacitly accept the view of the majority. In the Old-Slavonic village community and in the mir before serfdom a genuine unanimity rule was possible because that community was on the whole undifferentiated economically or socially, and was governed to a large extent by public consensus. But as soon as this rural community became stratified, the unanimity principle was exploited to the advantage of the dominant cliques. When serfdom was established, the unanimity principle was often employed to support the decisions and the whims of the landlords. And after emancipation, the police or an oligarchy of

[i.e. after the abolition of serfdom -- Analyst]

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623 a few kulaks were often able to force the commune members into unanimous decision by means of threats or bribing. And there was no appeal against such decisions.

565 621 154 In such circumstances many land communes tended to lose their former equalitarian and protective aspects and the peasants came to fear the mir and to feel an awe before it as much as they had a fear and awe before God and the Czar or before a stern and distant father. They feared the overwhelming power of the mir, the finality of its decision, and the lack of redress against its will They tended to identify the mir's final power with that of Almighty God. "There is no court for the mir, one God is its judge," they would say. Feeling helpless in the front of such an [156] uncontrollable power, there seemed to be nothing else for the peasants to do but to submit to its will. "One cannot argue with the mir"; "Mir will stand for itself, you cannot go against it" they would say. And since there was no other way out for one but to be a part of such an overwhelming and capricious institution the most expedient way of behavior for him was to accept it and to do as the others do. "Although bad, you cannot do without it"; "If you have to live with wolves you might as well howl as they do."[11]

621 625 156 The mir and police were empowered to interfere not only in the system of planting, sowing, and harvesting, but in family and personal affairs as well. The problems of paternal authority and filial duties, the relations between husband and wife, and between in-laws, the questions of inheritance, military conscription, and general behavior, all were within the grasp of these village authorities.[12] Just as in his own family, the rank-and-file individual was completely lost in his village commune. A rank-and-file man had the right to participate in the debates and was expected to vote unanimously for the regulations which restricted his personal and his economic freedom. He who dared to object was unprotected against the despotism and arbitrariness either of the ruling minority or of an incited mob. Thus the feelings of complete dependence upon superior powers prevailed in the community.

241 In addition, poor quality of land, lack of sufficient moisture, long and hard winters, many years of military service, low

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standards of formal education, low level of agricultural technology, undeveloped means of transportation and too many idle days handicapped the advance of agriculture. In such circumstances the peasants did not even produce sufficient food to nourish themselves, much less a surplus to exchange for manufactured products. As a consequence the peasants were exposed to periodical famines during which many died of starvation.

Periodical epidemics of cholera, typhus, small pox, and other diseases took a toll as high as famines. A low degree of personal hygiene in crowded living conditions also increased the death rate. In addition there was a great dearth of doctors, nurses and hospitals, and no measures of preventive medicine. Equally ruinous were the periodical cattle epidemics due to primitive techniques of cattle raising. One should add to these misfortunes the figure of more than one hundred thousand peasant homes destroyed each summer by fires, many of them the result of arson. And if one considers the widely spread robbery, theft and murder that went undetected and unpunished, one gets an idea of the distressing personal and social conditions in which the Russian peasant lived. It was in such circumstances, left entirely to his own resources, that he developed an ideological, emotional and symbolical world of his own.

17
THE ATTITUDES OF THE PEASANTRY

I

STUNNED by the magnitude of the inimical and arbitrary social and physical forces which surrounded him and completely controlled his life, the Great-Russian peasant felt impotent and helpless. In the family circle if he had to be submissive and he was exposed to arbitrariness of the elder, he also might have enjoyed a certain degree of protection and succor.

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Outside the family, however, this system of social relationships tended to lose its protection-dependence character and to emphasize domineering-subservience attitudes in complete contrast to the traditions of and his yearning for an equalitarian and protective folk community that had existed in the past.

In such circumstances his sense of rejection and his demand for acceptance which he might have experienced in the family were reinforced and magnified, affecting his whole view of life, his attitudes toward the world around him and his image of the universe. He was convinced that there was no justice in the world and that there was nobody to whom he could appeal for redress. "Injustice and untruth rule the world"; "Injustice and untruth started with the world and will end with the world," he would say.[1]

In such circumstances the peasant was inclined to see the wrathful, the revengeful, and the implacable aspect of God, especially since such image of a Christian God had support in the teachings of the Russian Orthodoxy. Accordingly the peasant visioned the saints who surrounded the Old Man as quarrelling among themselves and bragging about their strength and achievements and as being vindictive, cheating, and playing tricks on one another.[2] Since the peasant pictured Christ as being only the son of a wrathful Father, he could not depend upon him according to the Russian view of patriarchal family relationships. The Russian peasant therefore had a "sympathetic but detached view of Christ."[3]

The peasant's feeling of rejection in regard to God was manifested in his lack of assurance as to the help he could expect from Him. God, to whom he prayed, seldom interfered on his behalf against earthly authorities. And though "All power was from God," the peasant knew that "God gives power to whom he wants to." The peasant was therefore at times openly resentful of God's neglect. "God neither lets you live nor die," he would say. In his despair he was inclined to believe that there were other forces, beside God, which ruled the universe, such as the Devil who was looked upon as "the junior brother of God and his carpenter in the creation of the universe."[4] And, not unlike Asiatic steppe herders who lived in similar circumstances, the

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Great-Russian peasant saw the need to keep on good terms with this ruler of the underworld.

Since the Czar was identified with God, the peasant's feeling toward the Czar was like his attitude toward God. He knew that the Czar was as omnipotent as God. "Everything is in the power of God and the Czar," he would say. Therefore, he feared the Czar like he feared God, he felt an awe before the Czar as before God, and he hoped for the best, but it can hardly be said that he had much love for him. "Czar is not fire, but if you come close to him you will burn yourself," he would say. His idea was also that "Where there is Czar there is fear and dread," and that "Czar's rage spreads death." Since God was so far away, detached, neglectful, and implacable, it was the Czar's fearful power that mattered. "God's is the will, but the court is Czar's," he would say.[5]

The peasant's feelings toward the supreme power of the world and of the universe reflected only his bitter experiences with the representatives of these powers on the earth with whom he had to deal in local affairs. Often these did not bring justice, but venality, arbitrariness and persecution. "The court is founded on untruth and injustice"; "Where there is court there is chicanery," he would say. And since the judges were corrupted, the only way to get anything from them was to bribe them. "The judge is useful as much as the pocket is helpful," he would say. Such action, however, was not always advisable because of greediness of the judges. "You will never fill a judge's pocket"; "Do not litigate, you will strangle yourself."[6]

Because of his traditional distrust of authorities the peasant showed also a profound lack of trust in all written laws. He likened the law to the cobweb whose purpose was to catch the small and helpless, not the big and powerful ("The bumblebee will break through, the fly will get stuck."). He also compared the law to a tool that could be used arbitrarily by those who held it in their hands ("The law is like shaft, you turn it wherever you want it."). He noticed that "those who write the laws also break them," and concluded that "It is in vain to write laws if they are not carried out." In accordance with the Old-Slavonic anarchic and equalitarian traditions he was inclined to believe

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that "If all laws perished the people would live in truth and justice."[7]

The peasant realized that there was sharp differentiation in economic status in his society as well as in his own local community. But what he especially resented was that the men of wealth took advantage of their position to oppress the weak; and that the poor had to be utterly submissive and subservient to the well-to-do. "The one who is better off has long hands," the peasants would say, meaning that the men of wealth had control over others. And he would compare the arbitrariness of the man of power with the craftsman who handles his material according to his will. "The master is like the carpenter: he cuts the way it pleases him." He would also say that the rich man has all the space he wants "as much as the pike in the water," but as "for the poor there is nowhere any room." He resented the fact that though "Poverty was not sin, yet the people laughed at it." He also objected that the poor were forced to repress their real feelings and cringe before the rich. "The poor are angry at the rich, yet they find themselves in their trail with cap in hand," he would complain.[8]

The peasant therefore grew distrustful and resentful of everyone who was in one way or other above him. He could not depend much upon God and Czar, and he mistrusted the bureaucrats, the landlords, the priests, the judges, the police, and even the better-off people of his own strata. He was particularly distrustful of cities and city folk, of Moscow and Moscovites especially. From ancient times he looked upon Moscow, the seat of the Czar's government, as heartless and deceitful, and as the source of most of his troubles. "In Moscow," he thought, "you find everything except own father and mother." He also considered that his capital city was so corrupted that, "If you go to Moscow you must take there your last penny."

The peasant therefore lived in an environment in which he felt deserted by the powers of heaven and oppressed by their representatives on earth. He therefore felt unprotected, isolated, friendless, lonely, and insecure. His idea was that both God and man were against him. "If God attacks you, good people will attack you too," he would complain.

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The peasant therefore appraised the social environment in which he lived as dominated by powerful destructive forces which were capricious, neglectful and inimical but upon which he was completely dependent for his life and livelihood. He strongly resented these powers and wished he could destroy them, but felt helpless before them. He therefore projected his feelings of helplessness as well as his destructive urges into the supernatural world and proceeded to inhabit that world with all-powerful, arbitrary, and vicious beings which sought the annihilation of man, and of the earth.

II

On the family level in similar circumstances, two contrasting tendencies, that of complete submission to the parental power and that of rebellion against it are likely to be formed. In a like manner submission and rebellion characterized the behavior of the Russian peasantry on the local community level. The peasant was inclined to appear servile and docile toward all authorities. He would address every one of his superiors as "Father" (*batyushka*). He would bow low (*klanyatsya v poyas*) or in twain (*klanyatsya v nogi*) before them. Before the Czar he would prostrate himself (*chelobitye*) and if the Czar was passing by he would fall on his knees and cross himself. All he could hope for was that by offering unconditional obedience or by propitiating the powers that be, he would be spared. And if all this appeasing of the authorities were in vain he would refrain from revolt as long as he realized that he was utterly helpless and without support in the front of overwhelming powers. In such circumstances he tended to become completely resigned and fatalistic. He might arrive at the conclusion that "You cannot run away from fate, not even on horse-back," and that "Unto each man happens what was decreed at his birth."[9]

With such a frame of mind the Russian peasant was ready to accept great suffering without much complaint. "Misfortune is like the ocean: neither you can swim across it nor can you draw it out," he would say. "And who is it that was not visited by misfortune and misery?" he would ask. Therefore since "You cannot escape misery," "Do not struggle with misery, but suffer"

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(*S bedoyu ne perekoryaisya, terpi!*). And then if life is all suffering, why be afraid of death, he would ask himself. "Be afraid to live, do not be afraid to die! To live is more terrible than to die"; "We do not rejoice in life, but in death."[10]

Identification with suffering and preoccupation with death which has been conditioned by family experiences and reinforced on the community level led the Russian peasants to practice long and hard fasts, and to undertake difficult pilgrimages to far off places of worship. "There is only one salvation, fast and prayer"; "We don't live on bread, but on prayer" they would say. Long and hard fasting and prayer of the Great-Russian peasants were not only manifestations of his identification with suffering and his feeling of helplessness and complete dependency upon superior forces, but were perhaps also expressions of his tendency to completely retire from an unsatisfactory and an unhappy world.

The extremes of this suffering and withdrawal from the world were reached by anchorites who sought complete solitude in wild deserts "far away from men," and by those hermits who lived self-buried in the catacombs, away not only from man, but also from the light of day. Such people enjoyed among the peasants the fame of saints and were believed to possess miraculous powers. Many peasants would make vows of pilgrimage to places where such people lived self-buried, isolated and withdrawn from all human contact.

III

The peasant's complete submission to unpredictable and arbitrary forces was enhanced because of the lack of solidarity among the peasants themselves. After the peasant had been subjected to arbitrary regimentation and to permanent policing on the part of the authorities, he began to lose faith not only in the authorities but in his fellow peasants as well. Thus mistrust and suspiciousness rooted in patriarchal relations were heightened. In such circumstances the peasant became increasingly distrustful of his neighbors, tended to withdraw within his own family and to become himself ready to spy on others.[11]

In such conditions when isolated, helpless and self-oriented,

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the peasant tended to conceive of every man as a dangerous fellow. "Ruddy or red, the man is dangerous" (*Ryzhyi da krasnyi chelovek opasnyi*), he would say. He did not think he could expect any help from man. "Do not expect any good from a human being," he would advise. And between a living man and a dead one, he thought that the latter was preferred. "No evil comes from a dead man, and no good comes from a living one," he would assert. Many Great-Russian folk sayings emphasize the need for silence, or the necessity to spare words, so that one may not betray himself and let the others take advantage of him. "Do not say every word! Do not reveal every little thought when people are near!" these maxims caution. They also warn: "Do not believe every talk, do not tell every truth!"[12]

But such a lack of faith in human beings might lead to the resolution that one is quite justified to take advantage of everyone else, since all others would do the same to him. Thus social isolation and mistrust tended to reinforce self-seeking and encourage the use of all means to achieve one's personal ends: "Lie began with the world and with the world it will die," the peasants would say. They concluded that since "Man lives by falsehood, we too should not remain behind." Their advice therefore was: "Do not mourn for truth, make terms with falsehood"; "It is by falsehood that men live."[13]

The Great-Russian peasant was accordingly often forced to rely on deliberate deceit as a means of survival in a hostile, distrustful, and unreliable world. He did not consider it necessary to have any respect for agreements, contract obligations or given pledges. He tended to be crafty even in his dealings with God and saints. When committing sinful acts at home he would cover his icons. A number of Russian folk tales are concerned with cunning and show how profitable it might be for one to resort to such means.[14] Heroes in folk epics are addicted to deceit and are condoned for their deeds of guile. Merchants in peasant villages almost invariably used false weights and measures. Perjury was so frequent that there were people whose sole profession it was to swear falsely.[15]

While in such an aggressive mood the peasant was inclined to evoke to his help the dark forces. As a result there was a great

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demand for the witches (*vedma*) and wizards (*znakhar*), persons who dealt in black magic. One bought their services both as protection from his enemies and as a means of attack on them. In this manner the dealers in black magic who were a means of protection and attack were also an added threat in life. Some knowledge of defensive and offensive magic became therefore indispensable for everybody.

Destructive urges which developed in such conditions were manifested also in the idea that it was possible for one, if he so wished, to turn into vampire in order to bring evil upon his enemies or to suck their blood. Any wizard or witch by using a spell (*zagovor*) was able to transform a man into a vampire. Such men, transformed into ghost-beasts, would then deal their terrible blows on their enemies, slaking on their victims their thirst for blood.[16]

These same conditions fostered crime, particularly theft, robbery and murder. Some of the sayings, for instance, condone theft and even robbery, particularly if they were done cleverly and the perpetrators escaped being caught. That crime was not only a means of personal gain but also a means of protest against existing conditions is witnessed by those folk proverbs which rationalize or justify theft on the ground that those from whom it was stolen were likely to be much more guilty than the thieves themselves. "He who stole sinned once; those from whom it was stolen sinned ten times." The same motivation might be seen in the inclination to put the blame on the informers more than on the thieves. "Not he who steals, but he who leads is a thief," they would say.[17] Backed by such philosophy of life and favored by existing conditions, crime became widespread. And since in that society force was identified with law, violence was often justified as a means to secure the property of others, especially in times of war. "What is taken by force is sacred," the people would say.

Since the conditions in the patriarchal family and in the stratified local community fostered destructive aggression, and since violence was widely used by all the authorities, the peasant manifested a strong inclination toward violence, whenever this expression of his protest could go unpunished. On the family

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level violence was manifested in frequent beatings of wife and children, and on the rural community level in habitual drunkenness that often ended in brawls and even murder.[18] In conditions which foster human degradation and lack of trust, both self-seeking and vindictiveness flourish. Hence the Great-Russian peasant was inclined to commit atrocious acts of revenge against people whom he considered as his persecutors or who caused him any harm. When threatening with revenge the Great-Russian peasant was likely to say: "You will pay me with your own blood" (*Ty u menya kroviyu svoey umoeshsya*). Killing as a revenge, burning hay-ricks, barns and homes was a common occurrence. The peasants were likely to organize a collective hunt against real or fancied malefactors and mutilate them or put them to death by means of torture:

> For murder and robbery, death of the culprit—sometimes with mutilation by cutting and tearing off of various parts of his body. For horse-theft and grand larceny they practice sometimes hammering of iron nails into the head and forcing of wooden pins under the nails and also merciless beating even onto death; . . . in some instances the case ends by maiming the thief and letting him go.[19]

At the same time the frontiersmen and professional warriors, such as the Cossacks, became renowned and widely admired because of their deeds of vindictiveness and violence. War was a great opportunity for people with such inclinations. As Gogol has put it, the Cossacks found a great delight in "accumulating booty from raided towns, putting the villages and the fields on fire, and spreading their glories by far and wide throughout the steppe" in order "to revenge themselves for all evil and humiliation."[20] There were numerous robber and Cossack songs which told about such exploits, and expressed desire for vindictiveness and destructive aggression.

Destructive aggression was nursed on the patriarchal family level and reinforced by conditions in the local community. Thus as soon as the controls of the authorities would weaken, mass revolts would come into the open. Such a behavior in turn was used by the local authorities as a justification for their strictness in dealing with the peasants:

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Speaking of the character of the peasants Mr. Karnovitch observed, that whoever has to exercise authority over them must above all things guard against indecision, whether in word or act. The Russian always requires a definite command; and in disputes, if the settlement be distinct and pre-emptory, he will be satisfied, whether the sentence is favorable or unfavorable, wise or unwise. If there be hesitation, he immediately becomes intractable, while a resolute command has a magical influence which he cannot resist.[21]

In such a society which is kept together by naked force rather than by moral bonds, breakdown of controls easily results in revolt and upheavals, in widespread bloodshed and destruction. On such occasions, just like the raznochintsy intelligentsia, the peasants, too, tended to revolt against all forms of humiliation and oppressive submission and demanded reestablishment of the old community relations, in which truth and justice and equalitarian brotherhood of man prevailed.

Such forms of peasant protest, which were directed against all the authorities, the family, community elders, the landlord, the Church and the state, will be discussed on the following pages.

18
RELIGIOUS REVOLT OF THE PEASANTRY

I

THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH which in the course of its history came to be completely subjected to the state and was made an instrument of governing, supported the lay authorities in their policies of enserfment. But the state had meagerly rewarded the Church for such services. The revenues from the land donations given to the parishes by the state or by the landlords were not sufficient to maintain the parish priests and their families. The village priests therefore depended for their living upon the fees which the peasants

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had to pay for religious services. In addition many village priests had an inferior training, were often semi-literate, and were sometimes publicly humiliated by their superiors. Abased by hard conditions of life, some of them tended to lose self-respect and sought comfort in habitual drunkenness.

In the meantime as a result of the conditions of serfdom the economic situation of the peasants was deteriorating while the village priests whose main revenues consisted of fees received for their services tended to squeeze out of the peasantry all they could. Hence in many parishes the relations between the priests and the peasants gradually developed into a state of perpetual bickering and struggle.[1] In such circumstances peasants were likely to develop a negative attitude toward the clergy. To "have a priest's eye" meant in peasant idiom to covet everything. Similar meaning was conveyed in the phrase "Am I a priest to eat two dinners?" The peasants compared the greediness of the priests to that of the judges. "A priest waits for a rich dead, and a judge for a rich litigant"; "A judge's pocket is the same as a priest's belly," they would say. It was considered a bad omen to meet a priest on the street. It must be pointed out, also, that in a situation in which any expression of opposition against the lay authorities was very risky and dangerous, the attack against the priests might have served as a convenient substitute target for destructive aggression directed against the landlords and the state.

In such conditions government ukases and police measures were sometimes necessary to force the peasants into churches; they were made to confess and to take communion by means of threat. As a result, confession and communion tended to be looked upon as a commercialized formality. It was a tedious obligation that had to be paid for in cash, the same as all other tributes and taxes to which the peasants were subjected. In such circumstances, confession and communion tended to lose their function of consolation, comfort, relief from guilt and identification with divinity. As a result a growing number of peasants ceased to look upon the priests as their friends and protectors; they tended to look upon them as government agents who conspired with the landlords and the police against the

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peasants. Such a situation in many cases bred extreme antagonism against the priests, especially when hostility against the priests was stirred up by systematic agitation, as in the case of various sects of Dissenters (*Raskolniki*). This agitation often took the form of folk songs:

hairy ones . . . the beasts:
These beasts are the priests
They howl, like wolves. . . .

• • •

In the churches they praise the Lord hypocritically,
And ensnare innocent people with their words;
In the churches they offer glory to God,
And send the Uryadniks to hunt innocent people;

• • •

And they drive innocent people to Siberia.
In the churches they open their mouths,
But before the government they keep silent.
Their hair is long like women's,
But their brain is a great deal shorter.

• • •

They howl like beasts;

• • •

They extort from all.
Wicked hairy priests . . .[2]

• • •

The peasants were attracted to numerous sects of the Dissenters which were spreading in Russia, especially since the seventeenth century when the great movement of the Old Believers (*Starovery*) began. In these sects and their ideologies the peasants protested against the conditions of serfdom. The teachings of a number of these sects expressed yearning for a new life, and for an anarchic brotherhood of men in which nobody would be rejected and everybody accepted on equal terms. Peasant Sutayev, for instance, who founded the Sutayevtsy sect in 1880, was considered to be one of the most pious churchgoers before he revolted against the official Church. He rebelled when he was over fifty. The occasion was a dispute that he had with his parish priest over a fee for the burial of his grandson. It was after this quarrel that he stopped going to

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church claiming that " . . . one is not better for going there . . . because everything there has to be paid for. Besides, I have the Church within myself."[3]

Sutayev then started a religious crusade aiming at "a new life, the organization of a Christian life." He preached that "the nobles and the rich must give back the land to those to whom it of right belongs." He disapproved of commerce, of money, of private property, of violence, and of any form of coercion. He claimed that if commerce, money and violence were eliminated, then the courts and the tax collectors would disappear too. The tax collectors and all the functionaries who live on the people will not be necessary any more, he said. The army and the war will be suppressed since "all men are brothers." "The Kingdom of God must be brought here on the earth," he asserted.[4] Similar protest against the existing conditions of serfdom and rejection, and demand for an all-human equalitarian brotherhood were expressed in many songs of the Dissenters:

All kinds of ignorance,
Moral wretchedness,
Falsehood and inconsistency,
Baseness, hypocrisy,
Coarse superstition,
Are contrary to Christianity!
Slavery, oppression,
Violence, constraint,
Every sort of pressure against people—
All this—
Is abomination before God,
Transgression of his commandments.
All people on earth
Are the children of one mother,
And above God there is no power.
And all without regard to standing in society,
Should be equal
And free in their conscience.
Everyone can pray,
According to what seems to him,
To be his obligation in relation to God.

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• • •

Why then in deeds of faith
Measures of compulsion
And all kinds of constraint?

• • •

Why then is this?[5]

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Protest against the existing conditions of abusive dominance and subservient submission and longing for acceptance on terms of anarchic equality seems to have been the driving power behind the ideologies of a number of Great-Russian religious sects, such as the *Dukhobortsy* (the spirit-wrestlers), and the *Molokane* (the milk-drinkers). Not unlike the Nihilists and the Anarchists (whose reaction was also rooted in feelings of rejection), all these sects showed a strong resentment against abusive and distant authorities. At first the religious dissenters attacked the Church authorities but then this anti-authority attitude was generalized and extended to all the authorities, including the family, the landlords, the state and the Czar.

As a result all the authorities were blamed for the existing social ills and their removal was considered necessary in order to achieve a better life. There was no need for official clergy, courts, churches, sacraments, fasts, confession, communion, or any Church rituals except simple hymn singing, these sects said. There was no need for the Czar either, they claimed. Anything that smacked of authority and power was rejected. "We behold what a spirit of impiety works and shall work to the end of the world in all holders of power," they stated.[6] In 1868, a sect decreed that anyone who prays for the existing authorities shall be excommunicated. Now all the authorities, not just the priests, were identified with the beasts! "How will you ever find grace at the hands of the Beast?" A number of these sects identified the Czar with the Anti-Christ.

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In their reaction against the suppression of the individual in the interest of those who hold power and in their strongly felt need for acceptance on terms of complete equality, the Dukhobortsy—not unlike the Nihilists—proclaimed the supremacy and the sanctity of the individual. Their demand for an anarchic acceptance was manifested in the emphasis of the

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worth and dignity of the individual above all other values; the Dukhobortsy claimed that every human being was a god. "God is spirit; he is in us; then we are gods."[7]

Disapproval of oppressive authority on the family level led the Dukhobortsy to repudiate even the names of "father" and "mother." They therefore did not call their parents "father" and "mother," but only "old man" and "old woman." In the same way a father would not say of his children "mine," but "ours."[8] Proscribing the existing degrading subjection of the wife to her husband the Dukhobortsy—not unlike the early Slavs—stressed the complete equality of men and women, husbands and wives. "Among us a woman is not a beast of burden, but a helpmate and standby, a friend and companion in this vale of misery," the Molokane would say.[9] The men called their wives "sisters."

To satisfy their demands for complete acceptance and anarchic relations the Molokane attempted to build a society in which all things were to be possessed in common, and in which the evangelic principles of charity and equality, and the gospel of peace, truth and justice would reign supreme and forever.[10] They felt that it was only in such a communistic society that complete acceptance of all on equal terms could be achieved.

II

Just as in the ideology and practices of Russian monasticism, in some sects of the Dissenters reaction against the oppressive conditions and feeling of utter rejection took the form of extreme social withdrawal. For instance, the *Straniki* (wanderers) proscribed marriage and all family ties, and sought salvation in isolation and flight as the only way to avoid any contact with "Satan's representatives," that is, with the authorities. They would destroy and reject passports and all papers of identification, admit of no social distinction or ties, renounce private property and tramp from village to village, living by theft or by the hospitality of their sympathizers who provided food and secret shelter for them. "Have no city, no village, no home," they would advise.[11]

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795 156 Another manifestation of withdrawal from degrading oppression was expressed by the *Molchalniki* (speechless) or *Bezslovestnye* (mutes), the sect whose members refused to speak. The moment one would join this sect he would suddenly become dumb and nothing could force even a syllable from his lips. The government was unable to obtain any information from such voluntary martyrs,[12] even under extreme torture.[13] The Theodosians and the Denisovtsy manifested feelings of dejection and withdrawal by means of complete asceticism. These sects demanded celibacy and abstinence not only from bachelors, but from married people as well. ("Let the unwedded wed not, the wedded separate"). The members of these sects therefore [792] founded settlements which were organized along monastic lines, where they attempted to live a solitary life of complete seclusion in the wilderness, and far away from worldly authorities.[14]

On the other hand, some sects apparently reacted to the existing unsatisfactory conditions by various forms of destructive aggressiveness, including self-destruction. The *Skoptsy* (castrated), for instance, practiced castration and mutilation of sex organs.[15] Other sects preached and practiced mass assassination and mass immolation. The *De'oubiytsy* (infant-killers), preached and practiced infanticide. The *Dushilshchiki* (stranglers) or *Tyukalshchiki* (clubbers) preached and practiced killing of adults.[16] Other sects, such as the *Samoszhigateli* (self-cremators) of *Morelshchiki* (self-immolators), organized mass immolation. Cases of such acts of extreme destructiveness have occurred until the end of the nineteenth century, and in the most different and distant parts of the Empire where the Great-Russians are settled.[17] As among the Anarchists, there was among these people an urge for pan-destruction:

> I wish that all Romanov, every man, wife, and child, would come to the banks of the Volga, throw themselves into the waters, and sink to the bottom so that the temptations of the world should not attract them. And what is even better: that I might set fire to and burn down the entire city;—what joy if it were to burn from end to end destroying all the aged and infants, so that none could receive the stamp of Antichrist.[18]

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III

Just as in the ideology of Nihilism and Anarchism, revolt against degrading submission and rejection and demand for acceptance in some sects took the form of extreme power-seeking and self-deification. In the sect *Lyudi Bozhii* (people of God), for instance, the craving to become God incarnate or to have a live incarnation of Deity actually present in their midst was so strong that since the time of the sect's founder who claimed to be God Zebaoth (Sabaoth) a whole series of Christs came into being, succeeding one another by a sort of filiation or adoption. Finally each religious community of this sect boasted of having a flesh-and-blood Christ in its midst. They claimed that it was in each man's own power to unite himself to the Deity and to incarnate it in his own body. A woman had the faculty to become *Boginya* (the Goddess) or *Bogoroditsa* (Mother of God) and many women did achieve such self-apotheosis, adding to the number of divinities of each community.[19]

It was by means of suffering and mortification of flesh that candidates for Messiahship competed among themselves for this supreme achievement. These exploits were accompanied with self-glorification. In this way both power-seeking and identification with suffering were realized. The followers would watch for years to see which of the rival pretenders to Christhood underwent the greatest sufferings. The rivals for Godship, on the other hand, often resorted to trickery to prove their claims.[20] But once the issue was settled and a God-incarnate was recognized, the whole congregation owed Him supreme reverence and unconditional obedience which satisfied the contender's craving for power: "I am God, foretold of the prophets. There is no other God than I. Seek ye none other. Where unto ye are appointed, abide therein."[21] On the part of the congregation the desire for Christ-incarnate in their midst manifested a strong need for protective dependence and acceptance.

Hence longing for a world in which truth and justice, kindness and love would reign, in which there would be no abusive serfdom, no subservience, tortures and sufferings, but happi-

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ness, trust and all-human equality and fraternal aid was strongly felt in these sects. Many of these people expressed such yearnings in the form of religious hymns and rituals. It is to be expected that in these hymns and practices Christ and Mother of God, symbols of love and acceptance, not "Old God," symbol of rage and fear, would be worshipped and longed for:

The Czardom of Truth will be restored
Amongst us here on earth,
And the flame of heavenly life
Will be rekindled in our midst.
Only then, when malice and slander
Disappear from the face of earth,
And man acknowledges the Lord,
God of everlasting love,
When the world replaces pride and hypocrisy
With Truth and Justice of God,
And in the yearnings of the noble soul
Love and kindness are revived,
When all are equal under God
And the weak no longer are oppressed,
When man his thoughts to Lord will turn
And spread Truth and Justice of God,
When the force of dismal prisons, tortures and shackles
No longer reigns,
The living God will resurrect
Eternal freedom in the heart of man.
To this Czardom, thou seeker of God,
Hasten and sincerely yearn for
With a clear heart, tirelessly,
Pray thou to the Creator of the universe.
For to sow the seeds of good and love,
Are we summoned by the Lord;
So that torture and death do not appall us
In the living of our days,
We will have to be the executors
Of the Holy conceptions of Christ
Then the Czardom of Truth of God
Will tread upon the earth.
We shall have the destiny
Of creating Christ's Family.

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This is great fortune
For all the servants of the world,
Sharers in honesty and trust,
Executors of the Covenant of Christ.[23]

Longing for acceptance was not only manifested in the worship of living "Christ," but also in carnal communion with the "Christs" and "Madonnas," in ecstatic trances and mass religious hallucinations, and apparently even in some cannibalistic practices.[24] Thus when in consequence of sacred rites a Bogorodica would bear a child, if a boy, he was known as *Khristosik* (the little Christ). According to some students of Russia's religious life the Khristosik was immolated on the eighth day after his birth. His heart and blood, mixed with flour and honey, were served to make the cakes for the Eucharist. This practice was called "Taking Communion in the blood of the Lamb."[24] At other times, according to the same sources, it was a young virgin, chosen as Mother of God who willingly gave her left breast to be cut out amidst ritual dancing and singing. The breast was then partaken of as the "true Eucharistic food."[25]

Great emotional insecurity and extreme fear of rejection might explain why elements of power-seeking were present in all sects, even in those which professed complete repudiation of power in any form whatsoever. For instance, Popov, the founder of the Molokane sect which originally professed complete freedom of conscience and complete equality, eventually entirely suppressed liberty of discussion and interpretation. Unconditional submission to the authorities he declared to be the first duty, insubordination the greatest sin.[26] Andrey Selivanov, the founder of the Skoptsy sect, had himself designated in the prayers which were addressed to him in his lifetime, as "God of Gods and King of Kings," even though the Skoptsy sect professed complete freedom from any form of coercion.[27]

Also early in the history of the Dukhobortsy we find that their communistic practices finally led to dictatorship and despotism.[28] The leaders of this sect knew how to take personal advantage of the longing of the sect members for protective dependence and acceptance. One of the leaders of this sect, Kapustin, in the beginning of the nineteenth century expounded

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the communistic tenets of the Dukhobortsy in such a way as to turn them to his own profit and advantage. Like other Dukhobortsy, Kapustin too believed that God was in every man, and therefore all men were equal. He said, however, that God first had revealed himself in Jesus and the soul of Jesus has then continually animated new bodies throughout many generations. And by virtue of its higher qualities, and the absolute command of God, the soul of Jesus as it passed from one man to another had invariably retained its identity, and the man in whom the soul of Jesus resided, unmistakenly knew he was Jesus:

> Thus Sylvan Kolisnikof at Nikisk whom many of older among you knew, was Jesus; but now, as truly as the heaven is above and the earth under my feet, I am the true Jesus Christ, your Lord! fall down therefore on your knees and worship me![38]

Kapustin introduced a complete community of goods among his followers. They worked the fields in common and divided the harvest among them. Storehouses were erected to provide against years of dearth or famine. Also various kinds of industries were introduced and the colony showed visible progress in the first few years of its existence. Kapustin had also assembled an advisory Council of thirty Elders about him, from among whom an inner circle of twelve was selected. These were known as "The Apostles." Before he died he endeavored to impose his son as his successor and claimed that when he died the soul of Jesus would enter the body of his son.

After Kapustin's death dissatisfactions grew stronger and manifested themselves in suspicion, mistrust, and denunciation. The Council of Elders developed into an inquisitional tribunal which ruled arbitrarily, interpreting justice according to their caprices. Those who submitted unconditionally were rewarded, those who were suspected of deviation were accused of treachery and of intention to go over to their "enemy" that is, the official Church, and were punished with torture and even with death. The house from which the Elders ruled became known as *Ray i muka*—paradise and torture.[39]

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19
PEASANT UPRISINGS

I

EVER since the establishment of serfdom, slaves and serfs would free themselves from oppressive bondage by joining the gangs of vagabonds, fugitives from justice, army deserters, malcontents and escapees of all kinds, many of whom lived by theft, robbery, and begging. These victims of oppression, as well as many adventurers, gathered along the frontiers of the empire in "no man's land" where they would organize themselves as bands of freebooters, guerillas, and mercenaries, ready to enter the service of rival powers.

In the regions of the lower Don and Dnieper these communities of fugitives of all social classes and occupations and of many races formed elective military governments, known as the Cossack republics. Once they were established, these free Cossack communes served as a place of attraction to all who longed for freedom from oppression or who sought adventure. In these free societies no one was asked any question about his passport, his identity, his domicile, his faith, or his belongings. Everyone willing to fight and loot was welcome, but none was forced to come or stay.[1]

However, by the middle of the seventeenth century in these Cossack commonwealths, there appeared a social differentiation between the old settlers and the newcomers. The older settlers formed a property-owning class known as the "house-owners," and the newcomers became known as the *golytba* (the naked). And it was these unsettled and restless Cossacks of the "naked class" that played an especially prominent part in the uprisings of the seventeenth century and later.[2]

The first part of the seventeenth century, known in the history of the Czardom as the "Period of Trouble," was characterized by the lack of an established authority. The old dynasty had

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175 669 ended in a violent and mysterious way and a number of pretenders arose to take its place. It was in this interval between the [566] fall of the former authority and the relative consolidation of a new one that the oppressed strata of the Czardom saw an opportunity to rebel against a state of humiliating bondage and economic misery. Seeking relief from their burdens and yearning for social acceptance in a system of equalitarian relationships, the poorer burghers, homeless Cossacks and runaway peasants and slaves flocked into the camp of Bolotnikov, himself an ex-slave and adventurer who marched at the head of this strange army upon Moscow. From his camp near Moscow he distributed proclamations inviting slaves and serfs to slay their masters, commanding all of his followers to rise against the voevodas and others in authority, and exciting them to rob and beat traders. In return he promised the slaves and serfs the wives and the property of the serf-owners. To all his followers he pledged honors, riches and the status of boyars.[3]

[152] Search for security in a system of protection-dependence relationships manifested itself in a need for pretenders. If only a rumor started about the appearance of a pretender, whole provinces would rise to greet him. Sometimes a pretender had to be subsequently found to lead these masses of discontents who rose to follow a fancied liberator and benefactor. Such conditions only contributed to the prolongation of the troubled times and prevented an early establishment and consolidation of a new authority. It was in such a way that most of the seventeenth century became a century of riotings and rebellions which climaxed in the great rising under Stanka Razin in 1670–1671. Originating among the Don Cossacks, this movement soon spread to the Volga regions and developed into a general war of the lower strata against the upper classes. In this, as in the other uprisings of that century, many excesses were committed by both the rebels and the government forces. The same features of social struggle were repeated in the eighteenth century, in the great peasant rebellion that was led by Pugachev, another Cossack chieftain.

565 669 Also the nineteenth century witnessed a number of peasant rebellions. In the beginning of that century the peasants of the

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Pensa gubernia rose against the landlords with the slogan "Liberty and Land" (*Zemlya i Volya*).[4] Ever since they had been enserfed and bound to the land, the peasants kept in cherished memory the *Yuriev den*, St. George's day, the day when in earlier times each peasant was allowed to leave his landlord (*vykhod*). The peasants' demand for freedom from bondage was as strong as their demand for land. When the ideas of personal, economic and political freedoms started to penetrate Russia from the European West, also, the Russian peasants, owing to a growing contact with the city and the intelligentsia, became affected by them and in consequence revolts were increasing in number. Between 1826 and 1830 there were 41 cases of peasant rebellions and between 1858–1860 there were 284 such uprisings.[5]

It is significant to note that these peasant rebellions became especially prominent and especially widely spread each time the ruling class had suffered loss of prestige, such as in case of defeat on the battlefield. During the Crimean War in 1854 and 1855 widespread peasant uprisings took place on the shores of the Volga, and in central and southwestern gubernias, the Vladimir, Ryasan, Tambov, Pensa, and Voronezh.[6] In these provinces the mir institution prevailed and periodical redistribution of land was practiced. Here also reaction against abusive and humiliating conditions of serfdom was very intense and demand for land became very strong. In these provinces the traditions of earlier revolts were fresh in the memory of the peasantry. In addition, growing density of population and increasing land shortage tended to strengthen the revolutionary attitudes of the peasants. Their hostilities turned against the landlords whom they blamed for all their ills and misfortunes.

II

The defeat in the Crimean War and the internal disturbances which followed that war forced the Czarist government to undertake measures to reorganize its armed forces and to stabilize the regime internally. After being defeated by technologically and politically superior enemies, the Czarist government finally realized that in order to improve Russia's fighting effectiveness vis-a-vis the West, higher state revenues were needed and these

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could be achieved only if Russia was to change radically its economic structure. As a result of such a trend of events and of thought the government passed a decree in 1861 according to which the peasants were set legally free from their masters.

As a consequence of his legal emancipation, the peasant found himself in the possession of less arable land than before, and he was still bound to it. He was overburdened even more than before because he was obliged to pay high redemption dues in addition to the heavy taxes that were imposed on him. Moreover the peasants in land communes not only remained jointly responsible to the government for the payment of taxes, but they were also made jointly responsible for redemption payments. The commune's authority over the peasants was increased and the peasant found himself under an even more exacting and more despotic commune regimentation than the one that existed before the "Emancipation Act."

At the same time the peasant still did not have sufficient arable land. He also lacked pasture grounds and timber which were of special importance in his technologically backward and extensive agricultural economy; most of such land was left in the hands of his former masters. The acuteness of land shortage was especially felt because of lack of artificial fertilizers, need for draught animals, and primitiveness of farm equipment. Many peasants did not even possess a wooden plow.

But though the emancipation act of 1861 still kept the peasants bound to the land, and did not provide them with sufficient land, it did open up opportunities for their economic advance and political activation. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, the peasantry became generally recognized as a potentially very significant force, both politically and economically. It was this prospect of the peasant masses as the leading political power of the future in combination with the Slavophil idealization of the peasantry that gave rise to the ideology of *narodnichestvo* (populism). This ideology idealized the virtues and the creative potentialities of the peasantry, and just as the Slavophils, the narodniki claimed that the reconstruction of Russian society, even of the whole world, will come from Russian peasantry.

By the end of that century a faction of Russian radical intel-

By the end of that century[1] a faction of Russian radical intel- 668
ligentsia fused the Russian Narodnik and Anarchist ideologies 517
and practices with those of Western Socialism and formed the 665
Party of Socialist Revolutionaries. The program of this Party [177]
was agrarian socialism and terrorism. They published leaflets and manifestos, and spread their ideas in the villages. The Socialist Revolutionaries preached open violence as a means of overthrowing the Czarist regime. They relied on the peasantry to start uprisings against the landlords and government officials, and to commit individual acts of terror to achieve their ends. Just as earlier, the Anarchists and Terrorists, the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, had a separate organization which specialized in perpetrating acts of terror:

> Where the lash and the whip are, there are also the bomb and the revolver! So has it been, so is it now, and so shall it be. When public indignation and hate become centered upon an agent of the regime whether he be placed high or low; when that agent becomes a symbol of violence and despotism; when his activity becomes harmful to the commonweal; when no means are available to render him harmless and his continued existence represents an affront to the social conscience, then is the door open to terror in the executor of the sentence pressed from the hearts of public-minded citizens.[7]

The terroristic organization of the Party of Socialist Revolu- 665
tionaries enjoyed complete autonomy within the Party. It had its 668
own sources of revenue and was independent in selection of prospective victims. In the course of a few years of its existence it perpetrated more than two hundred acts of terror. Most of these consisted of assassinations or of attempted assassinations of highly placed officials of the government, including a member of the Imperial Family, two Ministers of Interior, thirty-nine governors, seventy-four ranking officers of the army and the navy, and fifty-two high police officials. Seventy percent of these acts of terror were perpetrated by workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors.[8]

The Socialist Revolutionaries relied mainly on middle and 665
poor peasant strata. They attempted to widen the gap between 565
the better-off and the poor, to set up the lowest strata against the 668
upper, to stir class hatred against the kulaks. In their manifestos, leaflets, and speeches, the Socialist Revolutionaries harangued

[1] [i.e. 19th century — Analyst]

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the peasantry, and appealed to their deeply rooted hostilities against the ruling classes, and against all people of means. In their proclamations to the peasantry they stated that "the land belongs to those who till it." They incited the peasants to appropriate by force hay, pasture, and timber. They also encouraged violence and murder against all those whom they held responsible for their plight.[9]

As a result of such propaganda and agitation combined with economic and social difficulties, peasant disturbances were renewed and increased in frequency and intensity. They led to the events of 1905. That year the government suffered a considerable loss of prestige because of the defeat on the battlefield (the Japanese War of 1904–1905). In such circumstances (the same as after the Crimean War), fear and awe and unconditional obedience—the foundations of Czarist rule—were shaken, internal disturbances ensued and threatened the existence of the Czardom. By this time the revolutionary eruptions of the peasantry were combined with those of the industrial proletariat. Between January and April, 1905, there were about 660,000 workers on economic and political strikes.[10] In October of the same year there was again a general strike.

In that month also a general peasant rising took place embracing three hundred districts in 47 gubernias. Again it was the central and southern regions that took the lead;[11] and again the gubernias in which the landlords suffered the heaviest losses were predominantly those where the system of repartitional land tenure prevailed over the system of individual peasant households and of hereditary holdings. In the communities with communal land holdings the dissatisfaction was greatest and violence ran especially high.

The activities of the Social Revolutionaries in the village were joined by those of the Bolsheviks. By the beginning of the twentieth century a wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party, the Bolsheviks, who earlier scorned the peasants and worked exclusively among the urban proletariat, began to pay more attention to the Russian village. They became impressed by the frequency and the intensity of the peasants' disturbances and realized that the peasantry presented potentially very ex-

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plosive revolutionary material. Hence the Bolsheviks began to send their agitators into the village.

There was no tendency among these extremists and maximalists to make use of peaceful means which had now been made possible by the Czar's Manifesto of October, 1905. In this manifesto legislative powers were given to Duma (house of representatives) and a certain degree of political, cultural and personal freedom was introduced. On the contrary these professional conspirators, following Anarchist precepts and practices, took advantage of increased opportunities for political agitation. That year the Socialist Revolutionaries in one of their proclamations stated: "If you need more land, hay, pasture, timber, take it from the landlord. Do not pay taxes. Drive evil priests out of the villages, boycott the courts, replace bad officials by good, throw out the police!"[12] In the same year the Bolsheviks, struck by the increasing restlessness in the village, called upon the peasants and the village proletariat for a "collective refusal to pay taxes, refusal to furnish recruits, refusal to fulfill the orders and commands of the government and its agents."[13]

III

Such revolutionary ideas which were infiltrating the villages not only confirmed the peasants in their beliefs and dispositions; they also tended to promote their feelings of rebelliousness, to radicalize them in the extreme, and push them toward excesses. In common with most tillers of land, the Russian peasants were convinced that the land by "natural right" belonged only to those who cultivate it, and that somehow, sometimes in the past, the land was taken away from them by force and trickery, not by right and justice.

The question of ownership of land was closely related to humiliating subservience to the landlords, the commune and the state. Ownership of land meant the regaining of self-respect. The peasants were therefore inclined to believe that they never lost the right to the land and that someday, somehow, all the land would have to be given back to them. "We are yours, but the land is ours" (*My vashi a zemlya nasha*), the peasants would say to the pomeshchiks. The speeches of the peasants' deputies

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The speeches of the peasants' deputies in the second Duma unmistakably show that the peasants considered that the land belonged to them and to nobody else and that the times of degrading oppression were over. They declared themselves in favor of the free distribution of all the land that was in the possession of the nobility, the Church, and the state:

> We are talking of land these days as of nothing else. We are told it is a sacred, inviolate possession. I think if the people want it, there can be no inviolateness about it. Gentlemen of the nobility! You think we have forgotten the time when you used us as stakes in playing at cards and exchanged us for dogs! We know we were your sacred inviolate property. But the land has been stolen from us. The peasants who have sent me here have said that the land is ours! We have come here not to buy but to take it.[14]

Because of such beliefs and ideas which were intensified by systematic revolutionary propaganda of professional conspirators and agitators, any rumors concerning the land always found a ready response among the peasantry. It is for the same reason that often only a vague rumor about a government land decree was sufficient to convince the peasants that the land was given back to them by the Czar, but that it was the lesser government officials, bribed by the landlords, who kept the land out of their hands. Such land-hungry peasants, already inclined to rebel against age-long and humiliating dependency, were ready to take the law into their own hands, to seize the manorial lands, to loot the estates and to kill the landlords whenever they felt that the power of the existing authorities was crumbling.

The professional conspirators among the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia took full advantage of such inclinations. Their revolutionary plans were especially favored by the growing differentiation in the Russian villages. In the first decade of the twentieth century economic and social differentiation in the Great-Russian village was already well advanced. It was favored by a series of government measures (Stolypin reforms)[15] which were aimed at developing a stratum of independent and prosperous peasantry and destroying the system of communal landholding. As a result of such measures the Great-Russian village became by the first decade of this century composed of a number

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of strata, whose interests were often conflicting. There were the *obshchiniki* (the communal landholders), the *otrubniki* (the peasant private property owners), the *khutoriane* (isolated homestead owners), the *bednyaki* (the poor and indebted peasants), the *serednyaki* (the middle peasants), and the *kulaki*. Finally, there were still the pomeshchiki who owned manorial estates with arable lands, timber-forests and pasture grounds. These were, however, gradually selling their land to the better-off peasants.

The peasant private landholders prospered better than those in the communes. The yield per acre on communal lands has always been much lower than on the private lands. The communal landholders had to rely for a part of their income on wages. These they got as seasonal industrial workers or as agricultural laborers on the lands of the landed gentry. They also worked on the lands of better-off individual peasant property owners whom they resented and called *"novye pomeshchiki"* (the new squires). The poor, landless, and indebted peasants antagonized the better-off peasants. The lower and the middle peasants resented the kulaks and the pomeshchiki.

At the same time the individualization of the Great-Russian peasantry was proceeding very slowly in spite of government help and encouragement. By 1912 the proportion of consolidated peasant holdings, as compared to those remaining in the communal system, was less than 11 percent. Between 1907 and 1915 only about 20 percent of the peasants left land commune.[16] This slow decommunalization did not, however, indicate lack of desire for private land ownership. The reasons for the persistence of the old communal land system lay in the shortage of land, in peasant poverty, in vested interests within the village commune, and finally in traditional lack of self-reliance among the peasants.

As long as a large part of the Great-Russian peasantry remained in the system of communal landholding where lack of initiative and primitive techniques of cultivation prevailed, no great general improvement in land cultivation and in the standard of living of the peasantry could have been expected in spite of all government efforts. Thus, economically insecure and

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hungry for land, resentful of degrading dependency and inclined to be hostile to the existing authorities, many peasants were ready to follow the leadership of professional conspirators and demagogues who incited them to revolt and promised them "land and freedom." Such feelings and attitudes were of decisive importance in the revolutionary days of 1917, as well as later in the civil war.

20
ASCENDENCY OF BOLSHEVISM

I

WHEN the Czardom in the eighteenth century embarked on its policy of industrialization, the newly built industries, both those state owned and those owned by the landed nobility, were based on serf labor. Also the non-noble entrepreneurs purchased or rented serfs to work in their mines and factories.[1] In such conditions the technical equipment and the production output of Russia's industries remained at a very low level. There was no incentive to introduce technological improvements as long as the labor was abundant, and its cost low. Only a few industries, such as the cotton industry which was in the hands of non-noble owners, and which from its start was based on free labor, had introduced modern machinery.

Thus since the Russian industries did not advance technologically and were unable to compete with the European industrial products, they had to be protected by high tariff barriers, by grants and subsidies. This situation kept the level of prices of manufactured goods high in comparison with the buying power of the industrial workers, of peasants and of middle urban strata. The resulting lack of buying power of these broad strata of the population made the progress of industrialization in Russia very slow, uneven, unstable, and chronically affected by crises

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and unemployment, a situation that was well exploited by the professional conspirators, particularly the Bolsheviks.

By the end of the nineteenth century the first wave of strikes swept the country.[4] At first the strikes were spontaneous, local and purely economic in character. The workers wanted higher wages and better working conditions. But since many industries were located in Petersburgh which was the center of heavy industry, and in Moscow which was the center of the railroad system and of the textile industry, the revolutionary intelligentsia and professional conspirators and agitators who were also concentrated in these two capitals could not fail to see great political opportunities, both in the concentration of the industrial proletariat, and in its economic plight. But there were differences among the revolutionary factions of the intelligentsia in regard to revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

The ideological differences as to propaganda policies and revolutionary strategy was one of the factors which led to the split of the Socialist Democratic Party into two factions, the *Bolsheviks* (the majority), and the *Mensheviks* (the minority). Being mostly of urban middle class origin the Mensheviks were inclined to advocate gradual advance of the country toward democratization. They also proposed an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie. Accordingly also in internal Party organization the Mensheviks were in favor of a policy of liberalism and democracy. The Bolshevik faction, on the other hand, was recruited from among the raznochintsy who were affected by Anarchism and were inclined toward extremist solutions and recognized no compromise. They proposed an alliance with the revolutionary peasants and an armed rebellion staged by the workers and peasants as the most effective means of seizing power.

Following the ideas and practices of the Anarchists and the Terrorists (Narodovoltsy), the Bolsheviks claimed that the immediate seizure of power was of paramount importance while the work of educating the masses could begin later. That end, the seizure of power, to the Bolsheviks no less than to their political predecessors, the Anarchists, sanctified everything. Deliberate instigation of hatred, planned deceit, individual killing, armed uprising, and systematic terror were all equally approved

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means if they led to the final goal, revolution and the overthrow of the Czarist system. Thus even at that time the Party was placed above everything else and the interests and the rights of the individual had to be subordinated to the Party and to its supreme objective, the revolution. At the second congress of Russian Social Democrats, which took place in London in 1903 where the final split between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks occurred, Pasadovski, one of Lenin's aassiciates declared:

> There is no doubt that we do not agree on the following fundamental issue: should our future policy be subordinated to some kind of basic democratic principles, or should all democratic principles be subordinated exclusively to the advantages of our party. I decidedly advocate the latter. There is nothing among the democratic principles that we should not subordinate to the advantages of our Party. . . . Yes, also the inviolability of the individual. As a revolutionary party striving for its ultimate aim—social revolution, we should consider the democratic principles exclusively from the standpoint of the advantages of our party.[3]

This idea of supreme Party interests to which everybody and everything was subordinated was closely associated with the principle of centralistic and dictatorial party organization which was earlier conceived by Bakunin and later advocated by Lenin, and finally adopted by the Communist International.[4] Lenin said that the organizational principle of revolutionary social democracy demands the enlargement of the rights and plenary powers of the central body against the parts.[5] Just like Bakunin, Lenin advocated the need of a "close circle of professional revolutionaries"[6] who would compose a stable and continuous Party leadership. He claimed that in a country with despotic leadership, in a life and death struggle with Czarist police, a small but stable and continuous revolutionary committee at the top of the Party would be more efficient to lead a mass movement and therefore better equipped to seize power.[7]

This principle of centralized and autocratic Party leadership which had its roots in the self-seeking drives of the raznochintsy led eventually to the dictatorship of one man. Just as Bakunin saw only himself at the top of his revolutionary hierarchy, so did Lenin. Early in the history of the Party it was noticed that

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"Lenin always felt that the Party was he, that he was the will of the movement concentrated in one man, and he acted accordingly . . . "[8] It was this demand for total power and urge to perpetuate oneself in power that necessitated military discipline and frequent purges within the Party, just as earlier among the Terrorists, the same demand and urge fostered intolerance and hatred of all deviationists and outsiders, promoted mistrust and led to the use of terror inside and outside of Party ranks. Thus Lenin, too, approved of terror:

> We have never rejected terror on principle, nor can we ever do so. Terror is a form of military operation that may be usefully applied, or may even be essential in certain movements of the battle. . . .[9]

Extreme power-seeking and resulting dogmatism and inability to compromise, as well as the example set by the Anarchists and Terrorists, led even in the early years of Party life to an emphasis on hatred of the opponents and on ruthlessness in dealing with them. Thus, in early Bolshevik writings, the words "hatred," "ruthlessness," "irreconcilability," "mercilessness," "relentlessness," "extermination," "destruction," "wiping off," became prominent. When called before the Central Committee of the Party to answer for his accusations against some Party members, which the Central Committee considered unjust and false, Lenin prided himself on using unethical methods in fighting his opponents. He proudly admitted that his accusations were deliberately schemed to:

> . . . evoke in the reader hatred, aversion and contempt . . . calculated not to convince but to break up the ranks of the opponent, not to correct the mistake of the opponent but to destroy him, to wipe his organization off the face of the earth . . . to evoke the worst thoughts, the worst suspicions about the opponent . . . Against such political enemies I then conducted—and in the event of a repetition and development of a split shall always conduct a fight of extermination . . .[10]

It was this compulsive urge of the Bolsheviks to seize power by all and any means, their centralistic and military Party organization and their ruthlessness in dealing with their opponents that had enabled them to take advantage of the chaotic situa-

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665 tion which had developed in Russia after the February revolution and to achieve their main objective.

II

182 Just as earlier, in Turco-Mongol empires, the great weakness of the Czardom lay in its low degree of emotional and ideological unity. And it is this basic vulnerability of the Czardom which has enabled a small, but determined, well disciplined and ruthless faction of professional conspirators to seize power. Like its patriarchal family the whole Czardom was torn by internal dissension and strife. The abusive and humiliating power relationships at all levels of social organization of the Czardom encouraged self-orientation and destructive aggressiveness which precluded tolerance, compromise and social cohesion.

In such circumstances it was difficult to develop a set of common values that would serve as a focal point of unity of all subjects and keep the society unified in face of all threats to its existence. Orthodox religion, as well as Russian nationalism, failed in its role of unifying ideologies in a society in which interpersonal and intergroup relationships provoked feelings of rejection, mistrust, emotional instability and extreme factionalism. Thus, instead of developing itself into an integrated community unified by common feelings and identification and common interests, there grew within the Czardom a number of separate and inimical worlds with conflicting expectations and demands and with differing images and visions.

184 There was the world of the peasants, the world of the landlords, 565 the world of the lower urban folk, the world of the clergy, the world of the bureaucracy, the world of the military, the world of the intelligentsia, the world of a small upper commercial and industrial class, and finally the separate worlds of ethnical, religious and national minorities. Since Russia had not developed a numerically strong and influential middle class to link and unify all these strata, there was little contact, less understanding and no mutual sympathy between these contrasting worlds. There were deep tensions and conflicts also within each one of these worlds and all were in a perpetual state of hostility and warfare among themselves.[11]

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The landed gentry had for ages kept the peasants in slavery, misery and contempt. The peasants, feeling humiliated and wronged, had risen against the landlords, burning manorial mansions, looting estates, and massacring their masters whenever the power of the nobility appeared to be waning. Since the traditions of Russian landed squires were those of service nobility, not of manorial aristocrats, their interests and ambitions did not prepare them to take a personal interest in either their lands or serfs. The mansions on the estates of these rural gentry were located on the outskirts of the peasant villages and except for the house servants there was little if any contact with the world of the peasantry. Since Peter the Great the differences between these two worlds became also very visible in dress, manners, standard of living, as well as in views of life, education, ideas and morals. When, after the reforms of Peter the Great, French ways were aped by the dvorianstvo, and French language accepted by them as a means of social intercourse, the abyss between the two worlds became even more unbridgeable.

Similarly the bureaucracy and the revolutionary intelligentsia were two violently opposed camps with little possibility of cooperation between them. And while secondary schools and the universities were producing increasing numbers of lawyers, teachers, architects, journalists, artists, and literati, the tension between the bureaucracy and these intelligentsia developed into an intense and open enmity. Extreme emotionalism nursed on the family level was only heightened in such conditions. Each of these groups therefore showed a great deal of dogmatism; they tended to be implacable, irreconcilable, and full of malevolent criticism of each other. To the revolutionary intelligentsia the bureaucrats were the "corrupted lackeys of the dynasts to be killed like beasts." To the government officials all the liberal intelligentsia were the "mortal enemies" of the Czar. They represented the "sedition" and had to be "mercilessly annihilated."[12] Thus while the intelligentsia relentlessly attacked the bureaucracy in a spirit of destructive criticism, the bureaucracy responded by persecuting the liberals and the revolutionaries with such a blind passion and hatred that the opposition had to go underground or emigrate abroad and organize its war from out-

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side. The gulf between these two leading groups of the Czardom became impassable.

The intelligentsia themselves were far from being unified or having a common purpose. They were a restless and unstable crowd. They were split into numerous parties, factions and cliques which were in a perpetual state of feuding and warfare among themselves. Since all tended toward extremes and all sought absolute power, each party, faction, and clique considered itself to be the only repository of the Truth and therefore anathematized all others. Dogmatic intolerance and neverending feuding constantly fostered new schisms and heresies, new renegations and treacheries, bitterness, hostilities and extreme factional strife.

Both the peasants and the intelligentsia resented the military. The officers kept apart from the rest of society as a separate caste, and were therefore alienated from the common people. Within the military ranks there was a great deal of distrust and suspicion of common soldiers toward officers. The revolutionary intelligentsia considered the armed forces to be the main bulwark of the autocracy, showed a passionate hatred toward them and were waiting for the first chance to destroy this pillar of the old regime. All the strata of the population equally loathed the dreadful political police. The revolutionary intelligentsia were also distrustful of the clergy and Church hierarchy. Most of them were openly atheistic.

In want of an integrating middle class and a unifying ideology, all these warring strata, groups and factions were held together by the authority of the Czar, which was sanctioned by the Church and rested on the bureaucracy, the police and the armed forces. The influence of the Church, however, was greatly shattered, the bureaucracy was inefficient, self-concerned, full of internal tension, and not fullheartedly behind the existing regime, and the police were resented by all. The fate of the Czardom therefore depended exclusively upon the discipline and the loyalty of the military.

In such conditions, if the support of the armed forces would fail, both the Czar and the Czardom were doomed. This was well realized not only by the opposition, but by the Czar him-

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self. And after the army which Czar Nicholas personally commanded in 1917 had suffered defeats at the hands of the enemies, and the chiefs of the armed forces suggested to the Czar that he should resign, he realized that his prestige had fallen and his authority gone. As out of spite he abdicated not only for himself but for his heirs as well. And as it has already happened in Russia's past, when the central authority suffered defeat and loss of prestige, all seething internal forces of revolt, relieved of the controls that kept them under check, burst out in violent eruptions. In such circumstances everybody deserted the Czar, even the Orthodox Church:

> Even the Orthodox Clergy, that class that had been an integrated part of the Czarist system deserted the Czar in the hour of his doom. Showing as much lack of a sense of proportion as the other classes of Russian society the official hierarchy went as far as to pass a decision according to which all lines containing the word "king" in the Psalms of David were to be deleted.[13]

III

All these circumstances, combined with the extreme factionalism within the intelligentsia, greatly facilitated the seizure of the power by the Bolsheviks. All the four national *Dumas* which were convoked since 1905 were composed predominantly of the intelligentsia and semi-intelligentsia. The same situation existed in the leading circles of all political parties.[14] But in each party, self-centeredness and lust for power led the intelligentsia into constant bickering among themselves and neverending fighting for leadership, a situation that manifested itself in numerous party splits.

It was only in the Bolshevik Party that the Party's Central Committee was well disciplined and unified under one leader who had absolutist and dictatorial powers. This situtation spared the Party too many splits. This Bolshevik system favored the reduction of Party leadership to a rather small number of intellectuals who relied on the semi-intelligentsia and industrial workers in local Party work. It was this dictatorial, centralistic and "aristocratic" organization of the Bolsheviks, as well as the extreme ruthlessness and aggressiveness of its leaders and fanat-

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565 517 icism of its rank and file, that gave this Party an advantage over its main rival for power, the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, in the chaotic days of 1917.

727 669 565 Just as it had happened in the past, a weakening of the prestige of the ruling classes as a result of defeats on the battlefield led to peasant uprisings. Almost immediately after the Czar's abdication, that is, in March, 1917, peasant rebellions arose in 34 districts and by June spread to 325 districts. The distrubances were again especially intensive in the upper Don and in the middle Volga, the regions where the tradition of revolt was strong and the situation for revolt matured owing to unsatisfactory conditions within the land communes.

665 669 The chaos that ensued in the village was emphasized by factional strife and indecision in the center. As a result of the fall of the old Czarist regime, the two most extreme revolutionary parties, the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Bolsheviks, entered into a contest for power. While the Socialist Revolutionaries controlled the Provisional Government (since May, 1917), the Bolsheviks did everything to undermine their regime and to seize the power for themselves. In the question of rural policies, the government of Socialist Revolutionaries attempted to stop the outbreaks of lawlessness and disorder in the villages by promising an equitable solution of all rural problems on the basis of laws that were to be passed by a Constitutional Assembly.

[325] [565] But the Bolsheviks counteracted such policies by inciting the peasants to seize the lands at once. The Bolsheviks also deliberately sharpened the existing social cleavages in the villages by inciting the lower peasant strata against the upper. The Bolshevised soldiers, on leave or deserting the front, pushed more moderate elements into the background and led the peasant mobs not only against the landlords, but also against the more prosperous peasant classes. Hence, attacks on *Khutoryane* (hereditary peasant homestead owners) and *otrubniki* (peasant individual property owners) were as frequent as those against the manorial estates.

Many soldiers deserted the front because the Bolshevik agitators told them that the land was being distributed back home and that those who were present would get the choice grounds. The government, controlled by the Socialist Revolutionaries,

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appeared to be unable to solve these revolutionary outbursts, perhaps because the seeds of these revolts of the peasant masses had been sown by the revolutionary and terroristic propaganda of this same Party now in power. Moreover, this Party, though in power, was split into four factions which bitterly fought one another. Some of these factions allied themselves with the Bolsheviks to strengthen themselves in their internal Party fight. The ranks of the Bolsheviks therefore grew steadily from all sides. They had clearly defined aims and were well organized under the undisputed leadership of one man, whose unchallenged authority all Bolsheviks recognized. Their aim was to seize power at any cost and by any and all means.

In the face of an internally split and undecisive government which lacked authority, and in the midst of general chaotic conditions, the power of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the revolutionary bodies which were established throughout the country, steadily grew. The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in Petrograd was increasingly competing with the government for the control of the state. Because of their extremism, the influence of the Bolsheviks in these powerful revolutionary bodies soon became dominant. Thus, supported by bolshevised soldiers and proletariat and promising to bring peace, bread and equalitarian brotherhood to all, the Bolsheviks were enabled to seize power.[15]

In the civil war that followed between the Bolsheviks and anti-Bolsheviks, the dissatisfied military ranks, the lower urban classes, the national and religious minorities, and a large part of the peasantry took the side of the Bolsheviks, who promised an anarchic and egalitarian Utopia for each and everyone, just as many religious sects, leaders of peasant uprisings, Anarchists and Terrorists have done before them. All those who yearned for equality and acceptance at all levels of Russian society either actively helped the Bolsheviks against the White armies, or, fearing the return of the old regime, were unwilling to fight with the Whites against Reds. The attitudes of these people, combined with the ruthlessness and resoluteness of Bolshevik political and military leadership, were decisive factors in this final victory of Bolshevism.[16]

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V

Power and Personality in Soviet Russia

21

ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY AND REGIMENTATION

I

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BUILDING their rule on Czarist traditions and supported by Lenin's teachings and practices, the Bolsheviks undertook to perpetuate themselves in power by employing the same conspiratorial means which helped them to seize the control of the state. Such policies however were contrary to the expectations of those who yearned for an equalitarian brotherhood and demanded full political participation on equal terms for all. The Bolsheviks therefore had to elaborate on the theories which justified the "dictatorship of the proletariat." One of the fundamental ideological justifications which they put forward to explain their policy of self-perpetuation in power consisted of the claim that after the seizure of power by the proletariat, the class struggle does not cease or weaken, but on the contrary it "continues in new forms, and with even greater frenzy and ferocity, for the reason that the resistance of the exploiters to the fact of socialism is more savage than before."[1] Continued dictatorship

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is therefore said to be necessary as a means to completely eliminate "exploitation of man by man" and to bring about stateless and equalitarian society in the future.

In this manner any signs of opposition to the Party policies have been construed as "class struggle" and "counter-revolution" which made it possible for the self-seeking and mistrustful ruling faction of the Bolsheviks to eliminate all opposition to its rule, including the opposition within the Bolshevik Party itself. These means and justifications of self-perpetuation in power have been supported also by the contention that the counter-revolutionary schemes of the overthrown and dying classes are encouraged and fostered by foreign capitalist powers.

These imperialist states are said to tend to encircle the "only Socialist country" seeking to destroy it.[3] Contrary to the early Socialist promises that the state will tend to "wither away" after the proletariat had seized power, the Bolsheviks asserted that, after the proletarian revolution the state must become even more powerful because it must be used as a "special machine of suppresion."[3] Thus, instead of satisfying the traditional demands for acceptance in an all-human and stateless brotherhood, the Bolsheviks established relationships of absolute rule and unconditional obedience by monopolizing all social power in their hands. Each and every subject was made dependent for his life and livelihood upon the ruling faction. In this manner, planned economic regimentation, strict political conformity, control of thought and feeling, as well as police rule became intrinsic to the Soviet system of power.

In their compulsive drive to concentrate all power and all social control in their hands, the Bolsheviks dispossessed not only financial capitalists and large land owners, but even small farmers, fearing that these might eventually oppose and challenge their rule. "The medium peasantry is a self-sufficient class; the only one which, after the obliteration and expulsion of squires and capitalists, remains capable of opposing the proletariat," said Lenin.[4]

The need to regiment the peasantry, to break their group solidarity and make them completely dependent upon the government was supported also by other considerations. Owing to lack

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of foreign loans and investments the process of industrialization and of economic autarchy, which was needed to develop military potential necessary to withstand internal and external threats, was proceeding at too slow a pace. This situation made it imperative for the impatient and insecure ruling class to have at hand goods available for quick export in order to buy foreign machinery and to industrialize and militarize the country at a higher speed.

The peasants in the meantime were busy in making improvements on their possessions and in raising the amount of food for home consumption. Increased peasant consumption of food however meant decrease of the crops available both for export and for the needs of fast growing urban strata which were being created as a result of a speedy industrialization. Also lack of regulation of agricultural production meant that planting and sowing were designed to a large extent to satisfy the home needs of the peasant, and only to a lesser extent those of the national or foreign market.

This meant that as long as a large section of the peasantry remained as independent producers there was always a danger that the ruling class might not have at its disposal sufficient quantities of marketable products. And the more the ruling faction felt insecure in its power, the more this potential threat of an economically independent peasantry seemed real and close. This feeling of insecurity and mistrust of the Bolsheviks was manifested in their hatred of the peasantry. "The peasant who has two cows is already an enemy," they would say. Hence the Party hierarchy made the decision not only to abolish the economic independence of the peasants, but also to "destroy peasantry as a class" by means of collectivization.

In their determination to "destroy peasantry as a class," the Bolsheviks first incited the poor and the medium peasants against the "kulaks" and then the landless against the small peasant owners. The Bolshevik agitators took advantage also of the traditional tensions within peasant families and aroused son against father and brother against brother. Thus inciting and exploiting resentments and hostilities between various peasant strata and taking advantage of family antagonisms, the Bolsheviks were able

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to force the peasants to join the collectives and the state farms. Those who opposed such policies were resettled or banished to convict labor camps. Many were massacred. According to Stalin ten million peasants became victims of this "class war."[5]

In order to insure their complete control over the farming population, the Bolshevik leaders sent the most trusted Party people from the city to the village to manage the newly formed *kolhozes*. These *novye bary* (new lords), as the peasants called them, installed themselves in the mansions of former estate owners and kept themselves at a considerable distance from the rural population, not unlike the former serf-owners. And not unlike the former gentry the new masters were also bent upon extracting maximum labor from the peasantry with minimum reward.

Under such conditions, the peasants, in the first outbursts of their reaction against this state of abusive submission resorted to outward aggression in the form of traditional uprisings. They burnt their crops and slaughtered their cattle rather than collectivize them. It is estimated that almost two-thirds of the entire livestock and a large part of the crops were destroyed.[6] Such a situation affected even the Ukraine, the "granary of Russia" and greatly contributed to the famine of 1932–33 in which hundreds of thousands of people died of starvation and epidemics. It was by such active rebellion that the peasantry forced the Party into a temporary retreat. The Party had to appease the peasants by giving each peasant household the right to retain in private use a small plot of land, and also in private possession a limited number of livestock. Also, private trade in agricultural products was restored in a limited degree.[7]

These were however only temporary concessions, since the Bolsheviks were determined to completely "industrialize" the peasantry as a means of political and economic control. Following such aims the highest possible degree of specialization in farm operation has been fostered and the members of the same family have been assigned to different, spacially separated activities. In this manner the agricultural brigade instead of the peasant family became the basic unit of agricultural production. For the same reason the highest possible degree of mechanization of

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241 178 agriculture, centered in Motor Tractor Stations, has been fostered.[8]

474 465 463 At the same time differences in individual income levels have been encouraged by means of a differential wage system based on the degree of specialization, the amount of work, the quality of labor and the quality and quantity of production. There is also a tendency to train each kolhoz member for one specialty only. In this manner differentiation is increased, family self-sufficiency and family bonds are being destroyed, a greater degree of dependency upon the Party is achieved, group solidarity is weakened and the development of organized peasant opposition is prevented.

241 463 178 The "industrialization" of the peasantry seeks to eliminate the old type of peasant farmer who was self-sufficient, had manifold interests and possessed a variety of skills needed to manage his economy, of which he was the owner and the manager. By fostering specialization and wage differentiation the Party hopes to develop a type of agricultural worker and specialist who is skilled in one activity only, and cannot be self-sufficient. Since in this manner every agricultural worker becomes entirely dependent upon others, and upon the Party, it is expected that as a result of such conditioning the drive to own farm property will disappear, that all land property will then become governmentalized and that agricultural labor will become in all respects and for all purposes the same as industrial labor, that is, completely divided within, dependent economically, and better amenable to Party control.

474 178 It is along such lines of thought that the Party has recently endeavored to amalgamate kolhozes into large collective units. In small collectives the Party's control was weak or non-existent and the peasants were enabled to maintain a degree of group solidarity and to put up a certain resistance to government agrarian policies. According to the Party's admission "small collective farms blocked the progress of socialist farming."[9] Therefore, in order to "strengthen their directing personnel" the Party decided to amalgamate small farms into large ones. The management of these amalgamated collectives is to be put entirely in the hands of non-peasants.[10]

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This trend to expropriate the peasants and to overspecialize them as a means of political and economic control found its expression in the recent development of Bolshevik ideology. In the utterances of Party leaders and in the Soviet press it is being stressed that the conditions in the Soviet Union are already so advanced that the Soviet state is ready to move from socialism into the first levels of a limited Communism. This first phase of Communism will consist of the elimination of differences between industrial and agricultural work, between industrial workers and the peasantry ("Liquidating the contrast between the city and the village"). Thus it is pointed out, the old opposition between the country and the city will vanish and also cultural and psychological differences between these two strata will disappear. Every person will become engaged in a special "technical-engineering" task and all will be equal and like brothers.

As a result of such development, it is said that even the differences between the manual laborer and the intellectual worker will eventually be abolished and thus the classless and anarchic society envisaged in socialist writings and rooted in the traditions of the Slav culture will be finally achieved.[11] Productive forces will develop an abundance of all consumer goods whose distribution will be on the basis of exchange and according to one's needs. There will be no monetary relations and no differences in social status.

It is clearly and repeatedly emphasized, however, that nobody should mistake this change from socialism to communism as a "withering away" of the state. The state, say the Bolsheviks, must remain "strong" for the needs of defense,[12] until the Soviet system spreads over the entire earth.

II

Total power concentrated in the hands of Bolshevik conspirators as a means of perpetuation of their rule led to compulsory regimentation of all labor, to speed-up system, and to intensified differentiation in skill, income, and status within the working classes. The aim of these measures is to increase production and to control the working classes by breaking their group solidarity and by tying the laborer to his machine and the office worker to

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461 his desk in the same way as the peasant has been bound to the
661 land.[13]

464 The Party hierarchy has also passed a decree which enables
882 the Party to keep the youth under its complete control. The decree orders mobilization of hundreds of thousand of Soviet youths to be trained annually as labor reserve. All those who go through such a training are "considered mobilized and under obligation to work four successive years in state enterprises in accordance with the directive of the general officer of Labor Reserves . . ."[14] Along the same lines of labor mobilization and economic regimentation a decree was passed according to which every skilled laborer, technician, engineer, and factory employee could be ordered moved from one factory to another in any location in the Soviet Union according to the needs of industrialization.[15]

475 In accordance with the need for total control of the working
467 classes and of economic production the management of the factories was completely removed from the control or influence of the workers and centralized in the hands of the factory directors (*edinonachalie*). These became responsible for failure in output, for waste and for low quality of products. In such an industrial system the trade unions have become instruments of regimentation and speed-up. They ceased to be an institution for the protection of the rights and interests of the working class and instead evolved into an organization of overseers and labor drivers. The trade unions' Charter of 1949 expressly states this function:

461 Mobilization of all factory workers and employees for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the production plan, for the strengthening of labor discipline, and for the development of socialist competition.

Elaboration of practical measures for the stepping up of labor productivity, improvement of the quality of production, reduction of production costs, and raising of profitableness of the enterprise.[16]

In the same manner, one of the May Day slogans of 1952 reads: "Soviet trade unions! Develop socialist competition more widely for pre-schedule fulfillment of the state plan by every enterprise."

It was because of this need to regiment labor and make it com-

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pletely dependent upon and submissive to the ruling Party that the old idea of freedom in the choice of work and equality of opportunity was replaced by emphasis on the "discipline of labor," that is, the contention that the objective of high output demands specialization and that in the interest of increasing the skill one cannot recognize the freedom to change one's speciality and one's job.[17] It is also stressed now that an important element in the process of production is the "habit of hard work,"[18] and this habit could best develop as "the first life necessity" if the freedom of choice of specialty and of place of work is restricted and controlled.[19]

In accordance to this imperative need of the Bolsheviks to keep the working classes in complete subjection, Soviet propaganda idealizes hard work. Humble (*skromny*), infinitely devoted (*bezgranichno predany*), and hard working people, those who "burn with desire to work," and those who "sacrifice their lives to working for the cause of Lenin-Stalin," are especially eulogized. In the obituary of some outstanding person the climax of eulogy is the statement that death reached him while he was struggling at his post of duty.[20] In the Stalinist Constitution of 1936 this system of labor subordination to the ruling Party is eulogized as a "matter of honor" and is justified in terms of the right of the Party to starve those who do not work according to the Party interests:

> In the U.S.S.R. work is a duty and matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."[21]

III

Building on practices of Czarist bureaucratic hierarchy and supported by traditions of patriarchal protection-dependency relationships, the Bolshevik rulers have succeeded in regimenting the industrial labor and in forcing it into unconditional submission to and dependency upon the ruling Party. But they have failed to increase the productivity of labor. Frequent reenactments of measures to increase "labor discipline" indicate, however, that to increasing measures of regimentation the industrial

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461 labor tends to respond by a certain degree of apathy and by disinterest in the Soviet system, also by a robot-like attitude toward work. In such conditions neither the "habit of work" nor labor efficiency can be expected to thrive. Habits are developed and maintained only in circumstances which bring rewards. And as long as the political aims of Bolshevik industrial expansion and militarization have to be achieved by means of abusive regimentation, the working masses might respond by fatigue, disinterest, and withdrawal,[22] just as they did in the days of serfdom.

461 626 Such circumstances in their own turn dictate increasing Party vigilance and government interference at all levels of production. It is increasingly felt that the Party and the government must rely on over-seers and labor drivers who see to it that the Party wishes are executed according to the plan. In a thoroughly politicized society in which labor adopts an apathetic or robot-like attitude toward work and in which the ruling hierarchy tends to be composed of power-thirsty, mistrustful and ruthless professional conspirators, the need of constant Party and government exhorting and watching is always present. There is, therefore, a strong inclination to increase the watchdog, the supervisory and the controlling agencies at the expense of the productive ones. As Pravda itself admits, "On each two workers there is a superior, a supervisor, or a staff member" (*Na kazhdykh dvukh rabochikh odin vyshestoyashchy, rukovodyashchy ili obsluzhivayushchy*).[23]

466 626 The emphasis on controlling, supervising, checking and counter-checking agencies not only increases the cost of products but creates unsatisfactory labor-management relations. The tensions result primarily out of domineering pressures that are exerted on different levels both against labor and against management. The supervisory system and pressure methods of the slave-driver type tend to provoke feelings of humiliation and to create an atmosphere of anxiety, resentment and urges of destructive aggression. In such conditions of oppressive domineering and degrading submission it is very difficult to develop qualities of social and personal responsibiiity, initiative and self-reliance. In an atmosphere of vigilantism, denunciation, fear and loss of self-respect, work becomes irritating and frustrating; it does not offer

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much possibility for self-expression, creativeness and personal satisfaction.[24]

On the other hand an atmosphere of domineering and vigilantism offers a great opportunity for advance to the fanatic Party member as well as to the ambitious and unscrupulous careerist within the labor ranks, and the ranks of technicians and engineers. Even among those managers and foremen who might otherwise have different inclinations, the need to maintain their positions often forces them towards a policy of vigilantism, cynicism and oppressive labor driving.

22
INSTRUMENTS OF POLITICAL CONFORMITY

I

THE SYSTEM of dominance, based on economic dependence, social isolation and lack of trust, which has enabled the Bolsheviks to monopolize all social power, has helped them also to force the intellectual strata into unconditional submission to the will of the ruling minority. Just as the land has been collectivized and industrial production governmentalized to make the peasants and the industrial labor dependent upon the Party, so all sources of income in the intellectual fields have been monopolized by the Party-state to make the intellectuals completely dependent for their lives and livelihoods upon the ruling faction of the Bolsheviks. The office tenure of this new service nobility has been conditioned upon their blind submission to the rulers in the Kremlin, just like in the days of the old dvorianstvo.

The educated strata are of a special strategic importance from the point of view of self-perpetuation of the Bolsheviks in power, because it is these strata that provide ideological and political leadership and Party cadres. The party has endeavored therefore to make the intelligentsia even more socially split and dependent

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517 upon the regime than the peasantry and industrial labor. The
642 objective of this policy has been to prevent among the intelligentsia formation of an *esprit de corps* and opposition to Bolshevik rule, and to command the services and unquestionable
[554] obedience of every educated man. These are the political foundations of the growing and deliberately fostered stress on rank and distinction, on social differentiation, sense of superiority and inferiority, absolute superordination and blind subordination.

565 In the upper strata, much more so than in the lower classes,
554 the process of hierarchal and functional differentiation is fostered and maintained not only by means of specialization of work and differences in rank, but also by means of sharply differentiated income, and by means of differential distribution of spoils, and of privileges. This sharp stratification of Soviet soci-
[557] ety, rooted in the traditions of the Czardom, in its own turn promotes power-seeking and domineering, dependency and subservience, as well as lack of social intimacy and lack of trust.

565 The highest privileges in the Soviet society are accruing to the
554 top ruling faction of professional conspirators. But this group is itself internally sharply differentiated. It is headed by the Party Leader (*Vozhd*), and is divided into a number of policy making bodies, among which the Political Bureau (Politburo), now to be known as the Presidium,[1] is of foremost importance. Though the members of the Presidium and of other top policy making bodies, such as the Secretariat, are formally appointed by the Central Committee of the Party, they are *de facto* selected by the supreme leader and therefore depend upon him for their position. Such a situation fosters bickering among top ranking officials in their mutual struggle to win the favors of the head man, which in turn enables the supreme Party leader to play one faction of his camarilla against the other one or—not unlike in the days of the Czars—to select a more intimate inner circle of a few most trusted persons on whom to rely for advice and help. These then assist the leader in selecting and in eliminating the members of the top ranking hierarchy, according to expediency and circumstances.

This highly concentrated power structure is supported by a

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corresponding Party structure on the lower levels of the Party hierarchy where Party Secretariats hold the reins of power. In this system of political and social control it is the Party Secretariats on local, regional and republic levels that are of pivotal importance.[2] Through his control of the Central Party Secretariat, the supreme Party leader is enabled to select the most useful and the most trusted people for such offices.[3]

The top Party leadership is therefore in a position to direct the recruitment of Party membership. It is empowered to accept and to expel members. It directs the secretariats on the lower levels of Party hierarchy as to whom the Party shall "elect" as its officers and as its deputies to the higher Party bodies, or whom to delegate to the local or national Soviets, and other representative Party or non-Party institutions. It consults with the secretariats about the appointment of trusted Party members to responsible regional and republic government and managerial positions, and it checks on fulfillment of Party directives. This checking is done through the Committee of Party Control whose representatives function independently of local Party bodies.[4]

Stalin was well aware of the significance of the selection of leading Party personnel from the point of view of perpetuation of power when he said "Cadres decide everything." It was by his control of the top Party Secretariat that he himself was enabled to eliminate all his opponents in the hierarchy and to rise to undisputed and absolute leadership.

Since it is local, regional and republic Party secretaries who form the axis of this monolithic Party-state machine, the position of such potentates yields great power, and high material rewards. Such offices are therefore sought after by people of great ambition and lust for power, also by people of fighting, conspiratorial and domineering inclinations. Thus it is the zealous, the shrewd, the calculating and the career-minded people who are also efficient and hard-driving that tend to be picked out for these positions because it is such people on whom the Party can rely for a blind and unquestioning execution of all orders. The Party which has remained essentially a conspiratorial organization demands militancy and aggressiveness, a severe and exacting attitude toward subordinates, irreconcilability and lack of com-

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passion towards deviants and slackers, lack of intimacy among associates, complete dedication, and humbleness concerning one's own achievements.

Since the Party membership must assist the Party secretaries in the execution of Party policies, it is from among the same types of people that a significant part of the Party membership tends to be recruited. Such people form the hard core of the Party cells and the *aktivs* of Party and government institutions. They are likely to be distant and stern, critical and demanding; they watch over and feel responsible for the behaviour of others, but show no personal consideration or concern.[5]

Another part of Party membership is recruited from among the people who are not zealous, nor over-ambitious nor blindly submissive, but are especially useful to the Party because of their occupational or professional skills. Such people are likely to be competent, as well as humane, considerate, close to their subordinates and understanding in their relations with non-Party men. These people tend to alleviate the harshness of Soviet oppressive bureaucracy and perform therefore a function which is analogous to the role of the mother in the patriarchal Russian family.

It is however the hard core of zealots and careerists who are on the ascendancy and who direct Party work and control government administration and economic management with the help of the aktivs, that is, groups of selected and trusted persons formed within every organization to assist its leadership according to the Party directives. Aktiv is a cardinal agency of Party control. It is an institution of vigilance, supervision and intelligence, as well as an instrument of guidance and planned political manipulation. In the Party itself the role of the aktivs is of fundamental importance:

> Meetings of Party *aktiv* members play an outstanding role in the life of the Party organizations. It is at these meetings that the decisions of the Party and government as well as major problems in the life and work of the Party are discussed. The meetings of Party activists are a means of expression of Party public opinion; they are a forum for Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism.[6]

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By choosing the "right" people to fill the key Party positions, by using Party aktivs as an instrument of vigilance and political manipulation, and by systematic periodical purges of Party members and of Party officials who do not come up to the standards set up by the Party hierarchy, the whole Party is regimented and kept in submission according to the will of one man and his innermost circle. By an efficient control of such a regimented Party the life of the whole society is manipulated since the Party members are the "leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state."[7] It is also upon the Party's recommendation that all the important appointments in the government, managerial and military hierarchy and in learned professions are made. Hence by controlling the Party, the Party leadership is enabled to regiment the whole society and to make it dependent upon its will.

Such a Party, however, in order to perpetuate its leadership and to maintain its undisputed dominance, must preserve ideological and organizational unity, rigid discipline and *esprit de corps*.[8] These qualities can be best achieved if the Party is limited to a small membership consisting partly of professional conspirators, agitators and political organizers, and partly of the members of government, military and managerial hierarchies. In such a Party the zealots and the careerists, specialists in conspiracy, vigilance and violence, tend to take the lead. As a result, the Party which had been originally conceived as the "vanguard of the working people," which effectively "guides" a devoted proletariat,[9] remained instead an essentially conspiratorial institution and was bound to lose its initial intimate contact with the broad strata of the population.

II

A small faction of professional conspirators, which rules in opposition to the traditionally rooted demands for egalitarian acceptance and full political and social participation, must rely on active help of experts in all fields of political organization and social control to maintain its monopoly of all power. The top hierarchies of these various strata of specialists are all trusted

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665 647 Party members. Together with the policy-making Party bodies they form the ruling class of the Soviet society. This top Party-state governing class consists perhaps of about two hundred thousand people or one tenth of one per cent of the total population. They are often referred to as the *Partia i Pravitelstvo*—the Party and the government.

The middle and lower layers of government specialists are often referred to as the *Sluzhashchie*. This stratum includes the rank and file of the learned professions, the rank and file of the intelligentsia and semi-intelligentsia, the middle and lower professional military, the middle and lower government managerial [162] ranks, the engineers and the technicians. According to the 1939 census the number of those in the sluzhashchie class, that is "all those who work in offices" was close to thirty million or seventeen per cent of the total Soviet population, as contrasted to the industrial labor (*rabochie*) which formed thirty-two per cent and the peasantry (*krestiane*) which formed forty-six per cent of the total.

[554] The more one goes down this social scale, the smaller becomes the proportion of Party members to non members and of the privileged to the non-privileged. One's position in this caste-like pyramid determines his status expressed not only in the form of income, but even more so in the extent to which he gets the benefits of various social services, the extent of appurtenances,[10] the amount of freedom of personal movement, and the degree of superordination and subordination.

665 565 The privileged position of the educated and semi-educated classes is well manifested in the internal structure of the Bolshevik Party. As late as 1930 about 65 percent of Party members were workers or recruited from the working class, about 20 percent were peasants or of peasant background, and less than 15 percent belonged to the white collar class. But by 1941–42 the composition of the Party was reversed and apparently at present more than 70 percent of the new candidates and members are recruited from among the educated and official classes.[11] The Party rules, which in the first years of Bolshevik regime had favored the industrial proletariat, and to a certain extent the soldiers and the collective peasants, had to be revised in order to

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ease the entrance of the upper classes into the Party ranks. This was done in 1939.[12] According to Pravda's figures, in 1947 out of five to six million Party members and candidates, about one-third had university or middle school education (1,700,000).[13] The extent to which these upper classes imposed their dominance over the Party is indicated by the figures according to which at the Eighteenth Party Conference in 1941, the percentage of delegates with a complete college or university education was 41.8 as against only 6.5 percent of the voting delegates with higher education at the Party Congress in 1924.[14]

Such a Party structure is very much out of proportion to the general ratio of educated to non-educated classes in the Soviet Union, since at least four-fifths of the Soviet subjects have less than high school education. The Bolshevik Party structure is also greatly out of proportion to the vocational composition of the Soviet Union where still about three-fourths of the population belong to the strata of peasants and of industrial labor. The conspiratorial nature of the Party, the complexity of the Soviet system of rule and the need for increasing specialization of Party members in activities on which the Bolshevik power rests, favor limitation of Party membership to the educated and ruling classes.

The meaning of education and specialization in Soviet power structure becomes clearer if the system of controlled schooling in the Soviet Union is kept in mind. Both university and middle school education are mainly within the reach of higher classes.[15] It is extremely difficult for the average industrial wage-earner or peasant to send any of his children to more than elementary school because the tuition fees and the living costs in educational centers are above his income. The low wages of the industrial labor and the peasantry make it necessary for all family members, including mother and young children, to contribute to the family income by full time or part time work. Also the government conscripts youths for labor reserve battalions mainly from these strata. The children and youths from these strata depend therefore entirely upon the government stipends if they have any ambition and necessary pretraining for higher education. However in selecting candidates for schooling at govern-

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ment expense the Party recruits these in the first place from among specific categories of children, such as war orphans, illegitimate and delinquent children, and children of Party functionaries. Such children are considered to be most promising from the point of view of Party objectives.

It is mainly from the university student body that the new ruling classes and all needed experts of the Soviet Union are being recruited.[16] It is therefore of paramount importance that this reservoir of the ruling strata is kept well under control and that it is thoroughly ideologically indoctrinated and trained in unswerving loyalty and conformity to the Party. "Ideological training of Soviet students is a vital and integral part of all the work of district, city, province, and territory party committees."[17] It is therefore imperative that this body is highly selective and not overcrowded. Recruitment of university students from among higher classes and from selected categories of children serves well the Party objectives to perpetuate its power and to command unconditional submission of all to its will. Such policies also tend to solidify Soviet social structure along caste lines.[18]

III

The Bolsheviks have also employed other means to establish their absolute dominance. Following Anarchist precepts and practices, and driven by power-seeking and destructive aggression, they have justified a number of oppressive measures as being necessary "to hasten the liquidation of the capitalistic elements and to organize defense against capitalist encirclement which is as yet far from being, and will not soon be destroyed."[19] Their objectives were to be achieved not only by means of economic dependency, systematic indoctrination, planned social isolation and lack of trust, but also by means of relentless vigilance and systematic terror.

One of the most important instruments of such policies have been the courts of law. Soviet socialist law is defined as the "totality of the rules of conduct, established in the form of legislation—to the end of annihilating, completely and finally, capitalism and its survival in the economy, manner of life,

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and consciousness of people. . . ."[20] The Soviet court is to accomplish this task "by destroying without pity all the foes of the people in whatsoever form they manifest their criminal encroachments upon socialism."[21]

One of the chief watchdogs in such use of the law and of the court is the Prosecutor General of the USSR. In this function as the main overseer in the application of Soviet law the office of the Prosecutor General is empowered "upon its own initiative" to interfere on all the levels of juridical procedure, including even the decisions of the Supreme Court. The Prosecutor's office is therefore defined as "Inseparably integrated with the court—an organ of state authority obligated to oversee that socialist legality is observed."[22] The Prosecutor's office initiates criminal proceedings and has also the right to initiate a civil court proceeding. It also supervises the fulfillment of court sentences.

In this manner the office of the Prosecutor General has become the main instrument in preventing any local opposition to or local deviation from the application of law. To best perform this role of strict legal uniformity the office of the Prosecutor General had to be highly centralized, made independent of local organs of authority, while in close contact and under the strict supervision of the highest organs of the Party's hierarchy.[23] In this way the Public Prosecutor has become a means of the "uniform conception of justice" (*edinoobraznoe ponimanie zakonnosti*), "an instrument of political power" (*orudie ukreplenia gosudarstva*), and an agent of "moral-political unity" (*moralno-politicheskoe edinstvo*).[24] By enforcing strict application of the letter of the law, the top Party leaders have been enabled to keep the republic, the regional and the local government agencies, the municipal bureaucracies, and the industrial and farm managements from any deviations in the application of law.[25]

Another significant instrument of political conformity in Soviet society is the institution of the political police. In accordance with its tradition this institution specializes in intelligence, vigilance and violence. It complements all other instruments of conformity and functions as an omnipresent and omniscient power which sleeplessly watches over the private and the public life of every Soviet citizen at home and abroad. The

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625 political police is under direct supervision of the supreme Party leader himself and is always headed only by one of his most trusted advisers. In a system of prison-like regimentation of all the subjects, a distrustful and fierce ruling faction of professional conspirators can never relax in their watchfulness and must act swiftly and without regard for legal formalities, or for personal or human considerations in stamping out and annihilating all signs of opposition to its rule.

Early in the history of the Bolshevik regime the secret Political Police came to be so indispensable that this institution was identified with the Party. "Every good Communist should be a good Chekist," said Lenin. By the end of 1918 the Cheka (*Chrezvychaynaya Komissiya*) had been reorganized from an organ of investigation into an organ that also resorted directly to "extra judicial measures of coercion, assuring swift and of necessity, cruel repression of the enemies of the Soviet state." In 1922 Cheka, whose terror became too odious, was abolished and supplanted by the G.P.U. which was characterized by Stalin as "the indefatigable guardian of the Revolution, the unsheathed sword of the proletariat."[26] To inform not only on non-Communists but on the members of his own Party and even on the members of his or her own family, became one of the first duties of every Party member.[27] Refusal to inform came to be considered as conspiracy against the Party and the state. A dense net of secret agents and informers became instrumental in preventing social intimacy and strengthening lack of trust.

625 672 Following age-long practices of Czarist rule and traditions of mutual responsibility of family members the Soviet political police uses the family members of political suspects as hostages.[28] Any person who had any dealings or connection with a political suspect, even in a most casual or incidental way, becomes *ipso facto* himself a suspect.[29] In Soviet police philosophy and practice every subject is a suspect as an offender or potential criminal unless he proves his innocence. A distrustful and violent ruling clique which is determined to perpetuate itself in power by all and any means must stamp out any opposition regardless of how many non-guilty ones might suffer. An important objective of the political police is therefore to instill fear and terror in the

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hearts of the Soviet subjects and to exert unremitting pressure on them, so that they never relax in their striving to conform to the Party's will. The secret police, in Lenin's words, is "our weapon of assault upon innumerable conspiracies . . . innumerable attempts against Soviet authority."[30]

23
CONTROL OF THOUGHT AND FEELING

MONOPOLIZATION of all social power by the Bolshevik rulers and their failure to satisfy the traditional demands for equality and acceptance has been breeding both apathy and latent rebellion in Soviet society. Realizing that such a development might eventually undermine their power, early in their rule the Bolsheviks proceeded to indoctrinate the thoughts and to control the feelings of their subjects. It became imperative to evoke identification of the masses with Bolshevik leadership and gain their faith, enthusiasm and willing self-sacrifice in support of the Soviet system.[1]

In order to justify this need for ideological and emotional conformity, it became necessary to monopolize the Truth. The Bolsheviks therefore stated that all problems, those of the past and of the present, as well as those of the future, have found their answer in Marxist-Leninist theory. They asserted, however, that since this theory "is not a dogma, but a guide to action,"[2] the Bolshevik leadership is "able to enrich this theory with the new propositions and conclusions, . . . to *develop it and advance* it" and "to replace such of its propositions and conclusions as have become antiquated by new ones corresponding to the new historical situation."[3] And just as earlier the Russian Orthodox Church had claimed to represent the "true Christianity" centered in Moscow, the Third Rome, so now the Bolshevik rulers have usurped for themselves the right to represent the "true Marxism," centered in the Kremlin:

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829 It may be said without fear of exaggeration that since the death of Engels, the master theoretician Lenin, and after Lenin, Stalin and other disciples of Lenin, have been the only Marxists who have advanced the Marxist theory and who have enriched it with new experience in the new conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat.[4]

This trend of thought, dictated by the determination to perpetuate themselves in power, led the Bolsheviks to reinterpret the philosophy of dialectical materialism and determinism. Con-
828 trary to early Socialistic doctrines the ruling Bolshevik faction
153 put forward the claim that by a correct manipulation of man's environment, his behavior and nature can be easily changed to suit predetermined objectives. The "unity of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice," the Bolsheviks say, enables them to know how and in what direction the events "ought to develop."

The Bolshevik design is, therefore, to develop a "new type of man" more amenable to submission and control. "We make tractors, but also want to make new men," they say, "since man can consciously change nature in the direction needed by him."[5]
827 Therefore the chromosome theory of heredity according to which heredity depends upon the genes which cannot be controlled, had to be denounced as heresy from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism.[6] Instead, the Michurin-Lysenko theory according to which environment determines heredity ("hereditary transmission of individual characteristics acquired by the organism under the conditions of its life") was proclaimed as "the only scientific principles."[7] Thus since the physical environment becomes amenable to control, the hereditary characteristics of man could be planned in advance, according to these ideas.

Supported by such theories and encouraged by Party policies, some Soviet scientists advanced the claim to have been able to "conquer nature." They stated that they have shown the way how it is possible to produce "new species" under a planned change of environmental conditions.[8] Other Soviet scientists have initiated studies which are expected to lead to the "transformation of dead matter into living cells."[9] In like manner, the official endorsement of Pavlov's school in physiology has been prompted by the hope that studies of the functioning of the

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animal brain might lead to the knowledge of how to control the human brain.[10]

Thus Marxian theory of dialectical materialism and determinism has been revised to allow the Bolshevik ruling hierarchy to control "matter" so as to affect events in a direction which seems to be most desirable from the point of view of the perpetuation of their regime. In the same manner the Marxian theory of "ideological superstructure" has been revised to suit Bolshevik needs. Morals and ethics, esthetics, character, thought and feelings are now to be planned in advance by an appropriate control of social surroundings and environmental influences in accordance with the decrees of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow. The Bolsheviks now say that "the best qualities in man are those that are planned beforehand and are inculcated into him."[11]

Contrary to earlier Marxian doctrines the Bolsheviks now state that even when social roots of certain habits or ideas are eliminated "men's minds lay behind social actuality."[12] They claim now that "Subjective factors play a decisive role in turning possibility into reality." It is therefore necessary to influence human minds and eradicate "tenacious survivals of the past,"[13] by a planned and deliberate action even in a Socialistic society which is already transforming itself into a Communistic society.

The basic principle in this planned shaping of human thought and feeling is that human personality should be molded in a way which best suits the political needs of the Bolshevik hierarchy. Hence morals and ethics, literature and art, economic activities as well as private lives must be politicized. Just as earlier the Anarchists had subordinated ethics and morals to the need of the revolution, so now, according to Bolshevik philosophy, "that is moral which causes the Communist system to triumph."[14] Morals and ethics depend upon the question of "our political needs"; they stem "from our requirements in the building of socialism."[15] In the same manner the fundamental task of art and literature is said to consist in propagating "supreme devotion to the Soviet regime":

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626 They believe that politics is the business of the government, the business of the Central Committee, and as for the writers that their business is not to interest themselves in politics. They believe that if a man wrote well, artistically, and beautifully, one should let it go, in spite of the rotten passages which disorientate our youth and poison it. We demand that our comrades, both the supervisors of literature and the writers themselves must be guided by something without which the Soviet regime cannot exist, and that is politics. Lenin wrote: "Literature must become Party-minded . . . Against bourgeois literary careerism and individualism . . . socialist proletariat must put forward the principle of party literature . . ." Comrade Stalin described our literati as the engineers of human souls. It is necessary therefore that our literature, our literary magazines, . . . should help the Party and the people to educate the youth in the spirit of supreme devotion to the Soviet regime . . .[16]

536 626 Special attention is paid in this respect to dramatic art because of its popularity and effect. It is stated therefore that "a playwright must be a politician" and that the producer and actor must be "politicians" of the same stature. Appointment of a group of actors for a Soviet play "is a political question for the producer . . . and how the hero must be played in a Soviet play is a political question for the actor."[17] In the same manner in painting, sculpture and music the Party demands "Soviet realism" which means that the artists and the musicians must have recourse to "topical themes and images of contemporary Soviet reality" and must discard "formalistic trickery and subjectivist insularity."[18]

177 186 Accordingly any alien, especially Western, influence on Soviet thinking must be completely eliminated. Western philosophy of liberalism and free individual expression could undermine Bolshevik endeavors to create a completely regimented and submissive "new man." Hence a crusade against "cosmopolitanism, objectivism and other manifestations of bourgeois ideology"[19] has been initiated together with the severance of all closer contacts of Soviet intellectuals with the Western world.[20]

656 Such policies of complete subordination of one's thoughts, feelings and behavior to the needs of the Party demand not only strict censorship of all published matter[21] but dictate even the use of statistics to suit the objectives of the ruling class. A ruling

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group which claims perfection and monopoly on Truth cannot afford to lay itself open to any fundamental criticism of its accomplishments. Figures are therefore manipulated so as to achieve the desired effect.[22] "In the land of the Soviets statistics have become a weapon for Socialism and Communism," the Bolsheviks say.

II

Shaping of the "new man" must begin early in his childhood. To answer to this need, the schools have become in the Soviet system one of the fundamental instruments of character molding in the hands of the ruling faction. Special measures must be applied by educators to fashion character since "the life itself would not do it," the Bolsheviks say. The schools in the Soviet society have therefore a twofold objective. The first is to develop in each and every child psychological traits which are considered most desirable from the point of view of the perpetuation of the Soviet system and Bolshevik rule. The other is to develop needed skills and to train specialists which are of fundamental importance in a system of total control, such as experts in conspiracy, political organization and agitation, in overseeing, in vigilance and violence.

In a thoroughly regimented society training in unconditional obedience and in identification with and dependence upon the leader is of paramount importance. Such personality traits, already rooted in the Russian social and political structure, are being reinforced by the system of training in the Soviet schools whose pedagogical principles in their essentials do not differ from the precepts of the Domostroy. "From early years we must educate children so that a state of discipline will remain as their permanent possession," says a textbook on Soviet pedagogy.[23] "This discipline must be *firm*, that is, unquestioned obedience and submission to the leader, the teacher, or the organizer . . . " Submission to the will of the leader "is a necessary and essential mark of discipline."[24]

According to these pedagogical ideas the teacher does not coax pupils, he *demands* obedience.[25] The teacher is expected to be "authoritative and strict." Whenever necessary he must give

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876 157 commands and impose punishments. "If an order is given it must be carried out absolutely."[26] In order to achieve such absolute, unconditional and unquestioning obedience, the training of the young must be not only strict and firm but also consistent, so that their "habit of obedience" once formed is not easily broken.[27] Training in blind obedience is justified by the need to avoid conflicts and discord which a Soviet society cannot tolerate.[28] In such a society all available human energy must be employed exclusively in building socialism.

In order to develop the habit of unconditional obedience it is necessary to prevent any reflection upon given orders. Therefore the school training must stamp out "indecision" in the Soviet children. "We must create in Soviet children a state of mind which causes them to consider indecision in necessary actions as unworthy of their honor."[29] Obedience and submission demand traits of self-abnegation and self-denial; " . . . to bear pain patiently, to maintain self-control on hearing unpleasant news, and to endure unavoidable privations without complaint . . . all of this means to children a manifestation of courage."[30]

It is recognized that children have to be trained also in leadership, and that initiative is necessary in that respect. The Party, however, cannot allow any such initiative which might go counter to the Party's will. It is emphasized therefore that the initiative, too, must be "disciplined," because it is needed only for purposes of organization, vigilance and struggle along the lines put forward by those who possess the Truth. Hence according to Soviet principles of education it is "important that initiative not be exhibited impulsively, but that it be directed into organized channels . . . out of children of initiative good organizers must come."[31]

876 156 This complete submerging of the individual into his group, rooted in the social and political traditions of Russian society, is being reinforced by Soviet school training which strives to "educate people for whom the pronoun *I* could not . . . become more important than *we*, for whom thought for themselves always yields to thought for their comrades, for the group and for the country."[32] In this manner "clash between social demands and personal inclinations" is surmounted and the group

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is "perfected until there are no shortcomings." Then on members of such a group one can make great demands.[33] They will be disciplined, enduring, courageous and faithful. Work will become "second nature" to them; they will not abhor hard effort, nor be afraid of "healthy sweat."[34] They will be industrious and efficient and will develop the "best and most worthy feelings of man," that is, devotion to labor, heroism in the struggle against the forces of reaction, untiring, ruthless and unwavering vigilance against the survivals of capitalism, and an irreconcilable attitude toward the slightest manifestations of deviationism.[35]

III

In the days of Czardom the system of economic and political regimentation found its support in religious sanction and in nationalism. In a like manner the Bolsheviks had early realized that great privations which their regime demands could be best elicited from their subjects with the help of an identification with the great, the absolute, the sublime. It is by such means that traditional cravings for attachment and acceptance could be satisfied. In such a manner also a sense of guilt and urge for self-sacrifice could be reinforced and employed for political purposes.

It is along such efforts that the Bolsheviks have revived and strengthened the traditional Russian images of God, Czar, Father and Mother and have projected these images to the Leader and to the Party. The likeness to God and religion is manifested in the Bolshevik claim of infallibility of their leaders, universality, eternity, and sanctity of their doctrines. Lenin's teachings, for instance, are extolled by the Bolsheviks as being "superior" to any other ideology, as embracing the whole of humanity, and as living forever:

> Lenin's thoughts represent a superior achievement of the Russian and of the world culture; an eternally living and eternally developing science of society—a fighting banner of the working class—living soul of the Bolshevik Party which led our Fatherland to the avant-garde of the whole human kind.
>
> The books of the vozhd and teacher are immortal. They live and

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will live eternally. Yes, Lenin lives, his spirit is immortal—his idea is eternal—the leaves of his wonder books are imperishable.[36]

Lenin is represented not only as the architect of a promised world, but also as a prophet, all of whose prophecies have come to pass (*svershayutsya vse prorochestva Lenina*). There is an officially sponsored cult of Lenin which is propagated by means of many legends that surround his life, his activities, his martyrdom, and his death. He lies mummified in a mausoleum where thousands of pilgrims daily come to worship him. And throughout the country there are numerous Lenin's museums which, like the churches, remind the faithful of the omnipresence of Lenin's spirit. It is the aim of the ruling hierarchy to make their subjects incorporate in their conscience the image of a holy, infallible, and immortal Lenin in whose name the Bolsheviks will be able to make great demands:

> Here everything is eternal,
> Here everything is holiness
> Here sleeps a great Man—
> He and the people are inseparable
> He is—the Conscience of my Motherland.[37]

Accordingly, as in its worship of Lenin, the Party of the Bolsheviks is tireless in propagating the cult and the iconolatry of Stalin, who is pictured as Lenin's best pupil, as his closest friend and collaborator, and as his legitimate successor. In poems dedicated to him, Stalin is acclaimed as the "master of the entire world"; he is pictured as foreseeing the coming events and disasters, as possessing miraculous powers and life-giving qualities, and as being able to conquer death itself.[38]

With the death of Stalin, the Party is faced with the problem of molding the image of a new Leader with God-like qualities and patriarchal prerogatives. The Soviet press is now picturing Malenkov, one of the present top Party men, as being the pupil of Lenin and comrade-in-arms of Stalin. It is by means of such filiation that a new ruler acquires the attributes of the old deities.

Building on the traditional role of the Father in the Russian

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Building on the traditional role of the Father in the Russian
family the Party portrays the Party Leader as a strict and distant 593
but also watchful and solicitous man who takes good care of his 771 208
family. Following the traditional image of God and of the 665
Father, the Party Leader is pictured as being benevolent toward those who submit to him unconditionally, but as being wrathful and merciless toward his foes and all those who disobey. And just like the members of the Great-Russian family, the Soviet people are expected to show "filial gratitude" to their Elder for his care and vigilance. Hence the supreme Party Leader is addressed as "our own father" (*rodnoy otets*), teacher (*uchitel*), leader (*vozhd*), friend (*drug*), and feeder (*kormilets*). Articles and letters of gratitude published daily in the Soviet press invariably mention his fatherly solicitude (*otecheskaya zabota*), his wise (*mudry*) plan and his genius (*geny*). Without fail they thank him ardently (*goryachee spasibo*) for what he has done for the well-being (*blago*), happiness (*schastie*), and world mightiness of the Soviet state (*velichaishaya derzhava mira*). On the occasion of the Leader's birthday numerous songs and musical compositions include titles which convey the idea of dependence upon and filial gratitude to an All-Powerful and All-Wise Vozhd.

It is expected that such identifications will reinforce in the 154
Soviet people the feeling of guilt and make them redouble their 783
efforts in building and supporting the Soviet system. Thus in the letters which various institutions, organizations and associations write to Vozhd, pledges are given to fulfill and overfulfill their quotas and to improve quality of products in gratitude for his unceasing "paternal care" and solicitude. And if they have failed, stayed behind, or have not come up to the expectations of their "father and teacher," they admit their guilt and promise to spare no efforts to improve, and thus arrest his wrath and rejection.[39] Not only lowly and humble folk from the bottom of the Soviet social pyramid, but men and women on the lofty peaks of Soviet arts and sciences, write such letters to Stalin in the same tone of religious reverence and humility, that strongly remind one both of the servility of Czarist official classes and of the prayers to an All-Mighty and wrathful God in the Russian Orthodox Church.

The ruling hierarchy realizes, however, that deification of the 000

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665 The ruling hierarchy realizes, however, that deification of the
208 Party leader would not produce desired effects unless supported by rewards, that is, actual gains or hopes of gains ascribed to his wisdom. It is for this reason that Stalin's name is invariably linked with and symbolically attached to all the outstanding accomplishments of the Soviet system. Stalin is also pictured as incorporating in himself longings and aspirations, dreams and yearnings both of the Soviet people and of all the oppressed and humiliated in the world, of all those who are rejected and deprived of good things in life. Such an image of Stalin strengthens culturally and structurally rooted identification with suffering. He is therefore represented as a symbol of the interests and hopes of all hard-working and suffering mankind. Hence the epoch in which we live, the epoch that is renowned for the strivings of the working masses (of those who suffer), for acceptance in an equalitarian society is to be known as "Stalin's Epoch" (*Stalinskaya Epokha*).

869 But even this linking of Stalin's name with all significant
643 achievements of Soviet society in the field of economy, government, science, and art is not considered sufficient to prevent doubts and skepticism. Deep faith in the Vozhd and identification with him which will be so strong that it will endure most adverse circumstances and make people ready for great and supreme sacrifices must be instilled early in childhood. Thus already in nurseries the children were given toys on which it was inscribed "Thanks to Comrade Stalin for happy and joyful childhood" (*Spasibo tovarishchu Stalinu z schastlivoe i radostnoe detstvo*). Small children are taught to recite stories which emphasize the dependence of the whole country upon Vozhd who is compared with the rising sun. The Soviet children are told that no child and no youth is so fortunate in any other place in the world. They are assured that Vozhd is doing everything in his power to make their lives prosperous and happy. The children are expected therefore to show a feeling of gratitude toward Vozhd, the Party, and the government and must grow up as worthy fighters to take the place of the present leaders:

> We, the children of the Soviet Union, the happiest country in the world, feel the constant solicitude for us by the Party, the government, and our beloved leader, comrade Stalin.

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Comrade Stalin is the best friend of us children, of all the children of the world. It is he who builds for us the best schools, palaces of culture, stadiums and camps, where we can become strong and healthy, so that we can study more and better in the winter time, when we go to school. We must grow up as fighters worthy to take the place of those now present here (*Applause*)—as fighters devoted to the cause of the Party, devoted to the cause of the Communist International (*Applause*). Long live our beloved Stalin! (*Applause*).[40]

Accordingly the study and imitation of the life of the two deified Soviet leaders, Lenin and Stalin, is considered to be one of the primary duties and a sacred obligation of every Pioneer and Komsomol. The aim of the Party is to form the conscience of the young according to an idealized image of Lenin and Stalin. Young people are told to think constantly of their leaders, to be inspired by them, to follow them, and to love them. It is often pointed out that the reason that Stalin became so great and achieved the leading position in the Party was because he was such a faithful follower and loyal disciple of Lenin. "We must do everything so that our life is such as the unforgettable Iliich wanted it to be."[41] "In the soul of each one of us there is one and only one image which governs all of us. That is the image of the great Stalin."[42] And if a Pioneer or Komsomol is relaxing in his duties and vigilance, he is instantly reminded: "Comrade Iliich would not have approved of you." Stalin himself in his speeches often stressed the need to imitate Lenin:

> Remember, love, study, Iliich, our teacher, our leader. Fight and defeat enemies, internal and external—like Iliich. Build a new existence, a new mode of life, a new culture—like Iliich. Never refuse to do even the smallest jobs, because out of little things the great things are constructed—this is one of the important legacies of Iliich.[43]

IV

The apotheosis of Stalin did not seem to have sufficient appeal among sophisticated and disaffected intelligentsia, nor among dissatisfied and apathetic laboring masses who tended to blame Stalin for their ills. Nor was the identification of the Party with Mother sufficient to inspire faith in Bolshevik system. It was

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208 186 therefore imperative from the point of view of the survival of the Soviet power and self-perpetuation of the ruling faction to find new mass identifications and symbols. These were readily found in ideas of grandeur and perfection, and in ethnocentrism, rooted in Czarist traditions, in Slavophilism and in the Third [152] Rome ideology. These feelings and attitudes were reinforced in the structure of Soviet society in which, just as in the Czardom, dependency and subservience are likely to foster in the higher strata compensatory feelings of superiority and desire to dominate.

In Bolshevik ideology, however, self-apotheosis expressed in ideas of grandeur and in myths of social and national superiority, and in plans of conquest reached much higher proportions than in the Czardom. Thus the language of Bolshevism became saturated with words and phrases which convey the image of grandeur, perfection, holiness and eternity. Words and phrases, such as grandiose (*velichayshy*), life-giving (*zhivotvoryashchy*), invincible (*nepobedimy*), the most perfect (*naybolie soversheny*), limitless (*bezgranichny*), legendary (*bogatyrsky*), epoch-making, holy (*sviatoy*), miraculous (*chudotvorny*), immortal (*bessmertny*) and eternal (*vechny*) are regularly used to depict the achievements of the Soviet state. The Soviet state is referred to as the "magnificent Soviet State," as "the most perfect political form of power" which has already achieved "world-wide historical victories," and still contains "inexhaustible possibilities." There is today no such force "which could surpass its might."[44] Such a mighty and powerful Socialist state "shows a profound influence on the whole international life, on the hearts and minds of all liberty loving people," thus initiating a "new era in the history of human kind."[45]

The Soviet people themselves are said to be unique and to excel in their personal qualities. The Soviet man, as pictured by the Communist press has in every respect attributes superior to the man of any other society. Having "unheard-of opportunities for education," he is said to be at the head of all "progressive humanity." It is pointed out that he is the one who possesses "the only correct orientation" and absolute knowledge of the past, present and future given him by the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

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Unbounded faith in the victory of Communism gives the Soviet man and woman the strength to withstand otherwise unsurmountable difficulties. It is for this reason that his "unmatched heroism" has deserved the respect of all humankind. He has the interests of the state at heart as if they were his personal affairs, he shows an "infinite attachment" to the Communist Party, has a "most holy" respect for Lenin's legacy, and an "inexhaustible love" for his country. He is endowed with "limitless creative energies" and is ready for any sacrifice, including his own life, for the Soviet cause. He is a perfect man in a perfect society:[46]

> Where do you find such people and such a country as ours? Where do you find people with such superb qualities as manifested by the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War and as displayed by them in their toil which is at the head of the peaceful development and reconstruction of economic production and culture? Every day our people get higher and higher . . . We are not the same as we were yesterday. We changed and grew together with those majestic transformations which changed our country in its very roots.[47]

The grim Soviet reality, however, contradicts this mythology. There is therefore an imperative need to offset the demoralizing effects of such a contrast and to bolster the self-confidence of the people and the prestige of the ruling faction by concentrating all the efforts to achieve some spectacular accomplishments at home and abroad. The Soviet leaders are therefore tireless in magnifying any of their achievements in the field of technology, science, war or diplomacy. By emphasizing the monumentality of these deeds the Bolsheviks expect to leave on their subjects an ineradicable impression regarding the ability of the rulers and the greatness of the system. This line of thought and feeling explains the emphasis on many imposing prestige undertakings in addition to mythical projects that are said to have moved mountains, made oceans out of deserts, produced new species and conquered death. Also pyramidal monuments to Soviet victories, frequent military parades, demonstrations in which hundreds of thousands of people take part, and other mass pageantry are designed to make the people experience a feeling of invincibility, grandeur, and unsurpassable might of the Soviets.

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[53] Perhaps the most significant aspect of this self-deification is found in the systematic endeavors of the Bolshevik leaders to emphasize the superior qualities of the Great-Russian people as compared to other peoples of the Soviet Union. The Great-Russians form less than half of the population of the Soviet Union, but they are the dominant nation in the state. The top Party bodies and the government and the managerial hierarchies, are overwhelmingly composed of the Great-Russians or of the non-Russians who have been thoroughly Russified. The Great-Russians constitute a majority in the branches of the Soviet armed forces deemed essential to the internal security of the Soviet Union. The Great-Russians predominate in the security police and its militia as well as in the air force and in the tank divisions and other mechanized troops. And the infantry units when composed of other ethnic groups always include a sufficient number of Great-Russians as a cementing force.[48]

There is strong emphasis on Russification in all schools of the country, especially the Party schools. In all constituent Republics, autonomous republics, and autonomous territories and regions, Russified natives or the Party members of Great-Russian origin figure as Party leaders, as top bureaucrats and top managers, or as advisers and experts.

In order to justify this policy of Russification and to accustom the non-Russians to the dominant position which the Great-Russians occupy in the Soviet Union, a myth of Great-Russian superiority has been developed by the Bolsheviks. At the Kremlin victory banquet on May 25, 1945, Stalin gave a toast "first of all" to the Great-Russian people. He referred to them as "the most outstanding of all nationalities forming part of the Soviet Union." According to Stalin, the Russian people "merit general recognition in the Great Patriotic War as the leading power among all the peoples of our country . . . they have a clear mind, steadfast characters, and endurance."[49]

A textbook on pedagogy asserts that "the history of the Russian people proves to all mankind their political wisdom, their military values, and their genius."[50] Other Soviet writings claim

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that "All the peoples of the Soviet Union recognize and appreciate the tremendous historical mission which the Great-Russian people is performing, as the outstanding people of the Soviet fraternity of nations."[51] In the same manner Grekov, a Soviet academician and one of the most outstanding Soviet historians, claims that the Russians, owing to their fighting ability and their readiness to sacrifice themselves for a good cause, saved the Western European civilization from barbarism and destruction even in the middle ages.[52]

Innate superiority of the Great-Russians is said to have manifested itself in an unsurpassable inventive genius. Hence the Russian military strategists, scholars and technicians are credited with a number of outstanding inventions which have been heretofore generally regarded as being developed in the Western countries. It is claimed, for instance, that the "Soviet Military science" developed by the Great-Russians is superior to any bourgeois concept of war. Also, most of the basic technological discoveries and inventions, from the spinning wheel to the nuclear nature of the atom, are said to have been the result of the "creative work of Russian genius,"[53] but "wrongfully ascribed to Germans, Englishmen, Americans, and Italians."[54]

Dominance of the Russians over the other peoples of the Soviet Union contradicts both the Socialistic doctrines and the Bolshevik myth of equality of all national and ethnic groups. As a result of Bolshevik policies of rigid centralization of power which promotes Russian hegemony, national and ethnic autonomies provided for by the Constitution became illusory. Reaction to such a situation has provoked dissatisfaction among subjected nationalities, resulting sometimes in open rebellions. To stamp out such revolts the Bolsheviks had to resort occasionally to resettlement and extermination of the whole recalcitrant populations, just as the Turco-Mongol rulers did before them. As a result a number of ethnic and national groups disappeared as separate entities, such as the Volga Germans, the Crimean Tartars, the Kalmyks and others.

The Bolsheviks realize, however, that these are means only to be used in extreme cases and in emergencies. Their aim is therefore to promote Russification among all their non-Russian sub-

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jects as a means of permanent control. It is felt that only by Russifying the non-Russian parts of the Soviet Union and convincing them of the benefits of close ties with Russian people and Russian institutions[55] a common culture will be developed; on such a basis a feeling of unity, of common interests and of common objectives will grow.

It is in light of such circumstances that the earlier Marxian theory of linguistics had to be revised to suit the new situation. Present language is not considered any more to be just a "superstructure" destined to give way to a completely new language of Socialism. On the contrary, Russian language and even Russian script is looked upon now as the basic language and basic script of Soviet socialism. Contrary to earlier Marxian theory, Russian language is now looked upon as an agent of unification and control under Soviet rule.[56]

Myths of national and racial superiority, however, do not appeal equally to all strata of the population. The toiling multitudes, if dissatisfied with their status, might remain deaf to such calling unless convinced that in different conditions their situation would become worse and even more precarious. It was to strengthen the latter feeling that the Bolshevik Party undertook to propagate a myth of the inferiority, rottenness, and damnation of the non-Soviet world. Building on anti-Latin and anti-Western traditions of the Orthodox Church and of Slavophilism the Bolshevik propaganda has attempted to develop attitudes of horror, disgust, and utter contempt of the capitalist world and of Western culture. Accordingly the Western society has been pictured as exploitative, war-mongering, decadent, decaying, full of internal conflicts and contradictions, and therefore self-destructive. The miserable, exploited, toiling multitudes in Western countries and their dependencies have been pictured as living in inhuman, deplorable and destitute conditions, exposed to constant unemployment and hunger, and heartlessly exploited by pitiless capitalists.

Because of this inherent and unsurmountable conflict of interests between labor's demand for higher standards and the capitalist's demand for higher profits, there is an intrinsic self-destroying tendency in the very nature of capitalism, the Bolshe-

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viks say.[57] The bourgeois countries are therefore inescapably crippled and inevitably doomed beyond any hope of recovery whatsoever.[58] The only way out of such an unbearable situation for the capitalists is to "turn the whole planet into a police station, under American supervision."[59] Hence the capitalists prepare for war and imperialistic expansion as the only way to maintain their power. They tend to encircle the Soviet Union and attack it. Therefore, sooner or later "a series of the most frightful collisions between the Soviet republic and bourgeois states is inevitable."[60]

Propaganda concerning the inevitable doom of capitalism is aimed at discouraging hopes for change in the Soviet system. Such propaganda supports the myth of the infallibility and invincibility of the Soviet system; the inevitability of the coming economic crises in the capitalist world, especially in the United States, will lead to the final breakdown of the capitalist system, the victory of the Soviets, and the establishment of a World Soviet Republic.[61] At the same time the claim that the capitalistic powers will resort to aggression as a last hope to save their dwindling system functions as a justification for aggressive diplomacy and strategic expansion; it strengthens the demands for greater sacrifices and deprivations in favor of police measures and war preparedness. The emphasis on the inevitability of war justifies also the increasing centralization of power and "iron discipline" within the Party ranks.

VI

Following Turco-Mongol and Czarist traditions, Bolshevik leaders believe that training in unconditional submission to superiors, identification with the powerful and faith in victory can be best achieved if the whole society is militarized. Militarization is looked upon as the best morale builder. When militarily organized, people are more amenable to control. Also a powerful army under the Party's control strengthens the confidence of uneasy and mistrustful rulers in their ability to check internal opposition and withstand external pressures or attacks. A powerful army is also a necessary instrument for aggressive diplomacy and territorial expansion; it becomes an instrument

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of international Communism. "In our times," said Stalin before the Seventeenth Party Congress in 1934, "it is not the custom to give any consideration to the weak. . . . consideration is only given to the strong." The Party therefore undertook to drill millions of subjects in the use of arms and to develop an imposing army of professional soldiers.

The need of militarization of the entire population has been reflected in the Bolshevik ideology of total war. As early as the nineteen twenties the Bolshevik military strategist and Commissar of Defense, Mikhail Frunze, developed the theory of mobilization of the entire population and of regimentation of all aspects of life as a means of war preparation.[62] As a result of such a trend of thought pre-military training has been introduced into public schools and many teaching subjects have been oriented toward military thinking. Also the Party has sponsored and supported private organizations to promote physical fitness and military training (*Ossoaviokhim*) on a mass scale.

The need of the ruling faction to use military training as a school of obedience, loyalty, leadership, and war preparedness dictated also the policies concerning the system of military training. Consequently earlier ideas of fraternization and equality of ranks developed as a response to the longing for an anarchic brotherhood were attacked as "false democracy"; instead strict military discipline has been introduced and embodied in minute military regulations.[63] As a result very heavy and hard punishments have been provided for slightest breaches in discipline.

The military regulations now demand unquestionable obedience of the subordinate to his superior, and immediate and literal execution of his command regardless of what that command may be: "The order of the commander is law for the subordinate. The order must be fulfilled without question, literally and immediately."[64] To insure such unconditional obedience the military regulations authorize Soviet officers to use harsh means to cope with lapses of discipline. These include not only ordinary punishments, but physical beatings and even killing "in an emergency, when there is no time to spare." Significantly enough, the term "officer" was discarded and has been substituted by that of "commander."

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The wording of the Soviet armed forces oath bears witness to the vigor of this discipline and the strength of social pressure brought to its support. In addition to the punishment that may be expected by the Soviet soldier who did not fulfill his duty as expected, or who did not promptly sacrifice his life for the country is, according to this oath, "hatred and contempt of the working people" (*nenavist i prezrenie trudyashchikhsya*).[65]

At the same time the moral authority of the commander has been enhanced by a great amount of educational work and political agitation. The commander's unconditional authority is also consolidated with the help of an elaborate system of ranks, medals, and uniforms, and by the introduction of caste-like relations between the officers and the rank-and-file, a situation which is supported by the general trend in the Soviet society toward differentiation, superordination and subordination, and sharp social stratification.

Accordingly, Soviet practices in military education and training favor different types of schools according to the rank and the class. In the school for commanders the admittance practices favor children of professional army officers. In this manner Soviet military schools tend to solidify the present military caste system and to develop professional classes of hereditary warriors. Following Czarist traditions there is much pomp, ritual and ceremonial in the armed forces. There is also a certain emphasis on mysticism manifested in kneeling, bowing of heads in silence and stress on holiness. All these are means of appealing to emotions, of emphasizing the sacredness of military duty, and of developing loyalty and dedication to the colors.

As a means of political control the armed forces of the Soviet Union are completely centralized and thoroughly infiltrated by Party men. The strength of Party control of the Soviet armed forces is best seen in the degree of Party infiltration of its commanding personnel. By 1934 the percentage of Party and Party-affiliated persons in the commanding positions of the Soviet Army was about 72. The percentages were even greater in the branches which are considered especially crucial from the point of view of security, such as the tank divisions and the air force. In these two branches the percentage of Party and Party-affiliated

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701 665 members was close to 85 percent. And as to the top level of the army command by 1941 this top military hierarchy was one hundred percent Communist.[66]

To maintain ideological purity among the armed forces and to strengthen the Party's control is the specific function of the political officer and of the Partorg (Party organizer). The political officers have now regular army training and in the actual fighting, the political officer becomes "the commander's substitute or takes his place when the commander is disabled."[67] It is this ability of the Party to replace any army commander by an army trained but Party devoted man, that is expected to insure absolute control of the armed forces by the Party even in times of greatest stress and defeat. The duty of the political officers is [703] not only to interpret and to propagandize the latest utterances of the Party leaders or the decisions of the Politburo, but to watch for any weakening of enthusiasm, for any pessimism or gloomy views that may be noticed and to combat vigorously any signs of demoralization. The most important task of the political officers, however, is to cultivate martial spirit and to build up morale, thus creating "a psychological condition which sets up resistance to fear of discomfort, pain, or death."[68]

701 157 208 The goal of the Party is to infiltrate with martial spirit not the armed forces alone, but the whole Soviet population as a means of bolstering the morale of the Soviet masses behind the Bolshevik regime. This is being achieved by means of militarization of all public activities. The Bolshevik leaders consider that militarization is the only morale builder in a situation in which the laboring masses tend to become lethargic, apathetic and disinterested in their work. Speaking of the experiences in World War II, Stalin said that in that struggle people got transformed and acquired new qualities which strengthened the power of the [461] Bolsheviks: "But the people themselves in the rear have been transformed, they have been more efficient, less slipshod, more disciplined; they have learned to work in wartime fashion, and to realize their duty to our motherland."[69] Stalin looks at sports and athletics from the same point of view:

We stood for five hours on the tomb while the show went on. The Generalissimo showed no sign of fatigue. On the contrary, he ap-

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peared to enjoy every minute of the show . . . A final remark of the Generalissimo's while we were watching the sports spectacle was that mass athletics and exercises were fine because of their effect upon the populace. He said, "This develops the war spirit."[70]

In accordance with the Bolshevik need for morale building most Soviet institutions have been militarized, including the Party. Thus when a Soviet subject leaves his school and his Pioneer or Komsomol organization and enters a factory, a kolhoz, an office, a research laboratory, or becomes a Party worker, he has been already trained for work in a society which is in most of its aspects organized along military lines. Anywhere where he is assigned a job he might find military discipline and military relationships. In a number of civilian jobs he will wear a uniform with badges of his rank. In his factory or kolhoz he may become a member of a "shock brigade" or a "hero of labor" and therefore an important link in an all-embracing Five-Year-Plan whose main emphasis is on military preparedness. As a Party member he will take his position in the Party pyramid as a common soldier, as a petty officer, or as a higher officer:

> Three or four thousand men of the high command—the generals of our Party. Then 30 to 40 thousand intermediate commanders; these constitute the officers' corps of our Party. And further, 100 to 180 thousand of the leading elements of our party—these are, so to speak —the subaltern officers of the Party.[71]

In a militarized society military language is used in all activities. Military language has always been a tradition in the Bolshevik Party and has been always widely employed by Lenin, Stalin, and other Party leaders. Therefore when addressing a meeting, or when writing in a newspaper or in a literary or scholarly periodical a Soviet subject is expected to employ military phrases, and use analogies taken from military campaigns and military experiences. He will speak of "reconnoissance," "skirmishes," "encounters," "operations," "outposts," "fortresses," "citadels," "maneuvres," "camps," "cadres," etc. and he will be expected to do his duty on his own "battle post." If he rises to the top of the Party hierarchy and if he especially distinguishes himself in his civil activities he might be endowed

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665 701 with the real rank and uniform of general or perhaps even with that of marshal.

24
FAMILY BACKGROUND OF PERSONALITY IN SOVIET RUSSIA

I

PROMPTED by drives of destructive aggression and supported by the ideological traditions of Nihilism and Anarchism, the Bolsheviks were determined to destroy the family in order to have unchallenged control over the training of children and the molding of their personalities. Their view was that there was not much that they could do with the parents, but that "the children **belonged to the Party.**" Such a trend of thought was supported also by an intense reaction of many people against the old patriarchal and despotic family pattern which existed in the Czardom. There was a strong desire on the part of many family members to liberate themselves from the old practices of parental and marital authority and discipline. It was in such an atmosphere that the Bolshevik Party at first introduced a series of decrees and measures which greatly facilitated the dissolution of family ties.[1]

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The Bolsheviks, however, soon realized that the family could not be allowed to disintegrate without dire consequences for their regime which was bent upon rapid industrialization and militarization and was in great need of manpower. Also as a result of wars, famines and a growing number of broken families, there were hundreds of thousands of homeless and neglected children and aged people. Care for these proved too great a burden for an economy which had to use all its available resources primarily for state security and war preparedness. Thus instead of destroying the family the Bolsheviks decided to maintain it but to manipulate it so as to use it as an instrument

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of the new order. The family, therefore, as all other institutions of the Soviet society, was to be reconstructed and regimented in such a way as to best serve the purposes and the objectives of the new ruling class.

As a result of such a change in attitude and reversal of policy the Bolsheviks have introduced laws and decrees whose aim has been to impose mutual responsibilities and obligations on family members. The new laws have also favored "indissolubility" of marriage ties and encouraged large families. At the same time, however, the family has been placed under the guidance, control and overseeing of the Party and of the government authorities. In consequence of a series of laws and decrees, the Soviet family has been given the task of training children in discipline, in collective responsibility, in obedience to authorities and in faith in Bolshevism. Just as the Soviet school, the Soviet family has been given the task of helping to train willing toilers, zealous labor drivers and agitators, and fearless fighters for the cause of world Communism.[2]

Following the traditions of the Russian patriarchal family and in order to make the parents an instrument of the training of children in obedience to authorities, parents have been made legally responsible for the behavior of their children. Prosecution by civil and criminal law, administrative fines and prison terms[3] have been established against the parents whose children came into conflict with administrative regulations or existing laws. Just as in the Domostroi the parents are encouraged to be strict and non-indulgent, and to rely on frequent punishment as a means of correction; they are also encouraged to be authoritative and to keep a necessary distance from children so that their authority is not undermined by unnecessary intimacy. The parents have been given joint rights of discipline but subjected to government and Party control.[4]

This interference of the Party-state into the family relationships has been backed also by another law according to which parental rights have been subordinated to the interest of children. The "interests of children" are determined according to the Party interests and views; the court has been empowered to deprive the parents of their parental rights whenever the Party

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chooses to consider that the interests of the children have not been safeguarded.[5] In such cases parental rights might be lost for up to five years.[6] According to the Soviet educational philosophy it is expected that the parents will *rear* the children, but that the public organizations under the Party's supervision will instruct and supervise parents in the ways of *Communist upbringing* of children.[7]

The Party considers it to be its duty to arouse antagonism of children against parents when such action is necessary in the interest of the survival of the Soviet regime. As mentioned earlier, planned rift between fathers and sons was, for instance, employed to speed up the process of collectivization. Commissar of Agriculture Jakovlev, speaking before a Party congress on the struggle against the kulaks, stated that "In a number of cases, the children of the kulaks are made to revolt against their parents, and thus the kulak families are divided and the kulaks still more isolated." The Party has also been known to take advantage of family conflicts to encourage the children to spy on their parents and to denounce them to the political police:

> Russian parents had to be very careful of what they said in the presence of their own children, and even of how they disciplined their children. One boy, Pavlik Morosov, was built up as a hero among youth because he had denounced his father who was organizing resistance against the kolhoz. Great propaganda was made about this boy. A book was written about him. Actually he became a hero to most children.[8]

In times of political "purges" there were frequent notices in the Soviet papers in which the children of the parents who were politically persecuted publicly renounced their parents.[9] That was the only way they could escape the vengeance of a regime which had revived the tradition of family hostages and used it as an instrument of political conformity.

The Bolsheviks consider that since "one's way of life is a social matter . . . a matter of national policy,"[10] the Party has the right to interfere even in pre-marital and extra-marital sex relations, as well as in the relations between the spouses. "Young Communist organizations cannot remain neutral when the con-

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duct of its members in love and family life run counter to the ethics of Soviet Man."[11] The fundamental motivation behind this interference in love and sex life is political control. "Moral corruption brings political corruption,"[12] the Bolsheviks say. It is in accordance with such a line of thought that it is considered to be the duty of one to inform on his or her own spouse. Such behavior is especially expected of a Party member. Therefore "A prudent Russian today hesitates to confide in even his wife too fully."[13]

At the same time while the Soviet family laws and Soviet philosophy and practices tend to favor Party and government supervision of family relations and in some cases sharpen family conflicts, they also endeavor to enforce family discipline over children, and to strengthen the sense of mutual responsibility among family members. The Bolsheviks, however, do not encourage development of the sense of kinship loyalty which might go counter to the interests of the state. The Soviet family laws have broadened the concept of family to all ascending and descending lines and to brothers and sisters. In case any one of these relatives is needy or incapacitated, the others have the obligation of support.[14] Emphasis on family responsibility is manifested also in the provision of the law of 1926 which, contrary to the Russian traditions, abolished the principle of separate property of the spouses.[15]

In accordance with new policy, factual or non-registered marriage which earlier enjoyed state protection was denied that privilege and a decree in 1944 ruled that "only registered marriage confers the rights and obligations of spouses."[16] A decree of the same year ruled that divorce is allowed only in case the wish of one or even both parties who seek divorce coincides with the "government's recognition of necessity to dissolve marriage."[17] Moreover in order to make divorce proceeding prohibitive and marriage practically indissoluble, a long judicial procedure was established. In the course of this long procedure the parties must clarify the motives for divorce and bring witnesses. Also high divorce fees were introduced. And to facilitate state interference, no grounds for divorce were stated or specified in the decree.

However, the procedural instructions concerning this decree

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586 do specify the cases in which the state wishes to facilitate divorce and dissolve marriage. Such cases are for instance, "a court sentence depriving either spouse of his or her liberty for no less than three years," and "the absence with no news of either spouse."[18] In such cases the party seeking divorce is exempted from the payment of fees and also from the requirement that a public notice be put in the local newspaper. These provisions [672] are in accordance with the principle of family hostages and the well known practice of the Soviet political police to persecute the families of political offenders. Divorce from such a person may in some cases rehabilitate one in the eyes of the Party. The police as a rule exert pressure on the spouses of political culprits or suspects to seek divorce, and the law provisions are such that the court may facilitate divorce in such cases.

168 The Bolshevik regime depends to a great extent upon the available large contingents of manpower for its armed forces and for its industrial enterprises whose labor efficiency is very low. In accordance with such needs a series of measures was introduced designed to encourage large families, such as strict laws against birth control, maternity leaves, safeguards for employed pregnant women, monthly cash payments for children, reduced fees in nurseries, advantages in income tax payments, medals, awards, citations, and titles for mothers bearing and raising a certain number of children.[19] At the same time special taxes were imposed upon bachelors, childless couples and couples with only one or two children. Also suits to establish paternity were abolished and an unmarried mother was given the option to accept a modest allowance or to place the child in a public institution where the state takes care of it.

594 The recognition on the part of the Bolshevik rulers of the significance of the family as an institution of early training of Soviet subjects in discipline, subordination to the group, and obedience to authorities is manifested in the inclusion of family legislation within the jurisdiction of the central government of the Soviet Union. The constitution of the Soviet Union itself was amended for this purpose in 1947.[20] Thus the trend of Soviet legislation in the matters of family relations in the course of over thirty years of Bolshevik rule tended to increase and

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strengthen the control of the Party over that fundamental social institution. This intent to completely subject the family to the Party's aims is expressed in Bolshevik ideological parlance as "the cultural-educational influence of the socialist state upon family relationships in the direction of strengthening socialist principles."[21]

II

Following Russian traditional attachment to the Mother Country, Soviet pedagogical principles demand that love for the *Rodina* should be emphasized in the training of children. Building on traditional mother-child attachment in the Russian family, the Party instructs teachers to point out to their pupils how Lenin was attached to his mother.[22] It also emphasizes the tender relations between Stalin and his mother. Teachers are told that this natural attachment of a child to his mother should be used as a means to instill in the child love for his Mother Country.[23]

At the same time in the school textbooks, in the daily press, in the speeches of Party leaders and all other means of mass communication, it is the Bolshevik Party that is represented to be the Mother of the Komsomols, Pioneers, and Octobrists, and the "mother of the Soviet people." The love for the Rodina is, therefore, interpreted as being conditioned by and subordinated to the primary duty of love for the Party or the Leader with whom the Party is identified. Hence, even when mother-attachment remains strong in a Soviet child, the attempt is made to transfer that attachment to the Party and to raise loyalty to the Leader and to the Party above loyalty to the country. Thus Party loyalty precedes both family and national loyalty in the Soviet educational philosophy. "Party is above everything else," the Bolsheviks say. And it is this loyalty to the Leader, Party or Cause which precedes all other loyalties that forms the core of Bolshevik internationalism and the basis of its world appeal, not unlike the appeal of a universal church.

Most children of elementary school age and a greater part of those on secondary school level belong to Party auxiliary organizations, the Octobrists, the Pioneers and the Komsomols. In the great variety of activities in which these organizations are ex-

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pected to help the Party "at all times," there is always a possibility of conflict between the demands of the Party and those of the family. Also, owing to a great shortage of manpower and a very low standard of living, most women, with the exception of those from the upper ruling strata, are forced to work long hours outside the home. Many of them have to engage in heavy physical labor. Such mothers are not only physically exhausted at the end of the day, but are often disillusioned, bitter, as well as critical of the system, a fact which is confirmed by a rather high percentage of women in convict labor camps. Such mothers cannot pay sufficient attention to their children.

At the same time great demands and responsibilities placed on parents in regard to the discipline of their children and the interference of the Party and the government in family affairs often causes harshness in treatment of children. Hence overstrictness as well as negligence of children is the result.[24] Such a situation favors both feelings of rejection and revolt, as well as extreme self-concern and destructive aggressiveness on a larger scale and in a more intense way than in the days of Czardom. And since the Soviet system of vigilance encourages family members to inform on one another, mutual suspicions, fears, and hostilities rooted in patriarchal traditions are greatly magnified. Training in self-confidence and trust, and in group attachment cannot thrive in such circumstances. But it is exactly self-concern, mistrust, and destructive aggression that are so instrumental in the perpetuation of the Bolshevik rule.

Unstable political and economic conditions, together with consequences of wars, depletion of rural areas of adult men, famines, convict labor camps to which millions of parents have been confined, have resulted in an unprecedented number of broken families and a growing number of neglected, illegitimate and delinquent children. A number of such children, especially orphans of war heroes, at the age of nine are sent to military schools. Many neglected and delinquent children at the age of 8 to 13 are sent to special homes for children which are in charge of the secret political police.[25] The increasing stress on internal vigilance, together with the pressing need of the political police to feed their vast economic enterprises with cheap

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[Ivan the Terrible]

convict labor, indicate that the number of such children will not decrease in the foreseeable future.[26]

Such children are considered to have an ideal background for their training as future specialists in conspiracy, vigilance, and violence. Therefore the children who have been raised in a tense family atmosphere or who have been rejected and neglected by their families form a fertile ground from which the Bolshevik rulers recruit a significant part of their future followers and leaders. But what is the future of a society whose ruling classes are being formed out of persons who have been raised in the midst of harshness, brutality and lack of human warmth or whose desire for emotional attachment has been thwarted?

By the middle of the sixteenth century Ivan the Terrible, who himself was left motherless early in his childhood and was exposed to great instability in his emotional attachments, became a victim of ideas of persecution and of boundless and insatiable thirst for power and self aggrandizement. Driven by such compulsions he undertook to organize a body of fanatical devotees who were bound by oath to forswear association not only with "friends and brethren" but even with their own parents, and to serve the Czar blindly and unconditionally. These *Oprichniki* became renowned in history as a brotherhood of brigands who lived separated and isolated from the rest of society—"men vile and filled with every sort of cruelty."[27] Throughout the day they indulged in savage torturing and killing of suspects after they had attended the morning liturgy. In their wild outrages they terrorized peaceful citizens immediately after their brow-beating prostrations before the Altar.

In the same manner in the Ottoman Empire, the elite militia of the Sultans, known as the Janizaries, were recruited from among the children who were often early in their childhood or boyhood taken away from their parents to be raised and trained in loyalty to the Sultan only. Still earlier in the society of Eurasian steppe warriors want of bonds of human attachment brought about instability and explosiveness of Asiatic empires. Both the Asiatic conquerors and the Janizaries became renowned in history for their recklessness and barbarism. They also rebelled and excelled in insubordination to established

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authorities as soon as these showed signs of weakness and defeat.

Could it be that lack of acceptance, thwarted and unstable attachments in the Soviet system of rule will bring about the same results? And will the fanaticism, cynicism, and extreme self-concern cause the Soviet "Oprichniki" to play as fateful a role in their own day as their predecessors did in theirs? Will such "Janizaries" become the spearheads of a new plan for world conquest, in the name of a new Allah? Or will they bring about internal chaos and anarchy as soon as their personal power is imperilled? Increasing complaints against misappropriation of public funds and properties, venality of government officials and Party members indicate such possibilities. Disrespect for personal rights on the part of the government bureaucracy and the military, emphasis on hatred in the educational system and the press, and inhuman practices of the political police point in the same direction.

On the other hand, the same pressures that work in the direction of family tension and of breaking up of family ties might, in certain circumstances, strengthen family attachments and family solidarity. In the police practices of the Soviet Union all those who had any ties (*svyaz*) with a political culprit are suspected of the same crime. It is this philosophy of implied culpability that leads to the principle of joint family responsibility and family hostages in case of political offenses by one family member. It appears that a number of "confessions" in the political trials were the result of a promise on the part of the secret police that the family members of the victim will be spared. Such conditions of consistent external threat if combined with indifference toward Soviet efforts might foster the tendency to withdraw within one's own family circle, to keep the outside contacts to a minimum, and to strengthen the intimacies of the home.

In those cases when changes in family relations take such a trend, the status of the father apparently assumes a different position and function from that which was typical of the Great-Russian patriarchal family system in the past. Instead of the strictness and detachment which characterized the father's role

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in that family, the new circumstances call for more leniency and more intimacy on his part toward his wife and his children. The mother at the same time, because now closer to her husband, is in no need to become over-attached to her children. Such well-balanced family relations come to closely resemble those in the Old-Slavonic family.

It is the children with such close family ties in an emotionally balanced family atmosphere that develop traits of moderation, self-control, responsibility, group orientation and humane feelings. It is in such families that patriotism, idealization of the past and longing for a more humane and more equalitarian political system are nursed.[28] In such families skepticism concerning Bolshevik mythology and opposition to Soviet system may be safely expressed. In such families also religion is cultivated or secretly practiced.[29] In such families apparently numerous anecdotes which ridicule Soviet regime circulate and are spread throughout the Soviet Union.[30] It is to break such family intimacy and solidarity which breed opposition to their regime that the Bolsheviks have shown increasing concern for the control of family relations.

But if the opposition to the Bolshevik regime centers in such families of patriots and humanists, the fate of the Soviet system might rest upon them, in the final analysis. These people might be reluctant to support a Soviet war of aggression led by careerists and fanatics, but ready to defend their Mother Country in the event of hostile aggression from the outside. However, in a war against the Soviet Union which the patriots and the humanists would interpret as a war of liberation from the oppressive, inhuman and destructive policies of Soviet rulers, they might be inclined to take the side of the invading liberators. Inasmuch as such people already find themselves at the fringes of Soviet power structure as specialists and experts in economic management and government administration, in times of crisis the shift of power to these people could easily take place.

Such a trend of development will be even more emphasized among the oppressed, but nationally-conscious minorities, than among the dominant Great-Russians. Millions of Soviet subjects who willingly gave themselves up to the German invaders and

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welcomed them as liberators in World War II, indicate such possibilities.

III

In studying personality growth in the Soviet society, one should take into account also the differences between the urban and the rural environments and the influences of those environments on interpersonal relations within the family circle. Owing to the very rapid pace of urbanization and low rate of production of consumption goods, most of the families located in the urban areas are exposed to the housing shortage and lack of home privacy. Many of these families live in community apartments in which there is only one room per family and in which a number of unrelated families share a common kitchen and toilet facilities. Family conflicts and tensions tend to be intensified in such circumstances. Lack of privacy, noisiness, and lack of sleep in crowded quarters, together with the lack of sufficient food, long hours of work and unsatisfactory conditions of work increase dissatisfactions and magnify existing family conflicts. An outlet for dissatisfactions is found then in trivial scandals and bickering, in petty squabbles, but also in violent emotional outbursts.[31]

Conditions in rural areas are somewhat different. Though virtually all peasant families live in one or at most two-room cottages, which they often share with a few heads of livestock, yet the rural family does have its own privacy. Most peasant families possess a small lot of land around the cottage, on which they raise some poultry or a pig; some might even own a cow. Though this is all very modest, yet with some labor, after the work for the kolhoz has been done, the peasant family has been able to raise some food on its own property and perhaps to sell it on the open market and then buy some clothing and other bare necessities.[32]

Compared to the situation of the city worker, the peasant, though receiving lower wages for his work, and often going in rags, perhaps does feel relatively more independent. If he is an adult with a family he is much less likely to be pushed around, though he is constantly exhorted by kolhoz officials to work more

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and harder and to produce more for Socialist Motherland. Not infrequently the brigade leaders have to use physical force to make him get up early enough to work on collective property.

Yet in spite of such unfavorable circumstances, compared to city workers, the peasant might still be in a somewhat better position in regard to security and stability, attachment to his family, to his cottage, to his small plot of land, and to his village. For this reason he has been able to put up resistance against the Party and the government.[33] It is against these scanty remnants of emotional and economic security, of personal independence, of group solidarity and resistance that the Bolshevik rulers are campaigning; it is to eradicate this psychology of group intimacy and opposition that the Party had recently attempted to resettle the farmers and move them into concentrated and urbanized surroundings; the Bolsheviks are exerting all efforts to eradicate these "residues of kulak psychology" root and branch and to make the peasants as completely helpless, insecure and subdued to the Party will as they have done with the industrial and intellectual workers.

There is a considerable disproportion in sex ratio in Soviet rural areas. Owing to great casualties in wars it is estimated that at present there are about fifteen million more women than men in the Soviet Union. And due to the increasing need of manpower to maintain huge military forces and to feed the inefficient city industries, the Soviet leaders are constantly draining both male youths and adult men from the villages in the form of military and labor drafts. They are therefore increasingly relying for agricultural work on peasant women. Hence peasant villages and peasant families tend to be composed predominantly of women.

Here too a family structure with semi-matriarchal traits, similar to the Old-Slavonic family, is being formed. Though in such circumstances the number of illegitimate children is increasing, it is quite possible that the women, especially those who are traditionally strongly attached to their family, are exerting a moderating and softening influence on the personality of the peasant child. An indication of such possible differences in the psychological atmosphere of the city and the country is given in

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594 369 those accounts of Soviet life in which the gloomy appearance of the city populace is contrasted to the more optimistic outlook of the country folk.[34]

25
DESTRUCTIVE AGGRESSION

I

PROMPTED by extreme power-seeking and by deeply 642 rooted mistrust of their own subjects, the Bolsheviks have built a monolithic Party-state system which differs in the degree of its rigidity and power concentration from all other systems of despotism, theocracy, military dictatorship, totalitarian and police state. In those autocratic political systems not all aspects of life are regimented. A certain limited degree of freedom is left at least in some spheres of personal and of group behavior. But the main difference between these systems and the Bolshevik regime is that while the former prohibits only those activities which have a direct negative bearing upon perpetuation of the system, the latter allows only such behavior as has a direct positive bearing upon the perpetuation of the ruling faction in power.

641 557 In the Soviet society the ruling class is not content with mere passive acceptance of the Bolshevik rule. It demands of each subject a "positive attitude" toward the regime. In such a society there is necessarily a premium in terms of privileges and power for the activities in the fields of political organization and agitation, of vigilance and violence, as well as in the fields of labor-driving, economic management, and military preparedness, since it is in the main upon such activities that perpetuation of Bolshevism depends. In such a "prison and barracks society", it is the calculating and ambitious careerists and zealous devotees and watchdogs, specialists in conspiracy and violence who climb toward the top levels of the Soviet political and social pyramid where blind obedience, crouching servility, jockeying for positions and power, and advancing on the cadavers of one's associates become a matter of survival.

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Many observers of Soviet society have noticed that in this constant struggle for power, and sometimes in order to save their very lives, Soviet officials and intellectuals must be ready not only to inform on each other, but also to "throw mud" at the closest associates and friends as soon as these happen to fall in disgrace.[1] Denunciation of a friend is often "the best way out of a hole," they say. Many "pretend to deny and to disown those who fall in disgrace" or, frightened, "join in verbal lynching to protect themselves." There is a "malignant joy regarding a comrade's mistakes . . . exaggeration of mistakes."[2] They "rush to kick a man who is already down, to push him over the precipice." In such conditions "Friendship is strained with blood and betrayal; it is an object of fear and suspicion."[3] Even members of one's own family might be repudiated under such pressure.[4] At the same time the need for cringing before one's superiors is often compensated by arrogance, capriciousness, arbitrariness, insulting and humiliating treatment of his subordinates or of all unprotected.[5]

The sense of guilt, insecurity, and feelings of humiliation which develop in such circumstances are magnified by means of social isolation. This isolation is manifold in the Soviet society, especially in the upper ruling strata. Intimate personal contact and unfettered social and intellectual intercourse is officially frowned upon and is therefore very limited among the Party, Army, government and managerial hierarchies. Intimate fraternization with associates is looked upon with great suspicion in a society whose ruling minority maintains itself in power by means of planned social divisions and mistrusts. Said Stalin: ". . . such family conditions create a favorable environment for the nurture of reptiles, not Bolsheviks."[6]

Real risks are involved in any free discourse in a society which is infested with watchdogs and informers and in which many are inclined to seek self-advance in the ruin of others. In the upper strata besides fear, suspicion and need for extreme caution, there is lack of intimate contact also because of sharp differentiation in rank. For the same reasons intercourse between the educated and non-educated strata has to be kept to a minimum.

There is also a deliberate policy on the part of the ruling class

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There is also a deliberate policy on the part of the ruling class
177 to prevent personal contact and exchange of ideas between the
626 Soviet subjects and the foreigners. In this way the Bolshevik
609 Party is performing the same role in the social and psychological development of Russia as the Orthodox Church has done in the past. Xenophobia and a deliberate avoidance of strangers easily develops in such circumstances, traits which have been noticed by all the observers of Soviet society. Xenophobia is so outstanding in the Soviet world that it has been noticed even by the most casual and most friendly visitors. Soviet authorities have done their best to encourage this feeling. "We were completely cut off
[625] from the great bulk of the Russian people by constant police surveillance, by propaganda and by the threat of punishment."[7] "The air itself was clothed with hate and suspicion . . . penetrated even to the child world. . . . Our next door neighbours, too, were grilled, and though we had known them for years, they took to avoiding us utterly."[8] As a rule, only police informers are assigned to foreigners as servants because everyone else is afraid to work for them.

517 In such conditions original ideas and independent intellectual
647 pursuits are fraught with great risks and it is often the less original, the mediocre, the cynical, the shrewd and the unscrupulous that take the lead. Some independent and creative people in such circumstances tend to become apathetic, to withdraw, to sever social contacts and put an end to their creative activities.[9] Others tend to seek safety in bureaucratic routine and in avoidance of initiative and responsibility. For each decision they tend to cover themselves by presenting the matter to various committees, or by seeking the Party's advice, thus letting others shoulder the responsibility.

517 The social consequences of such a development are then
665 manifested in a pronounced anti-intellectualism, bureaucratism and vigilantism. The ascendancy of anti-intellectualistic and watchdog trends in Soviet society is well expressed, for instance, in the change in the composition of the membership of the Politbure. In this topmost ruling body the more intellectual types of revolutionaries have been gradually purged and replaced by the activists, the semi-educated professional conspirators, Party organizers, agitators and former security officials.

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The trend toward pauperization of the intellect which develops in such a society will be emphasized the more when that society is bent upon increasing war preparedness. In such a case, particularly when faced with low labor productivity, the ruling faction will need to mobilize all available intellectual resources for its political and for its military objectives; basic research and many fields of knowledge not directly related to such objectives will have to be neglected and might even be completely paralyzed.

But dogmatism and lack of free criticism, anti-intellectualism and vigilantism lead to stagnation not only in the fields of theory, basic research, and art, but also in the fields of applied science, including political and military affairs. Even if industry, state administration and military science could conceivably make substantial advance on the basis of regimented, conscripted, and convict labor, they must be constantly fed with new ideas and inventions both in the field of technology, and in the field of organization to keep pace with the industrial and military development in the free enterprise countries which are looked upon as potential enemies.

The Bolshevik rulers are well aware of this problem. In Soviet publications it is often pointed out that various scientific institutes established to develop applied science in the field of industry and agriculture do not fulfill their plans, fail to assure proper cooperation, work on "secondary problems" and neglect questions of "vital importance." High cash prizes known as Stalin Premiums have been offered each year to stimulate the work on such problems of "vital importance." Nevertheless the Bolsheviks had to a great extent to rely on acquiring essential blueprints from abroad either by purchase or by intelligence.

In Czarist Russia a certain degree of criticism in civil and military matters was allowed while a considerable degree of criticism existed in philosophical, literary, and historical fields. The all-powerful Czarist bureaucracy was often very anxious to accept the ideas put forward by the opposition. Many reforms in the Czarist administration in the direction of liberalism and democratization originated in the leading minds of the opposition. The opposition was often able to express their views in

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newspapers, books, and pamphlets, some of which were printed abroad and circulated freely though often clandestinely among the leading circles of the Empire.

The ruling circles of the Bolshevik Party themselves were always aware that without criticism intellectual stagnation, lack of creative initiative, and bureaucratism would set in. But they could not afford to allow complete freedom of thought and of expression which might eventually undermine their own power. As a result the Bolsheviks introduced a system of "criticism and self-criticism," known as *samokritika*.

According to this practice it is the duty of every Soviet subject to criticize his own work and the work of others in his shop or office as a means of stimulating alertness, initiative, and hard work, and as a way to correct errors. But among the officials who closely watch each other's activities, each hoping to rise on the cadaver of the other, samokritika is often used as a means of intrigue and ruin in jockeying and struggling for ranks, positions, and power. Samokritika therefore has developed into a weapon employed to detect the ideological deviations and diversions and to criticize any lack of sufficiently positive attitude toward the "Party line." In this manner "self-criticism" in the Soviet Union has become another instrument of regimentation and means to increase conformity.

Samokritika is also employed by the ruling circles to manipulate hostilities generated by the Soviet system and to direct them away from themselves and against the managers and bureaucrats located mostly on the lower levels of the Soviet social pyramid. These people conveniently function as scapegoats. It is such people who, together with a sprinkling from the higher echelons, are periodically offered as sacrifice and "purged" or "liquidated." Samokritika is therefore employed also as a check against abuses of power, though mostly on the local level.

In an atmosphere of complete dependence upon and subordination to an overwhelming and infallible power which instils fear and awe, the slightest deviation from the line of thought and emotions as laid down by that distant and inscrutable force might easily provoke anxieties, and a strong sense of guilt. In circumstances in which one feels isolated and without support,

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one's helplessness, feeling of rejection, and dependence upon the controlling power is especially keenly felt. In such conditions even a slight deviation might provoke a feeling of guilt, need for self-punishment and suffering; it might call for public self-humiliation, confession of errors and pledges to repent and to correct the wrong done, especially when such practices are supported by the inherited traditions. There is therefore a certain degree of truth in the assertion of the Bolsheviks, that "Criticism and self-criticism is a great driving force in the development of Soviet society."[10]

II

In a "prison and barracks" society privileges of power and ideas of grandeur do not sufficiently compensate for lack of acceptance, isolation, humiliations, feelings of insecurity, and sense of inferiority and rejection. In an atmosphere of suspicion, intrigue, degradation, and lack of intimate personal and intellectual contact and of social support, anxieties, fears, extreme self-concern, and deep antagonisms easily flourish. Such a situation tends to magnify feelings of destructive aggression developed on the family level and is therefore likely to become overcharged with extreme hostilities and hatreds; it is likely to become full of potential explosiveness which may be directed against the ruling class itself unless convenient channels for discharge of aggressiveness are found.

In a society in which overt expressions of emotional behavior are under the control of a ruling clique, accumulating aggressions are readily directed against internal and external "enemies" of the regime, be they real or invented for the occasion. In this manner the feeling of hostility against the regime might be redirected against its opponents. It is therefore in the interest of survival of the ruling faction in such a society to cultivate hatred and destruction of the "enemy" by all means of public pressure, propaganda, agitation, education, as well as lawmaking.

These are the reasons why attitudes of extreme animosity against the "enemies of the Soviet Motherland" are propagated in the Soviet daily press and in the school textbooks. Stirring hatreds is one of the main tasks of Party agitators.[11] Accordingly

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in the political philosophy expressed in Soviet writings and in the speeches of outstanding Party members, extreme hatred of the internal and external adversaries is considered as a precondition of Bolshevik victory and of survival of Soviet society. Thus, for instance, in a May Day Order of the Day, Stalin, as People's Commissar of Defense declared: "You cannot defeat any enemy without having learned to hate him with all the power of your soul." In Soviet writings Lenin is hailed as a man who had "a holy hatred of the oppressors of the people . . . "[12]

Just like the Anarchists before them, the Bolsheviks claim that a deliberate cult of hatred is a precondition for the development of a "revolutionary passion." They justify hatred as a means to achieve their revolutionary goals. Following the same traditions the Bolsheviks insist that fanatical devotion should be instilled in people as a means to arouse passionate hatred. Therefore deliberate cultivation of hate together with the training in extreme identification with the Leader, the Party, the Motherland, and the Communist cause must start with kindergarten and with school training of Soviet children. Passionate hatred and passionate love are expected to mutually strengthen each other. According to pedagogical teachings, the Soviet children should be "saturated with irreconcilable hatred toward the enemies of socialist society," as well as with "passionate love of the Motherland." But here too just as in the Anarchist precepts, hatred appears to take the first place and love the second:

> Hatred gives birth to class revolutionary vigilance and creates a feeling of irreconcilability toward the class enemy; the weakening of such vigilance undermines the cause of the socialist revolution. It is necessary to learn, not only to hate the enemy, but also to struggle with him, in time to unmask him and finally, if he does not surrender, to destroy him . . . to vanquish the enemy is impossible without the most burning hatred of him . . . Passionate love of the motherlands breeds inevitably strong hatred of the enemy.[13]

Many outstanding Soviet novelists in their writings emphasize this cult of destructive aggression. Maxim Gorki, for instance, wrote an essay entitled "If the enemy does not surrender, he must be destroyed." Konstantin Simonov, another outstanding Soviet

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author, wrote a well known poem under the title *"Ubey ego"*—kill him.[14] In a similar manner Alexey Tolstoy, a well-known Soviet novelist, has published an essay entitled *Ubey Zverya*—Kill the Beast. "Kill him," writes Alexey Tolstoy, "that is your sacred command."[15] Mikhail Sholokhov, another prominent Soviet writer, wrote a pamphlet entitled *Nauka Nenavisti*—The Science of Hatred—in which he stressed, in a like way as the early Russian Anarchists and contemporary Soviet pedagogists, the necessity of ardent love for the Cause as a source of passionate hatred of all the opponents. To him, too, love seems to be necessary primarily as a means of hate.[16] "Hatred for enemies of the land of socialism is an inseparable feature of socialist ideology and the ideology of Leninism," the Bolsheviks repeatedly say.

Under the label "enemies" are classed not only the foreign "capitalists, imperialists, and reactionaries," and internal non-Party oppositionists, but also Party members who deviate from Party ideology, and "all sceptics, opportunists, capitulators, scabs, and traitors." Hatred and struggle against these "enemies" within the Party must be as merciless and ruthless as against external adversaries. This is considered to be imperative in a mortal struggle against the capitalist world:

> The history of the Party . . . teaches us that unless the Party of the working class wages an uncompromising struggle against the opportunists within its own ranks, unless it smashes the capitulators in its own midst . . . it cannot perform its role of organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution . . . If, while it is carrying on a life and death fight against the bourgeoisie, there are capitulators and traitors on its own staff, within its own fortress, the working class will be caught between two fires, from the front and the rear. Clearly such a struggle can only end in defeat.[17]

This conscious fomenting of intense hostility and animosity against internal, as well as external "enemies" as a means of survival in a "mortal struggle" is manifested in the language of Bolshevism. The words "liquidation" and "purge" which are often synonomous with killing and extermination of opponents became outstanding in Soviet vocabulary. There is an increasing use of words which convey ideas of hatred and violence and stimulate such feelings and practices. In Bolshevik stereotyped termi-

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nology opponents are referred to as the "enemies of the people." They are said to be "groups of spies," "traitors to the country," "dregs of humanity," "fiendish criminals," "pigmies," "useless rubbish," "hordes of barbarians," "hangmen," "cannibals," "enemies of humankind."[18] These "instruments of oppression of the proletariat," full of "falsehoods and perverse lies," "narrow-minded petty-bourgeois with sickly mentality," have to be mercilessly "smashed," "annihilated," "crushed," "destroyed" with an "ever greater frenzy and ferocity."[19] They have to be "cleansed" from the Soviet society in order to ensure the consolidation of the rule of the Bolsheviks.

It was in order to justify ruthlessness in dealing with the opposition that labelling, denouncing and name-calling has become prominent in Bolshevik practices. Any softness toward the "enemies" is denounced as bourgeois "sentimentalism."[20] Instead, *besposhchadnost* (mercilessness), *surovost* (ruthlessness), *besstrashie* (fearlessness), and *zheleznaya volia* (iron will) are said to be the "Lenin ways" by which the political workers are to deal with all the "opponents, slackers, and deviants."

If in this "life and death fight," ruthlessness, pitilessness, and mercilessness have to be applied then also cunning, guile, craft, ruse and deceit are equally welcome as useful means. Lenin is often quoted as saying that the Communists, when necessary, must "resort to strategy and adroitness, illegal proceedings, reticence and subterfuge,"[21] that they must use any trick and veiling of truth; that they must dodge and maneuver. They must be ready in the interest of final success to suffer humiliation and self-abasement. In the interest of the cause and of final victory, they must know how to retreat and how to "crawl in the mud on their bellies."[22] According to the Bolshevik teaching, there is not an "absolute ethic." Every act is measured by how it corresponds to the interests of the group.[23]

III

Emphasis on extreme hatred, on ruse, and on mercilessness against those who do not conform is not new in the history of Russian society. Destructive aggression formed an aspect of the Czarist rule; it was manifested in the persecution of religious

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dissenters, in the civil wars as well as in the struggle between the Czarist police and the revolutionary intelligentsia; it was even formulated as an ideology and became a credo of Anarchism.

In the Bolshevik ideology this anti-humanism is justified by representing the "enemies" as not being human beings. Just as in the folk attitudes toward enemy aliens, the oppositionists and the adversaries, actual and potential, real and imaginary, are identified in Bolshevik writings with "gnats," "insects," "reptiles," "dogs," "wild beasts," and "beasts of prey." It is by such ways of reasoning that the Soviet pedagogists have come to the assertion that indoctrination of the people with "burning hatred" of the enemy does not contradict the ideas of humanism, because, they claim, the ideas of humanism and humane feelings do not apply to beasts. In this manner even acts of cruelty toward the "enemies" are condoned and encouraged:

> Hatred of the enemies of the socialist Motherland by no means contradicts the principles of humanism, since it is devoted to the protection of the rights and liberty of the worker from the designs of beasts of prey.[24]

The need for such an appeal to extreme animosities against the adversaries is in itself an indication of instability of the Bolshevik system. The ruling faction had to resort to such a means in order to promote complete identification with and fanatical devotion to the Cause and to the Leader. Here, however, we see a noticeable difference between the Czardom and the Soviet Russia. Though the Czarist system often exhibited aspects of extreme ruthlessness, the whole ideological and intellectual development of the Czarist Russia, especially in the last century of its existence, was in the direction of increasing Westernization and humanization. This trend coincided with certain gains in the field of personal, economic, and cultural freedoms in the Czardom.

As a result terrorism and acts of violence, though widely practiced, were not openly advocated as official Czarist policy. Many moderate and conservative factions of the intelligentsia strongly denounced all acts of terror performed either by the government or under the auspices of the revolutionary intelligentsia. One

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of the outstanding tenets in the philosophy of Russian monasticism whose history is even longer than that of the Czardom was charitable love. Many sects of the *Raskolniki* propagated and practiced principles of humaneness. The Slavophils were especially prominent in advocating the return to an idealized stateless society of benevolent paternalism where brotherhood, Christian love, and compassion would reign. The "Westerners" endeavored to introduce into Russia Western concepts of justice and tolerance, and a humanistic, libertarian and juridical state. Russian belles-lettres, Russian school textbooks, as well as laws and regulations in the nineteenth century and up to the beginning of World War I, bear witness to this trend toward Westernization and humanism.

In Soviet Russia, on the other hand, after a brief initial period of reaction against the old regime which led toward an emphasis on all-human values and equalitarian brotherhood, soon the trend of events pushed the Bolshevik ideology in the opposite direction. The determination of a ruling clique of professional conspirators to maintain themselves in power by any and all means dictated the emphasis on the internal and external "threats" which would justify the intensification of internal "measures of security," and of external aggression. Thus vigilantism and war preparedness, and expansion of internal and external Bolshevik power, became the main base of the policies of the ruling class.[25] Such policies had to be constantly reinforced by a deliberate incitement to hatred and destruction.

The image of Soviet society as being in a constant state of war, not only against foreign enemies but against internal oppositionists, deviationists, spies, saboteurs, and remnants of bourgeois mentality has been determined by a social structure which the Bolshevik rulers themselves have created, but which makes their own power uncertain and precarious. In such circumstances Lenin's idea of a life and death struggle with the "class enemies," the idea that "it's them or us" (*Kto kogo*) has provided the main motivating force of the Party's internal and foreign policies. Fearing to be annihilated unless they themselves destroy their enemies, conscious that they have "either to rule or to die," the Bolsheviks have ruthlessly applied the principle of "obedience

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or death" (*povinovenie ili smert*) in their rule; thus terror has become one of the main instruments of their power.

But once self-seeking careerists and fanatical devotees, specialists in violence, conspiracy and vigilance take into their hands the reins of a society which they indoctrinate with hatred and ruthlessness, the value of human life tends to be greatly lowered. In their constant struggle for survival, fear-ridden and extremely insecure, these people are forced to adopt an attitude of expendability toward all their subjects, just as earlier the Anarchists and Terrorists considered that all their members were only capital to be freely spent in the interest of the revolution.

In such conditions the disregard for individual rights and needs, and lack of consideration and of human feeling become generalized and are applied not only in dealings with enemies, but also in relations with associates, relatives, friends, allies and subjects in general whenever the vested interests of the ruling clique are threatened. The orders and the plans must be fulfilled; the victories must be made no matter what the cost in personal freedom and dignity, human suffering and human lives, because it is these orders, plans, and victories upon which the survival and the perpetuation of the ruling faction depends. All those who are in the way must be unconditionally sacrificed. Said Stalin:

> . . . it [is] easy to be a hero or a great leader if one had to do with the people such as the Russians . . . even persons of medium courage and even cowards became heroes in Russia. Those who do not . . . are killed.[26]

This attitude of disregard and contempt for human life when the survival of the ruling class and its vested interests are in question was expressed by Stalin also in his known interview with G. B. Wells. The magnitude of convict labor establishments, the police practices, and the extent of economic and other deprivations to which the Soviet subjects are exposed are all manifestations of this frame of mind.

The low value which is placed on human life in Bolshevik ideology is especially well demonstrated in war times. The Soviet armed forces command does not assess the cost of war in terms

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of human lives. Soviet military policies are little concerned about systematic rotation of units, facilities for recreation, short leaves and furloughs, regular correspondence with home folks, or with the development of techniques to avoid exposure of men to unnecessary risks.[27] As a result of such attitudes the toll of a Soviet division in war time might come up to 90 percent of its men.[28] Even more indifference is shown toward men who were made prisoners, since "they had surrendered and could not fight any more."[29]

IV

Destructive aggressiveness might become self-destructive unless turned outward. Hence constant internal pressure, intrinsic to Soviet power structure, for aggression against the outside world. A policy of external aggressiveness is likely to provoke external threats against which the accumulating hostilities of the subjects can be mobilized. Successful external aggression is also a convenient way to bolster the prestige of the ruling class and to solidify its rule. The policy of aggression against the outside world implies also the urgency to enhance external security should the policy of expansion provoke international complications.

Early in the development of Bolshevik rule the Communist International and the Communist parties throughout the world have been regimented and employed as instruments of this policy of external expansion, as well as a means of defense against external pressures. It was in accordance with such a trend of events that the Program of the Communist International of 1928, as well as the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International of 1935,[30] emphasized complete identification of the world proletariat with the Soviet power:

> Our road is the road of revolution of the peoples against the oppressors and exploiters. Our will is the will of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Our goal is socialism for the whole of humanity. Our main slogan is the establishment of Soviet power.[31]

In accordance with such need for outward aggression as a relief of internal destructive tensions an ideological distinction

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has been made between "imperialist war of aggression" and "national and class liberation." The first is said to be an "unjust war" of imperalists, exploiters and war mongers, the latter is a movement of the peoples to liberate themselves from the capitalist yoke or from colonial oppression. It is said that in this "just struggle" of the peoples of the world against oppressors the Soviet Union will unselfishly interfere with its armies to help the people to liberate themselves and also to protect liberated peoples from counter-revolution. It is therefore the duty of the working class and of "progressive-minded people" all over the world to strengthen the might of the Soviet Fatherland as "the center of international revolution":

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Being the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of Socialist construction, the land of great working class achievements, of the union of the workers with the peasants, and of a new culture marching under the banner of Marxism. . . . the USSR inevitably becomes the base of the world movement of all oppressed classes, the center of international revolution, the greatest factor in world history. In the USSR, the world proletariat for the first time acquires a country that is really its own, and for the colonial movements the USSR becomes a powerful center of attraction.[32]

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In order to make Communist parties a tool of this new "Third Rome" ideology all these parties had to follow in their internal organization the Bolshevik pattern of rigid centralism and of unconditional obedience of all the subordinate organs to the higher bodies.[33] Each local Party had to be centralized in such a manner that its leadership was "endowed with complete power, authority, and ample rights" which would enable it to impose "an iron discipline" over its members.[34] All members were expected to accept such centralized Party leadership with absolute power and to "submit to its dictates."[35] This was possible only if "the strictest military discipline" and "unconditional subordination" were established within the ranks of each Communist Party:

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. . . The Communist Party should be organized on the basis of strict proletarian centralism. In order to lead the working class successfully during the long, stubborn civil war, the Communist Party must

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establish the strictest military discipline within its own ranks. The experience of the Russian Communist Party . . . has proved that the victory of the worker is impossible without a severe discipline . . . and unconditional subordination of subordinate units to the decision of those above them, and a strong Party central organ, whose decrees are binding upon all the leaders of Party life . . .[36]

In this manner, the principles of absolute dominance, unconditional obedience and ruthless discipline rooted in the political traditions of Russian society and reinforced by the structure of Bolshevik power were extended to all the parties on which the Bolsheviks imposed their control. In the same manner, also, the traditional filial attitudes of reverence, gratitude, love and humility have been established in relations of these parties to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Accordingly also, destructive aggression became one of the fundamental orientations of these parties. The Communist parties have been encouraged to use all means at their disposal, "including force of arms" in order "to overthrow the international bourgeoisie,"[37] and to "lay low the exploiters . . . completely defeat them . . . crush their resistance. . . ."[38]

As a result, the language of these parties, like that of Bolshevism, stresses hatred, destruction and war. For instance, in the Theses and Statutes and in the Program the emphasis is on extreme hostility expressed in many stereotyped phrases, such as "hatred and relentless aggression," "pitiless struggle," "persistent and merciless denunciation," "merciless contempt," "stubborn, armed and ruthless fight," "fierce and decisive battles," "ruthless war." These means against the "mortal enemy" are said to be necessary in order "to destroy the apparatus of the bourgeoisie," and to bring about the "violent overthrow" of bourgeois power, "at whatever cost." Each Communist party is expected to foster hatred and destructive aggression by all means of propaganda and agitation. The Communist press in all countries and popular Communist songs are especially significant in this respect.

Since the Communist parties outside the Soviet Union, just as the Bolshevik Party itself, stress hatred, pitilessness and destruction, they tend to attract into their ranks people who for one

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reason or another feel rejected, non-accepted, humiliated, oppressed or ostracized in their own society and who find in these parties an opportunity to vent their accumulated grievances and pent-up hostilities. But they also tend to attract people who for idealistic and humanistic reasons seek Utopias of all-human brotherhood. They attract ambitious and talented intellectuals and semi-educated people who have been thwarted in their professional and political expectations; also intellectuals and semi-intelligentsia with mediocre abilities but strong urges for self-assertion and desire for leadership and domination. They also attract many patriots belonging to oppressed nationalities or races, who have identified themselves with their nation, race or ethnic and cultural minority and seek acceptance of their group in a Communistic millenium. In times of social upheavals these parties attract also many adventurers, criminals, vagabonds, and other deviants and offenders.

It is, however, people overcharged with destructive aggression who in these parties tend to climb toward the top levels of Party leadership, because it is such people to whom the Party offers great opportunities for their destructive urges and who therefore tend to be unconditionally loyal to Moscow as contrasted to the more moderate and more humane and patriotic elements, who for one reason or another might not want always to accept Moscow's dictate. As a result of such internal conditions the history of all Communist parties has been a history of internal intrigues, splits, purges, and frequent bloodshed which in turn made it easier to completely subdue these organizations to the will of the Kremlin:

> . . . those who disorganize the Party are to be flayed without mercy. Championing as we do working class unity, we shall with so much more energy and irreconcilability fight for unity within our Parties. There can be no room in our Parties for factions, or for attempts at factionalism. Whoever will try to break up the iron unity of our ranks by any kind of factionalism will get to feel what is meant by the Bolshevik discipline that Lenin and Stalin have always taught us (applause) . . . *The Party is above everything else!* (Loud applause) To guard the Bolshevik unity of the Party as the apple of one's eye is the first and highest law of Bolshevism![20]

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648 665 721 It was such thoroughly regimented and indoctrinated Party organizations whose leaderships comprised a hard core of violent and unscrupulous fanatics without bonds of personal or local attachment but unconditionally subservient to the Kremlin, that became a powerful instrument in the international aggression of Bolshevism. Promising Utopias to all disgruntled, rejected and disaffected, such parties became the main instrument of the Soviet Union in its territorial annexations, as well as in the formation of a ring of satellite states. The objective of this expansion was always the same: to turn outward the internal tensions, to enhance the economic, the strategic, and the military potential of the Soviet Union, and to increase the power and influence of the Bolshevik hierarchy at home and abroad.

V

665 829 648 701 New modifications in Bolshevik ideology were necessary to explain such policies. The Communist parties in the capitalist countries are now said to be unable by themselves alone to overthrow local bourgeoisies or to prevent a counter-revolution after capitalism has been overthrown. These parties therefore need active help of the Soviet armed forces not only to overthrow the capitalist class, but also to eliminate the possibility of counter-revolution and to protect the national independence of the newly formed Communist controlled states—the "People's Democracies." This "liberating" and "protecting" role of the Soviet Army and complete dependence of liberated states upon the Soviet Union is a replica of the dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships on which the Soviet Union itself has been founded. The dependent states are expected to be ready to defend and protect the Soviets "unconditionally and without hesitation." Such a system of Moscow-satellite relationships is considered so overwhelmingly important by the Kremlin rulers that they demand that their satellite leaders constantly emphasize even in fundamental state laws their dependency upon and subordination to the Soviet Union:

The armed might of the great Soviet Union liberated our country from the yoke of German fascism, smashed the landlords and the capitalistic anti-popular state powers, and opened to our working

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people the road to democratic development. Coming to power after severe struggles with the lords and defenders of the old order, the Hungarian working class, in union with the working peasants, rebuilt our war-destroyed country with the unselfish support of the Soviet Union. Under the guidance of the working class hardened in decade long struggles, benefiting by the experience of the 1919 social revolution, depending on the Soviet Union, our people began laying the foundations of socialism.[40]

To emphasize the superiority of the Soviet Union, its undisputed leadership and dependence of the satellites upon it in the struggle for world revolution, an important distinction has been made in regard to the social and political structure of the dependencies in comparison with that of the Soviet state. Though both are said to be the "dictatorships of the proletariat,"[41] the Soviet state is said to be carrying out the transition from Socialism to Communism; the "people's democracies," on the other hand, are said to be carrying out only the transition from capitalism to Socialism.[42]

Complete political and economic dependence of the satellites upon the Soviet Union is ideologically justified by the claim that the general objectives of world revolution presuppose an industrially as well as a militarily powerful Soviet Union as a base. To this primary objective of all Communists local interests of the satellites must be subordinated. Therefore, any opposition to such plans or any hints that the "fraternal assistance" offered by the Soviet Union in the interest of the revolution might not be completely unselfish is immediately castigated as "nationalism," as "opportunism," and as "treason":

> The essential task, that of laying the foundation of Socialism in Poland, can be carried only in close alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union . . . Any tendency to weaken cooperation with the Soviet Union is directed against the very foundation of the People's Democracy . . . Anyone who imagines that the people's democratic state can be formed merely as a self-sufficient body, on a national scale, isolated from the class struggle on an international scale . . . will inevitably sink into the slough of nationalism and treachery.[43]

This system of political, military and economic dominance of the dependencies implies an elaborate system of watching, super-

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vising, checking and controlling. Accordingly just as in the Soviet Union in each satellite country primary attention is paid to the personnel policies. "Department of Cadres" and "Personnel Bureaus," headed by people who are trusted friends of the Soviet Union and advised by Soviet experts, supervise the political reliability and the labor efficiency of all. Observers of these agencies and Soviet experts are at work in every Party organization, every office and every factory shop. The hiring, releasing, and transferring of personnel rests with these bureaus.

In all these considerations political reliability and not professional competence is of foremost importance, a situation that favors the rise of professionally incompetent zealots and careerists ahead of people who are professionally able but more cautious and moderate, or more independent.[44] In consequence, just as in the Soviet Union, there is a keen struggle for positions and ranks and there is a premium on specialists in political organization and violence, a great demand for watchdogs, agitators, overseers and labor-drivers. Unconditional faith in and devotion to Russia is considered, however, to be the first and primary prerequisite for advance in satellite political, military and managerial hierarchies.[45] Hence periodical purges or "verifications" of Party members are undertaken to insure that only sufficiently Russified people remain in the Party.

The need of total control of dependencies dictates also a divide and rule policy among the satellites. In accordance with such policies the Kremlin instigates and encourages local nationalisms, regionalisms and separatisms and external aggressiveness of the satellites while at the same time it must prevent pan-movements and excessive territorial ambitions which might challenge the dominance of Moscow. Thus while instigating Asiatic nationalism the Soviet Union must prevent the championship of the Pan-Mongolian idea by Mongolia or Communist China. While encouraging various Balkan nationalisms it had to prevent the formation of a South Slav Federation.

Another means of promoting effective control of and dominance of the satellites is isolating these vassal countries from the West and therefore preventing any Western influence to undermine Bolshevik rule. This aim is achieved by deliberately pro-

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voking tension between these dependencies and the Western world, and by promoting anti-cosmopolitanism and castigating satellite intellectuals who show pro-Western attitudes.[46] The control of the Church and persecution of Church leaders, especially those with strong Western ties such as the Catholic hierarchy, serves the same purpose.

In order to strengthen this system of total regimentation and control of its dependencies the Soviet Union formed in 1947 an over-all agency as an instrument of coordination of its major policies toward these states, the Cominform. This over-all agency of conformity and vigilance which took the place of the old Comintern is designed by the Soviet Union to bring about a concerted pressure upon any eventual signs of resistance to the policies dictated by Moscow.

The third meeting of the Cominform (November, 1949), for instance, was especially concerned with means to increase "revolutionary vigilance," to detect "deviationism, opportunism, sectarianism" within Communist parties and to wage an "irreconcilable struggle" against all manifestations of "bourgeois nationalism" and against the "provocations and intrigues of the American imperialists." The Communists who did not unconditionally submit to the wishes of the Kremlin were denounced as "imperialist agents and spies," as the "splitters" in the ranks of the working class, as "tools of imperialists," as "traitors," "reactionary nationalists," "clerical and fascist elements," "counter-revolutionaries," "slanderers," "provokers," "fabricators of foulest lies borrowed from the arsenal of Hitler."[47] In this manner the "Party line" laid down by the Kremlin is universally and unquestioningly adopted by all.

VI

The difficulties of control which arise within such a system of vassal dependencies are well exemplified in the relationships between Soviet Russia and Communist Yugoslavia. In the latter country, the Communist-led Partisans were placed in power when the Red Army took Belgrade, but the quick withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the territory of Partisan-controlled Yugoslavia did not allow the Bolshevik Party sufficient time to place

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its own appointees and trusted agents in all the key positions in the Yugoslav Communist Party and in the Yugoslav state administration.[48]

Even during this short stay of the Red Army in Yugoslav territory, the relations between Communist-Partisan rulers of Yugoslavia and their Soviet liberators became tense. The tension resulted from the "haughty attitude" of the liberators and the hostility that this attitude provoked among the liberated.[49] And later when the Soviet Union attempted to infiltrate Yugoslavia with advisers and experts, the Yugoslav officers began "to abuse" the Soviet military advisers[50] and Yugoslav authorities showed such a "lack of hospitality and lack of confidence" that their security organs "controlled and supervised the Soviet representatives in Yugoslavia."[51] The Yugoslav Communist authorities also refused economic information to the Soviet trade representatives and resented the Soviet Ambassador in Yugoslavia collecting information about the conditions within the Yugoslav Communist Party. And when the Yugoslav Communist leaders and their agents prevented the attempt of the Soviet Union to establish a net of its intelligence agents in the country and within the Yugoslav Communist Party,[52] the final break could not be avoided any longer.[53]

Two totalitarian controls cannot exist in one and the same territory. Thus, when the Soviet Union had realized that Yugoslavia was under the firm control of the Yugoslav Communist Party and police. that they could not liquidate its leadership which became too challenging and could not therefore bring the country to a state of complete dependence, subordination and vassalage, the next alternative left was to expel Yugoslavia from the Cominform.[54] A Communist state out of the Kremlin's hold, if allowed to remain within the Soviet orbit, could undermine the very foundations of the Kremlin's dominance over other satellites.

Similar resentment, antagonism, and lack of trust that developed between the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the Russian Politburo has always existed in all other satellite states in various degrees and forms.[55] Many Communists, particularly the "idealists" and patriots resent the presence of Russian

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experts, advisers, representatives, and agents occupying positions of power and control in each satellite country, especially their haughty and insulting behavior, constant tutoring and sermonizing on the part of Moscow and need to accept the Kremlin's dictates with humility and gratitude. Also economic exploitation of the vassal countries in the interest of the Soviet Union, the imposition of Russian language and Russian culture, the danger of military occupation and the threat of resettlement of whole sections of the population to Siberian mines and lumber camps, all of these cannot but provoke anxieties, fears, and hatreds on the part of the subjected peoples:[56]

> We are finding out that not only lack of knowledge and ability is displayed in the Czech Army toward the Soviet military science and Soviet war experiences, but that we encounter even a direct distaste and resistance based on hatred toward everything Soviet.[57]

For this reason "Titoism" in one form or another has appeared in all satellite countries. A "Titoist crisis," for instance, took place twice in Outer Mongolia, in 1924 and in 1930–32.[58] In other satellite states the same crises were manifested in a number of "spy trials" and execution of outstanding satellite leaders. But purges and trials do not eliminate the sources of dissatisfaction and hostility. Since the causes remain and constantly generate new feelings of destructive aggression, Bolshevik leaders have to constantly increase measures of security, vigilance, and control in all their dependencies. The Kremlin is therefore increasingly forced to rely on power-seeking careerists, on members of minority groups, on Russian subjects, and on children from dependent states taken to Russia and trained as "New Janizaries" to rule their own countries in a "Rokossovsky way."[59] The patriots and the humanists among the Communists have to make room for violent zealots and cynical careerists, "for such men who would not scruple any means in carrying out the orders. . ."[60] The leaders who fought with their people in underground movements against Nazi invaders have to give way to "a few individuals who spent the wartime in Moscow [and] were installed in a 'Rokossovski way' in the top positions . . . lacking the contact with the population and knowledge of its wishes, they mechani-

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cally apply methods which are in flagrant contradiction to our traditions and incompatible with them."[61] Such policies in turn only emphasize the feeling of insecurity, isolation and mistrust; they cause apathy and a slowing-down in economic and intellectual advance.[62]

In this manner the pattern of Bolshevik expansion which was designed to release and redirect the hostilities accumulated within Soviet society has only extended the area of strains and tensions. The addition of each new dependency therefore adds fresh pressures for more aggression directed outward. In such circumstances the Bolshevik leadership is forced not only to instigate its satellites toward external aggression but also to deliberately provoke and perpetuate international tension. By such means the Bolsheviks expect to maintain a constant external pressure that would work toward unity of the Soviet orbit and rallying of all dependencies behind Moscow.

In the meantime, however, such growth and expansion of Soviet power and Communist fomented unrest could not have failed to provoke increasing anxieties and fears in the countries which consider themselves threatened by Bolshevik advance. War preparedness in the West and formation of anti-Soviet military alliances has been the result. Mutual suspicions and international tension which have developed in these circumstances have increased to a point which has already taken the form of a "cold war" and of scattered localized warfare. Thus growing friction between these two increasingly hostile and aggressive worlds might eventually break into an all-out fighting on a global scale.

On the other hand increasing resistance to Soviet expansion on the part of Western powers might eventually completely seal the outlets for Soviet outward aggression. In such a case accumulating internal complexities and stresses generated by the structure of Soviet power might get out of the Kremlin's control and bring about disintegration of Bolshevism through internal conflicts, especially if these are widened and sharpened by means of planned external economic and psychological pressures.

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Notes

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. See, for instance Article 88 of the *Code of the Steppes* (Mongols, Buriats, Kalmucks) and Mongol-Oirat law in V. A. Riasanovsky, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, (Harbin, 1929), pp. 198, 296; also A. E. Hudson, *Kazak Social Structure*, (New Haven, 1938), p. 40. See also customary code of the Kirghiz, Article 87; text in V. A. Riasanovsky, *Fundamental Principles of Mongol Law*, (Tiensin, 1937), p. 243, footnote. For different attitudes among the Mongol-Oirat see V. A. Riasanovsky, *Fundamental Principles*, *op. cit.*, p. 243. Concerning the family system of Central Asiatic peoples see also compilation of materials from old Chinese chronicles in N. Ya. Bichurin, *Sobranie Svedeny o Narodakh Obitavshikh v Srednei Asii v Drevneishie Vremena*, (Moscow, 1950), Vol. I, pp. 39–40, 46–48, 52. See also A. Bernshtam, *Sotsialno-Ekonomichesky Stroy Orkhono-eniseyskikh Turok 6–7 Vekov*, (Moscow, 1946), pp. 93–98.

2. Compare T. Peisker, "Asiatic Background," *Cambridge Medieval History*, (Cambridge, 1924), Vol. 1, p. 342. Some data concerning the ruling circles in Mongol society indicate that contrasted to other women the mother was treated with a certain deference; see, for instance, N. Bichurin, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

3. Concerning seniority principle in the family see for instance *Great Yassa of Genghis Khan*, Article 34. See text of Great Yassa in V. A. Riasanovsky, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, *op. cit.* See also G. Vernadsky, *O Sostave Velikoi Yasy Chingis Khana*, (Bruxelles, 1939).

4. See H. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, (Cambridge, 1932–40), Vol. 3, pp. 91–99.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 97–99.

6. A. Vambery, *Travels*, (New York, 1865), p. 336.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 319.

8. H. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 97ff.

9. *Great Yassa*, *op. cit.*, article 29; see also *Travels of Marco Polo*, (New York, 1950), Book I, Ch. 55.

10. C. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 134.

11. T. Peisker, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

12. H. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 102–104, 136.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 138–159.

14. Compare, for instance, the epic on Geser Khan; also Kirghiz epic poem Manas, (*Manas, Kirghizskii Narodnyi Epos*, (Moscow, 1941), pp. 29–33); also H. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 75; also A. S. Orlov, *Kazakhsky Geroichesky Epos*, (Moscow, 1945), pp. 36–38.

15. See, for instance, A. A. Novoselskii, *Borba Moskovskogo Gosudarstva s Tatarami v Pervoi Polovine 17 Veka*, (Moskow, 1948), pp. 236–237, 351; also T. Peisker, *op. cit.*, p. 347–348; also Marco Polo, Book I, 11, and II, 23.

16. *Great Yassa*, 12.

17. Marco Polo, I, 54; also T. Peisker, *op. cit.*, pp. 324, 331, 340.

18. N. Bichurin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 40.

19. T. Peisker, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

20. Compare T. Peisker, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

21. A. Hudson, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

23. T. Peisker, *op. cit.*, pp. 333, 336, 338.

24. Compare *Great Yassa*, *op. cit.*; see

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NOTES TO CHAPTER 2 (Cont.)

000 also A. Vambery, *op. cit.*, p. 170; also Marco Polo, I, 55; II, 23.

25. A. Bernshtam, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

26. N. Bichurin, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–48.

27. John de Plano Carpini, *Historia Mongolorum*, V.

28. *Maxims of the Genghizedes;* text in V. Riasanovsky, *Customary Law, op. cit.*, p. 63.

29. B. D. Grekov and A. Y. Yakubovsky, *Zolotaya Orda i ee Padenie*, (Moscow, 1950), pp. 406–428; also A. A. Novoselskii, *op. cit.*, pp. 388, 391ff. Compare H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, Part 1–3, (London, 1876); also, Rene Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, (Paris, 1948); also H. Lamb, *The March of the Barbarians*, (New York, 1940). See also B. Vladimirtsov, *Le Regime Social des Mongols*, (Paris, 1948), pp. 233ff.

30. E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, (New York, 1880).

31. Marco Polo, I, 54.

32. Direct evidence of these invasions of Eurasian planes dates from the fifth century, B.C., but they apparently occurred even earlier. Since then Asiatic invasions of Eastern Europe occurred periodically until the seventeenth century, A.D. See George Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, (New Haven, 1943), pp. 48–333.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. See J. Peisker, "The Expansion of the Slavs," *Cambridge Medieval History, op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 422–423. Compare S. H. Cross, *Slavic Civilization through Ages*, (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 5–8. See also L. Niederle, *Manuel de l'Antiquité Slave* (Paris, 1923), Vol. 1, pp. 23–24, and *Byt i Kultura Drevnikh Slavian*, (Prague, 1924), pp. 13–20.

2. Procopius, *Gothica*, VII, 14.

3. Emperor Leo, *Tactica*, XVIII, 99–107. See also S. Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

4. See *Povest Vremenih Let (po Lavrentevskom spisku)*, (Leningrad, 1926), p. 8 *(i zhivyahu kozhdo v svoim rodom i na svoih mesteh vladayushche kozhdo rodom svoim)*. Compare *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (S. H. Cross), (Cambridge, 1930), p. 139.

5. *Povest, op. cit.*, p. 12. Compare M. Kovalevsky, *Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia*, (London, 1891), p. 6. Also *Primary Chronicle, op. cit.*, p. 141.

6. Cosmas Pragensis, *Chronica Bohemorum;* see M. Kovalevsky, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

7. M. Kovalevsky, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

8. See, for instance, Article 1 of the Short Version of *Pravda Ruskaya* (see *Pravda Ruskaya*, Vol. 2, ed. E. D. Grekov, [Moscow, 1947]). See also Article 106 of the Expanded Version of *Pravda*.

9. *Etnograficheskiy Sbornik*, vol. 5, (Sankt Petersburg, 1862), pp. 1–119, (Mashkin, "Byt Krestyan Kurskoy Gubernii Oboyanskogo Uezda"); also *Sbornik Narodnykh Yuridicheskikh Obychaev*, vol. 2, (S. Petersburg, 1900), pp. 261–274, (D. I., "Zametki o Krestyanskoi Semye v Novgorodskoi Gubernii.")

10. *Sbornik Narodnikh Yuridicheskikh Obychaev, op. cit.*, p. 266.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 51–96. (S. Pahman, "Ocherk Narodnykh Yuridicheskikh Obychaev Smolenskoi Gubernii.")

12. *Ibid.*, p. 272 (D. I., *op. cit.*).

13. W. Sedden-Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, (London, 1872), pp. 299–300.

14. See D. Tomasic, *Personality and Culture in Eastern European Politics*, (New York, 1948), Ch. IV.

15. M. Kovalevsky, *op. cit.*, p. 21. On traces of brother-sister incest in the zadruga see D. Tomasic, *op. cit.*, Ch. IV.

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16. Ivan Krypyakevich, *Velyka Istoriya Ukrainy* (Winnipeg, 1948), p. 18.

17. See also J. Peisker, "The Expansion of Slavs," *op. cit.*, pp. 422ff.

18. See E. Romanov, *Belorussky Sbornik*, (Kiev, 1885), pp. 269–438; compare A. A. Khvili, *Ukrainskii Folklor*, vol. 1 and 2, (Kiev, 1937); see also E. Karsky, *Bielorusy*, vol. 3, Part 1, (Moscow, 1916); also *Gomelskia Narodnyia Pesni*, collected by Z. Radchenko, *Zapiski Imper. Ruskago Geogr. Obshchestva*, (St. Petersburg, 1888).

19. E. Romanov, *op. cit.*, p. 298. Similar philosophy of life is expressed by peasants in Turgeniev's short stories *"Khor and Kalinych"* and *"Kasian of the Fair Springs,"* in *A Sportsman's Sketches*, (London, 1930), pp. 1–20 and pp. 166–195.

20. K. Iashchurzhinsky, *Maloruskia Pesni*, (Warsaw, 1880), p. 56.

21. E. Romanov, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

22. E. Romanov, *op. cit.*, p. 309. The same custom and saying is found in contemporary Zadruga society of Croatia. See D. Tomasic, *op. cit.*, ch. IV.

23. Compare G. P. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, (Cambridge, 1946), pp. 8, 17.

24. G. Fedotov, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 348.

26. See W. Ralston, *op. cit.*

27. G. Fedotov, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

28. Note the similarity between this religious and philosophical system and that of the Zadruga society. The Zadruga people say: "Justice is stronger than God"; see D. Tomasic, *op. cit.*, Ch. IV.

29. The same device was used by the partisan guerillas in these regions during World War II; Petro Vershigora, "Lyudi s chistoy sovestyu," (*Znamya*, 1946), No. 4.

30. Compare D. Tomasic, *op. cit.*, Ch. IV.

31. V. D. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus*, (Moscow, 1949), p. 465.

32. Concerning recent Soviet research on early Slav culture, see the articles of M. Tikhomirov in *Izvestia*, (April 12, 1952), and B. Grekov in *Izvestia*, (June 4, 1952); see also the article of Z. Udaltsova in *Bolshevik*, June, 1952.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. Compare A. Bernshtam, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 163; also G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–64; also E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, (Philadelphia, 1804), Vol. 3, Ch. XXVI, pp. 312, 340; also, B. Vladimirtsov, *The Life of Chingis-Khan*, (New York, 1930), pp. 123–139; also W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, (Paris, 1945), pp. 129–133.

2. See Ammianius Mercellinus (Tr. J. C. Kolfe), (London, 1935), Vol. 3, pp. 385–387; also Herodotus, *Persian Wars*, V, (New York, 1942), pp. 291, 313–317; see also W. M. McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia*, (Chapel Hill, 1939), pp. 52–58. Compare N. Bichurin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 218; also Lucian (tr. A. M. Harmon), (London, 1936), Vol. 5, pp. 162ff.

3. G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, *op. cit.*, p. 48ff.

4. This is the case both in Procopius and in Emperor Leo's works.

5. Tacitus, *Germania*, XLVI.

6. Provest, *op. cit.*, p. 12; also *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 12; also *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, *op. cit.*, pp. 141–142.

8. Whip made of several straps of heavy leather, sometimes leaded.

9. *Chronicarum que dicuntur Fredegarii Scholastici*, Libri IV, in: *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, Hannoverae, 1888, p. 144. See about a similar revolt of wives and children under the rule of the Scythians in Herodotus: "When therefore the children sprung from these slaves and Scythian women,

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000 grew to manhood, and understood the circumstances of their birth, they resolved to oppose the army (of the Scythians) which was returning from Media." (*Persian Wars*, IV, *op. cit.*, p. 291)

10. Compare T. Peisker, "Asiatic Background," *op. cit.*, p. 339.

11. Compare G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, *op. cit.*, pp. 137–140, 182–184; also G. Plekhanov, *Introduction à l'Histoire Sociale de la Russie*, (Paris, 1926), pp. 52–55; also N. K. Chadwick, *The Beginnings of Russian History*, (Cambridge, 1946), pp. 112–119; also V. Kliuchevsky, *Kurs Russkoy Istorii*, (Moscow, 1937), Vol. 1, pp. 160–166.

12. Compare V. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus*, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 362.

14. M. Kovalevsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–138.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

16. *Sbornik Narodnikh Yuridicheskikh Obychaev*, Vol. 2, *op. cit.*, (S. K. Pahman, "Ocherk Narodnikh Yuridicheskikh Obychaev Smolenskoy Gubernii," pp. 51–76). It is of interest to note that this practice of forced unanimity, which was probably introduced by steppe warriors, was still in use in the communal and tribal life in the Dinaric regions of the Balkans as late as the early part of the twentieth century. See D. Tomasic, *op. cit.*, Ch. II, pp. 101–103.

17. D. Tomasic, *op. cit.*, Ch. IV, pp. 157–162.

18. *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

19. Compare Leonard A. Magnus, *The Tale of the Armament of Ygor (Slove o Polku Igoreve)* (London, 1915), pp. 7, 10.

20. *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, *op. cit.*, pp. 177–181.

21. Compare Testament of Vladimir Monomach in *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, *op. cit.*, Appendix, pp. 301–309.

22. V. Grekov, *op. cit.*, pp. 495–498.

23. Compare L. A. Magnus, *Russian Heroic Ballads*, (London, 1921), pp. 7–12.

24. See the legend *Mikula Selyaninovich* in N. Chadwick, *Russian Heroic Poetry*, (Cambridge, 1932), p. 44.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 46–47.

26. N. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

27. Compare with the practice of the steppe nomads of weaning the child from his mother's breast at age of five.

28. "Volga Vselavyevich," in N. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

29. *Ibid.*, "Volga and Mikula," p. 45.

30. *Ibid.*, "Vasily Buslaev," p. 143.

31. N. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 162–163.

33. G. Fedotov, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 352.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 351–352.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 351–353, 191–193. 353, 191–193.

37. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

38. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 147–153.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 174.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. Charles Diehl, "The Government and Administration of the Byzantine Empire," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 6 (Cambridge, 1923), p. 726, 728; also L. Brehier, *Le Monde Byzantin*, (Paris, 1947), Vol. 2, pp. 450–528.

2. Ch. Diehl, *op. cit.*, pp. 727–728. See also L. Brehier, *op. cit.*, pp. 368–71. Also Y. Finlay, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (London, 1920), pp. 216ff.

3. See P. Milyukov, *Russian Culture*, Part I, (ed. M. Karpovich, Philadelphia, 1942), pp. 1–26; also Karamzin-

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Kelly, *The History of Russia*, Vol. 1, pp. 30–32, (London, 1854).

4. Karamzin-Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 99. See also D. S. Mirsky, *Russia*, (London, 1931); also W. H. Frere, *Russian Church History*, (London, 1918); also L. Boissard, *L'Eglise de Russie*, (Paris, 1867).

5. V. Kliuchevsky, *A History of Russia*, (New York, 1912), Vol. 2, p. 23. See also N. Zernov, *Moscow, the Third Rome*, (London, 1937).

6. The Russian Church following its objectives of independence from Byzantium crowned in 1547 Ivan IV as Czar. A few years later the Russian Church Synod codified the usages and the canon of Saints of the Russian Church. And in 1589 the Eastern Patriarchs who depended on Russia's help for their maintenance conferred upon the Metropolitan of Moscow the rank of Patriarch. The Russian Orthodox Church thus became also formally independent and free in its political action. On Russian Church-state relations see M. M. Karpovich, "Church and State in Russian History," *The Russian Review*, (Spring, 1944), pp. 10–14.

7. Ivan III refused to take the title of king from Emperor Maximilian, declaring that he held his crown "from God alone." Ivan IV is quoted as saying: "I am your God, as God is mine." See Karamzin-Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 142.

8. See, for instance, Sigmund von Herberstein, *Notes upon Moscow*, (London, 1851), Vol. I, p. 32.

9. V. Kliuchevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 70.

10. Compare V. Kliuchevsky, *op. cit.*, p. 98. See also M. Kovalevsky, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

11. Dr. Giles Fletcher, "Of the Russe Commonwealth," in *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, (London, 1856), pp. 26–28; also pp. 56ff. See also S. Herberstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 94–95.

12. S. Herberstein, *op. cit.*, p. 107; also G. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–61, 150–152; also Sir Jerome Hersey, "Travels" in *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–173.

13. G. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 117–119.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 117–118.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 70–78.

17. Compare S. Herberstein, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

18. G. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 81–84.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 74.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. Compare G. Fedotov, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 58, 132–157.

2. Compare Baron Von Haxthausen, *The Russian Empire*, (London, 1856), Vol. 1, pp. 111–112.

3. Czar's decree.

4. See C. Pobedonostsev. *Memoires Politiques*, (Paris, 1927), and *Reflections of a Russian Statesman*, (London, 1898); also M. Tourgueneff, *La Russie et Les Russes*, Vol. 2, (Paris, 1847), p. 305ff; also M. Karpovich, *Imperial Russia*, (New York, 1932), pp. 8, 28, 51–52, 62.

5. Leroy-Beaulieu, *The Empire of the Tsars*, (New York, 1893–96), Vol. 2, p. 110.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

7. Stepniak, *Russia Under the Tzars*, *op. cit.*, pp. 127–147, 134ff.

8. Marquis de Custine, *The Empire of the Czar*, (London, 1843), Vol. 1, p. 124.

9. *The English Woman in Russia*, (New York, 1856), p. 174; also Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 272; also General Golovine, *Intelligentsia*, Manuscript in Hoover Library, p. 6.

10. Marquis de Custine. *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 233.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER 6 (Cont.)

000 11. *Ibid.*, p. 122; also Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 98; also Baron Von Haxthausen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 160–176.

12. Leroy-Beaulieu. *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 98; also E. Lanin, *Russian Traits*, (Boston, 1891), p. 82; also Baron N. Wrangel, *From Serfdom to Bolshevism (Memoirs)*, (Philadelphia, 1927), pp. 103–112.

13. *The English Woman*, *op. cit.*, p. 244. See also General Golovine, *op. cit.*, *Intelligentsia*, p. 31.

14. de Custine, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 172. See also General Golovine. *op. cit.*, *Intelligentsia*, pp. 31ff.

15. N. Wrangel, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–17.

16. Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 132–133.

17. Von Haxthausen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 84.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. The root of this word is *bolshoi*, the same as in the Bolshevik.

2. *Sbornik Narodnykh Iuridicheskikh Obychaev*, Vol. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 269 (D. I. "Zametki o Krestyanskoy Semye v Novgorodskoy Gubernii"). See also D. M. Wallace, *Russia*, (London, 1881), pp. 88–89. Also M. Kovalevsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 53–55.

3. Compare this family system with the zadruga household community in Croatia; see D. Tomasic, *op. cit.*, Ch. IV.

4. *Etnograficheskiy Sbornik*, (Sankpeterburg, 1854), Vol. 2, p. 47. (A. Arkhangelsky, "Selo Davshino").

5. *Poslovitsy Ruskago Naroda*, (V. Dahl), (Moscow, 1878), Vol. 1, p. 490.

6. *Sbornik Narodnykh Juridicheskikh Obychaev*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 69; (S. V. Pahman, "Ocherk Narodnikh Yuridicheskikh Obychaev Smolenskoy Gubernii.").

7. See, for instance, W. Ralston, *Russian Folk Tales*, (London, 1873); "The Leshy," p. 206.

8. *Sbornik*, Vol. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 270 (D. I. "Zametki o Krestyanskoy Semye").

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 270–271.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 75 (S. V. Pahman, "Ocherk Narodnykh Yuridicheskikh Obychaev").

11. S. Herberstein, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 95. See also A. Jenkinson, *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia*, (London, 1886), Vol. 1, p. 38. Also Karamzin-Kelly, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 150.

12. *Sbornik*, Vol. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 272 (D. I. "Zametki o Krestyanskoy Semye").

13. See, for instance, A. Afanasiev, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

14. M. E. Duchesne, *Le Domostroi*, (Paris, 1910), Ch. XVII, p. 47. See also Elaine Elnett, *Historic Origin and Social Development of Family Life in Russia*, (New York, 1926), p. 38.

15. See N. Gogol, "Taras Bulba," *Izbrannye Sochinenia*, (Moscow, 1937), p. 269.

16. *Sbornik*, Vol. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 268: *"Esli otets vedet razgulnuiu zhizn, kotoraya vlechet za soboyu razorenie khozyaystva, togda deti starayutsya otdalitsya ili zhe pokoritsya svoey uchasti, no ryedko pomyslyat zhalovatsya na otsa."* (If the father leads an inordinate life which brings economic ruin, the children either leave or submit to their fate but seldom think of complaining against the father.)

17. See, for instance, I. I. Serebrennikov, *My Recollections*, (Tientsin, 1938), Manuscript in the Hoover Library; also Lev N. Tolstoy, *Childhood, Boyhood,*

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Youth, (Boston, 1886), pp. 34–35; also Count Ilya Tolstoy, *Reminiscences of Tolstoy*, (New York, 1914), pp. 39–40; also Sonya Kovalevsky, *Recollections of Childhood*, (New York, 1895), pp. 9–10.

18. *Poslovitsy Ruskaga Naroda, op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 492.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 469.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 470.

21. *Sbornik*, Vol. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 275–300 (E. T. Solovev, "Prestuplenya i Nakazania po Ponyatyam Krestian Povolzhya").

23. *Le Domostroi, op. cit.*, Ch. XXIX, pp. 63–64.

24. *Poslovitsy, op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 470.

25. *Le Domostroi, op. cit.*, Ch. XVII, p. 47.

26. *Poslovitsy, op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 470.

27. A. Tereshchenko, *Byt Ruskaga Naroda*, (Sankt Peterburg, 1848), p. 417. See also S. Herberstein, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 94ff.

28. *Le Domostroi, op. cit.*, Ch. XVII, p. 47.

29. See, for instance, S. Aksakoff, *A Russian Gentleman*, (London, 1917), pp. 17–18.

30. N. Wrangel, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–20.

31. W. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People, op. cit.*, pp. 130–135.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. *Sbornik, op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 137–143. (V. N. Skein, *"Ocherki narodno-obychnaga prava Vologodskoy Gubernii"*); also *Sbornik, op. cit.*, pp. 261–274.

2. See, for instance, *Great Yassa, op. cit.*, Article 6.

3. *Pravda Russkaya, op. cit.*, Article 7, (Extended Version).

4. Compare these customs with *Great Yassa, op. cit.*, Article 34.

5. Concerning blind obedience see, for instance, the tale "The Robbers" in Edith Hodgetts *"Tales and Legends from the Land of the Tsar,"* (New York, 1892), p. 123.

6. *Sbornik, op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 266–267.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 51–96.

8. See, for instance, the tale "The Prophetic Dream" in P. M. Polevoy, *Russian Fairy Tales*, (London, 1901).

9. An outstanding novelistic portrait of Russian family strife is found in Dostoyevsky's *Brothers Karamazov.*

10. See *Sbornik, op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 55–56. (S. V. Pahman, "Ocherk Narodnikh Yuridicheshikh Obychaev Smolenskoy Gubernii.")

11. See, for instance, W. Ralston, *Songs, op. cit.*, p. 288.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 173. Either strange fiend-like beings or great heroes are the offsprings of such unions.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 289.

14. See, for instance, W. Ralston, *Songs, op. cit.*, p. 29.

15. See, for instance, the tale "Baba Yaga" in A. Afanasiev, *Russian Fairy Tales*, (London, 1946).

16. W. Ralston, *Songs, op. cit.*, p. 25.

17. For novelistic treatment of such feelings see Dostoyevsky's *Brothers Karamazov.*

18. See, for instance, the tale "Morozko" in P. Polevoy, *op. cit.*

19. See about son's feeling of rejection and about father's fear of son in *Brothers Karamazov.*

20. N. Wrangel, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–20. Compare S. Kovalevsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8.

21. N. A. Dobrolyubov, "Realm of Darkness," *Selected Essays*, (Moscow, 1948), p. 218ff.

22. Peter Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, (Boston, 1899), p. 296.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

000 1. See, for instance, Count Ilya Tolstoy, *Reminiscences of Tolstoy*, (New York, 1914), pp. 11, 313–14. Also L. L. Tolstoy, *The Truth About My Father*, (London, 1924), pp. 65–66, 79–80.

2. See, for instance, the narrative "Dyuk Stepanovich" in N. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 108–109.

3. See narrative "Straver" in N. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

4. G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, *op. cit.*, pp. 267–268.

5. *Stikhi Dukhovnye*, ed. by G. Fedotov, (Paris, 1935), p. 47.

6. Compare *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, *op. cit.*, Appendix I and II., p. 313.

7. See, for instance, the tales "Friday" and "Wednesday" in W. Ralston, *Russian Folk Tales*, (London, 1873), pp. 200–203.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10

1. E. Lanin, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

2. A. Pushkin, "Boris Godunov," in *Alexander Pushkin*, (tr. A. Yaromlinsky), (New York, 1936), p. 347.

3. See text of the Confession in Bakunin, *Sobranie Sochineny*, Vol. 4, (Moscow, 1935), pp. 99–207; also E. H. Car, *Michael Bakunin*, (London, 1937), p. 211.

4. Leo Tolstoy, *My Confession*, (London, 1904), pp. 8–9.

5. G. Fedotov, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

6. See, for instance, *Primary Chronicle*, *op. cit.*, Appendix IIB.

7. G. Fedotov, *op. cit.*, pp. 206–208.

8. *Education of a Princess*, a memoir by Mary, Grand Duchess of Russia, (New York, 1930), p. 57.

9. N. Wrangel, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

10. *The Diaries of Tschaikovsky*, (New York, 1915), pp. 247–48.

11. M. Bakounine, *Oevres*, Vol. 3, (Paris, 1908), p. 21.

12. *Stikhi Duhovnye*, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

13. G. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–117.

14. See on this point G. Fedotov, *op. cit.*, pp. 209–11.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 11

1. For a novelistic treatment of reaction to rejection and humiliation see Dostoyevsky's *Brothers Karamazov*.

2. V. Kliuchevsky, *A History of Russia*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 95.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

5. N. A. Dobrolyubov, *Dnevniki*, (Moscow, 1931), p. 70; J. A. Posin, *Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov, and Pisarev, Thesis*, (Berkeley, 1939), p. 187.

6. *Ethnograficheskiy Sbornik*, (Sankt-Peterburg, 1862), Vol. 5, p. 20; (Mashkin, "Byt Krestyan Kurskoi Gubernii, Oboianskaga Uezda.")

7. *Etnograficheskiy Sbornik*, Vol. 2, p. 103, (Sankt Peterburg, 1854); A. Rudnev, "Selo Golum i Novomihailovskoe Tulskoy Gubernii."

8. See, for instance, the tale "Ilya Muromets and Svyatogor" in A. Afanasiev, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–126.

9. *Poslovitsy*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 438–440.

10. *The Journal of Leo Tolstoi*, (New York, 1917), pp. 10, 71, 125, 127, 140–141, 146–147, 155–56, 196, 200, 206, 221, 253, 259, 265, 278.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

12. E. Lanin, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–26, 84.

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13. Maxim Gorky, *Days with Lenin*, (New York, 1954), p. 52.

14. Compare N. Leites, "Quarreling Among Great-Russians," Manuscript, Columbia University, Research in Contemporary Cultures, (May, 1948).

15. Compare Nevin O. Winter, *The Russian Empire of Today and Yesterday*, (1913), pp. 274–5.

16. Bernard Pares, *Russia* (New York, 1949), pp. 20–21. See also E. Lanin, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–27, 66ff.

17. E. Ellnet, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

18. G. Fedotov, *op. cit.*, pp. 352–353.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 12

1. V. Snow, *Russian Writers*, (New York, 1946), pp. 128–129.

2. *The Memoirs of Alexander Herzen*, (New Haven, 1923), pp. 26–27, 95, 96, 99–100, 118–119.

3. P. A. Kropotkin, *An Appeal to the Young*, Chicago, p. 30.

4. Nina N. Selivanova, *Russian Women*, (New York, 1923), p. 173.

5. *The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution*, Reminiscences and letters of Catherine Breshkovsky, Ed. by Alice Stone Blackwell, (Boston, 1918), pp. 6–8.

6. F. Dostoyevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, (New York, 1937), "Elders."

7. E. Carr, *Michael Bakunin*, (London, 1937), *op. cit.*, p. 7.

8. *Ibid.*

9. M. Bakounine, *Oevres*, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

10. *Ibid.* 23.

11. H. Hershkowitz, *Democratic Ideas in Turgenev's Works*, (New York, 1932), p. 13.

12. G. Fedotov, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

15. Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 357–358.

16. G. Fedotov, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–131.

17. See *Catechism of Revolution*, English text in R. Payne, *Zero*, (New York, 1950), pp. 8ff.

18. *The Journal of Leo Tolstoy*, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 13

1. See on this point A. Saltykov, *Dve Rossii*, (München, 1919), pp. 1ff.

2. See, for instance, *The English Woman in Russia*, *op. cit.*; also B. Pares, *Russia*, (New York, 1949), p. 23; also N. Winter, *op. cit.*, pp. 260–262; also Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 14, 190, 215.

3. See this contrast in Dostoyevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*, particularly "*The Grand Inquisitor.*"

4. According to the hero of a novel by I. A. Goncharov. See also N. A. Dobrolyubov, *Selected Philosophical Essays*, (Moscow, 1948), pp. 174–217.

5. M. Bakunin, *Ispoved*, *op. cit.*, p. 154; also Carr, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

6. General Golovine, *op. cit.*, *The Revolution*, pp. 21–32.

7. *Ibid.*, *The War*, p. 11.

8. F. Chaliapin, *Man and Mask*, (New York, 1927), pp. 9–12.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.

10. Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 108–110.

11. General Golovine, *op. cit.*, *The Peasantry*, p. 40.

12. See, for instance, G. Plekhanov, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–45.

13. Compare Nevin O. Winter, *op. cit.*, pp. 260–262.

14. See on this point the works of V. Kliuchevsky and G. Vernadsky.

15. Quoted by B. Wolfe, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER 13 (Cont.)

000 16. P. Kropotkin, *Anarchist Morality*, London, pp. 1–2.

17. See R. Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, (New York, 1934), pp. 41–51, 206–232, 232–257; see also K. Mannheim, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction*, (New York, 1940), pp. 277–278; also C. Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man*, (New York, 1949), pp. 197, 202–203; also D. Tomasic, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–34.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 14

1. See N. Tourgeneff, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 79ff.

2. *Ibid.* See also A. Mazour, *The First Russian Revolution*, (Berkeley, 1937), pp. 164, 154–155, 262–263.

3. Compare Lenin, *Sobranie Sochineny*, XII, p. 100.

4. See on this point T. G. Masaryk, *The Spirit of Russia*, Vol. 1, (London, 1919), pp. 95–104.

5. See I. V. Kireevsky, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochineny*, Vol. 1, (Moscow, 1911), pp. 174–222; see also N. L. Brodsky, *Rannie Slavianofily*, (Moscow, 1919); see also I. S. Aksakov, *Sochinenia*, (S. Peterburg, 1811), Vol. 2.

6. See I. Kireevsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 174–190. Compare also T. Masaryk, *op. cit.*, p. 109. See also *Brothers Karamazov*, *op. cit.*, "Conversations and Exhortations of Father Zossima." See also I. S. Aksakov, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 27ff.

7. I. Kireevsky, *op. cit.*, pp 217–218. Compare Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 295; also T. Masaryk, *op. cit.*, pp. 245–246; also Brodsky, *op. cit.*, p. LIII. Also Brothers Karamazov, "Conversations," *op. cit.*

8. I. Kireevsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–120; also T. G. Masaryk, *op. cit.*, p. 267, quoting Aksakov.

9. See Shatov's dialogue in Dostoyevsky's novel *The Possessed*.

10. F. Dostoyevsky, *Brothers Karamazov*, *op. cit.*, "So be it!" Compare A. S. Khomiakov, *O Tserkvi*, (Berlin, 1926).

11. Compare I. S. Aksakov, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 783ff.

12. See I. Kireevsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 115–120, 217–218; also N. Brodsky, *op. cit.*, p. LIV; compare T. Masaryk, *op cit.*, p. 267. See also I. S. Aksakov, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 30ff.

13. A. C. Khomyakov, "Poslanie k Serbam," in N. Brodsky, *op. cit.*, p. 59; see also I. S. Aksakov, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 15ff.

14. N. Brodsky, *op. cit.*, p. LII; also I. S. Aksakov, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 18.

15. I. Aksakov, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 213ff; see also M. Bakunin, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–152.

16. I. Kireevsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 174–222; compare also T. Masaryk, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

17. See, for instance, I. S. Aksakov, *op cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 66ff.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 15

1. M. Kovalevsky, *Russian Political Institutions*, (Chicago, 1902), p. 210.

2. Concerning the organization and the internal relations of the Russian Orthodox Church see Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 251ff.

3. E. Ludwig, *Stalin*, N. Y., (1942), p. 19; see also B. Wolfe, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

4. M. Kovalevsky, *Russian Political Institutions*, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

5. This feeling of rejection is, for instance, expressed by the conspirator Verkhovensky who portrays Anarchist Nechaev in Dostoyevsky's novel *The Possessed*. Verkhovensky reproaches his father: "You never gave me food or

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drink and sent me as a tiny little baby from Berlin to X Province by post."

6. See D. Pisarev, *Sochinenya*, (St. Petersburg, 1901–09) and *Izbranye Filosofskie i Obshchestveno-politicheskie Stati*, (Moscow, 1944). See also N. Chernishevsky, *What's to be Done?*, (Boston, 1886). See also J. Posin, *op. cit.* See also T. Masaryk, op. cit., p. 55.

7. *Catechism of Revolution*, by Bakunin-Nechaev; English text in R. Payne, *Zero*, (New York, 1950), pp. 7–14. German text in Mikhail Bakunin's *Sozialpolitische Briefwechsel*, ed. M. Dragomirov, (Stuttgart, 1895), pp. 374–380. Russian text in *Borba Klasov*, (Leningrad, 1924), no. 1–2, pp. 262–3.

8. *Ibid.* See also N. Bakunin, *God and the State*, (London, 1910); also P. Kropotkin, *Expropriation*, (London, 1909), and *Law and Authority*, (London, 1886).

9. P. Kropotkin, *Anarchist Morality*, London, Freedom Press, pp. 21–23. See also P. Kropotkin, *Organized Vengeance, called "Justice,"* (London, 1902).

10. P. Kropotkin, *Anarchist Morality*, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–24.

11. Stepniak, (S. Kravchinsky), *Underground Russia*, (New York, 1892), pp. 39–40.

12. *Catechism*, *op. cit.*, "The Duties of the Revolutionary Towards Society," point 13.

13. P. Kropotkin, *Anarchist Morality*, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–23.

14. *Catechism*, *op. cit.*, "The Duties of the Revolutionary towards Himself," point 1.

15. For instance, Peter Tkachev, an outstanding Anarchist, when 17 years old formed plans according to which in order to regenerate Russia, all people over twenty-five years of age were to be summarily executed. See B. Kozmin, *P. N. Tkachev*, (Moscow, 1923), p. 18. See also *The Possessed*, particularly the dialogues of Krillov.

16. *Catechism*, *op. cit.*, "The Duties of the Revolutionary towards Himself," points 5, 6, 7; see also P. Kropotkin, *La Conquête du Pain*, (Paris, 1892).

17. M. Bakunin, *Ispoved*, *op. cit.*, p. 178; see also Carr; *op. cit.*, p. 379.

18. *Catechism*, *op. cit.*, "The Duties of the Revolutionary toward his Revolutionary Comrades," point 10.

19. Compare A. Herzen, *Bakunin*, (St. Petersburg, 1906); also B. Wolfe, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

20. *Catechism*, *op. cit.*, "The Duties of the Revolutionary towards Society," point 14.

21. *Ibid.*, point 16.

22. *Ibid.*, point 16.

23. See a novelistic account of such practices in Dostoyevsky's *The Possessed*.

24. *Catechism*, *op. cit.*, "The Duties of the Revolutionary Association Towards the People," point 22.

25. B. P. Kozmin, *Nechaev i Nechaevtsy*, *Sbornik Materiyalov*, (Moskva, 1931), pp. 15–57.

26. See Stepniak, *Underground Russia*, *op. cit.*; also *The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution*, *op. cit.*

27. See *Istoria SSSR*, Vol. 2, (Moscow, 1949).

28. Compare Vera Finger, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, (New York, 1927); also V. Bogrov, *Dmitry Bogrov i Ubiystvo Stolypina*, (Berlin, 1931).

29. Compare M. Kovalevsky, *Russian Political Institutions*, *op. cit.*, pp. 252–258.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 16

1. Compare J. Mavor, *An Economic History of Russia*, (London, 1914), pp. 49–52.

2. I. V. Chernyshev, *Agrarno-Krestyanksaya Politika Rosii*, (Petrograd, 1918), p. 2.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER 16 (Cont.)

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5. See N. Wrangel, *op. cit.*, p. 16. See also J. Mavor, *op. cit.*, pp. 203–207; also Svatikov, *Obshchestvenye Dvizheniya v Rossii*, Post Na Donu, (1905); also L. Tikhomirov, *Russia Political and Social*, (London, 1892); also D. Wallace, *Russia*, (New York, 1861), p. 478.

6. Even after the emancipation act, not only men, but women up to fifty years of age were publicly flogged. Since beating with the birch rod (*rozga*) sometimes made peasants unfit for military service, by the middle of nineteenth century the lash was introduced to replace the rod.

7. Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 18. See also J. Mavor, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

8. See *Sketches of Russian Life*, (London, 1860), pp. 9–13, ed. H. Morley. Also Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 20.

9. M. G. Hindus, *The Russian Peasant and the Revolution*, (New York, 1920), pp. 67–71.

10. M. Kovalevsky, *Ancient Customs and Modern Laws*, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–96; also M. Hindus, *op. cit.*, p. 67; also L. Tikhomirov, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 257–259.

11. *Poslovitsy*, *op. cit.*, pp. 515–517.

12. See D. Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 461–484.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 17

1. *Poslovitsy*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 213.

2. See, for instance, the legend "St. Elias and St. Nicholas" in W. Ralston, *Russian Folk Tales*, (London, 1873).

3. S. Kravchinsky (Stepniak), *The Russian Peasantry*, (New York, 1888), p. 223.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 222–223. When Afanasiev's volume of folk-tales appeared in 1859, its sale was prohibited by the censor.

5. *Poslovitsy*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 286.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 189–190.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 290.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

9. E. Lanin, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–37.

10. *Poslovitsy*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 338.

11. See, for instance, A. Z. Ovchinikov, *Iz Moikh Vosponinany*, pp. 1–60, manuscript in Hoover Library.

12. *Poslovitsy*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 229.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 288.

14. See, for instance, the tale "The Rogish Peasant" in E. Hodgetts, *op. cit.* See also P. Polevoi, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–7, 64–73.

15. E. Lanin, *op cit.*, pp. 9–10, 228.

16. W. Ralston, *Songs*, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

17. Note the similarity in these attitudes and those of the Dinaric warriors in D. Tomasic, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–41, 49–53.

18. General Golovine, *op. cit.*, *The Peasantry*, p. 6.

19. *Sbornik Narodnykh Yuridicheskikh Obychaev*, Vol. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 281; E. T. Solovyev, "Prestuplenia i Nakazania po Ponyatiyam Krestiyan Povolzhiya."

20. N. Gogol, *Taras Bulba*, (Moskva, 1943), p. 27.

21. Von Haxthausen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 116.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 18

1. See Stepniak, *The Russian Peasantry*, *op. cit.*, pp. 229–230.

2. *Pesni Ruskikh Sektantov Mistikov*, *Zapiski Imperatorskoga Ruskaga Geograficheskaga Obshchestva po Otdeleniyu Etnografii*, (Petrograd, 1912), Vol. 25, No. 215; Ed. by F. S. Rozhdestvensky, M. I. Uspensky.

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3. Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 467–469.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 469.
5. *Pesni Ruskikh Sektantov*, *op. cit.*, no. 575.
6. F. C. Conybeare, *Russian Dissenters*, (Cambridge, 1921), p. 94.
7. F. Conybeare, *op. cit.*, p. 270. See also Von Haxthausen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 289, 299.
8. Von Haxthausen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 300.
9. F. Conybeare, *op. cit.*, p. 308.
10. Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 447–448. See also Stepniak, *op. cit.*, pp. 336–337; Also F. Conybeare, *op cit.*, pp. 327–328.
11. Paul Miliukov, *Outlines of Russian Culture*, Part I, (Philadelphia, 1946), p. 73.
12. Von Haxthausen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 254–255.
13. Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 394.
14. P. Miliukov, *op. cit.*, pp. 62–67. Also F. Conybeare, *op. cit.*, pp. 196–197.
15. F. Conybeare, *op. cit.*, pp. 366–367; see also Leroy-Beaulieu, *op cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 425–429; see also Von Haxthausen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 251.
16. Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 318–319.
17. Von Haxthausen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 248; also Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 320.
18. P. Miliukov, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 57.
19. Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 404.
20. F. Conybeare, *op. cit.*, p. 343.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 358. See also Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 402.
22. *Pesni*, *op. cit.*, No. 585.
23. See for instance, *Pesni*, *op. cit.*, No. 411, No. 649, and others; also Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 420.
24. Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 421.
25. Von Haxthausen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 253–254. See also Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, pp. 408–409; also F. Conybeare, *op. cit.*, pp. 350–351.
26. Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 448.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 431.
28. Von Haxthausen, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 290.
29. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 291–293.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 19

1. V. Kliuchevsky, *Kurs Ruskoy Istorii*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 116.
2. D. S. Mirsky, *Russia*, (London, 1931), p. 133.
3. V. Kliuchevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 49.
4. M. Kovalevsky, *Ancient Customs and Modern Laws of Russia*, *op. cit.*, pp. 223–224.
5. Compare *Istoria SSSR*, ed. by N. V. Nechkina, Vol. 2, (Moscow, 1946), p. 397.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 226–227.
7. *Protokoly Vtorogo Syezda P.S.R.*, p. 87. See O. H. Radkey, *The Party of the Socialist Revolutionaires and the Russian Revolution of 1917*, Ph.D. Thesis, (Harvard University, 1939), p. 112.
8. O. Radkey, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
9. T. Y. Robinson, *Rural Russia*, (New York, 1932), p. 159.
10. *Istoria SSSR*, Vol. 3, (Moscow, 1946), p. 39, ed. by A. M. Pankratova.
11. L. A. Owen, *The Russian Peasant Movement*, 1906–1907, (London, 1937), pp. 14–20.
12. T. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
14. From the speech of the peasant deputy Kirsonov from Saratov. See M. G. Hindus, *The Russian Peasant and the Revolution*, (New York, 1920), pp. 226–227.
15. See N. J. Rokitiansky, *Stolypin Agrarian Reform*, Thesis, (Stanford University, 1950), p. 151.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER 20

000 1. Concerning economic history of Russia see J. Mavor, *An Economic History of Russia*, (London, 1914).

2. See *Istoria USSR*, *op. cit*, Vol. 2, p. 785, ed. by M. V. Nechkina.

3. *Vtoroy Ocherednoy Syezd Rossiskoy Sotsial-Demokraticheskoy Rabochey Partii*, Polnii text protokolov, Geneva, pp. 167–170 (the minutes of the Second Congress of Russian Social Democratic Party). See also J. Kucharzewsky, *The Origins of Modern Russia*, (New York, 1948), p. 470.

4. See the *Theses and Statutes of the Communist International* "Role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution" points 13, 14.

5. Lenin "One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward." *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, International publishers, New York, pp. 447–448.

6. *History of the Communist Party*, (Moscow, 1945), pp. 31–34.

7. Compare Lenin, "What is to be Done?" *Selected Works*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 126–148.

8. B. Wolfe, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

9. Lenin, "Where to Begin?" *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 17. See also B. Wolfe, *op. cit.*

10. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 486–498. See also B. Wolfe, *op. cit.*, pp. 355–356.

11. For novelistic treatment of tension between these strata, see Russian belles-lettres of the second part of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries.

12. Compare General Golovine, *op. cit.*, "*Intelligentsia*," pp. 6–7.

13. *Education of a Princess*—A Memoir by Marie, Grand Duchess of Russia, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

14. Compare E. J. Dillon, "The Duma in Figures," *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 90, pp. 290–292, (August, 1906); also Paul Miliukov, "The Class of the Second Duma," *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 92, pp. 457–67, (October, 1907); also E. A. Goldenweiser, "The Russian Duma," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 29, pp. 408–422, (September, 1914). At the Bolshevik Party Congress in 1906, only 35 delegates were of the working class, while one hundred were composed of intelligentsia and semi-intelligentsia.

15. Compare A. Kerensky, *The Catastrophe*, (New York, 1927), and *The Prelude to Bolshevism*, (New York, 1919). See J. Bunyan and H. Fisher, *The Bolshevik Revolution* 1917–1918, documents and materials, (Stanford, 1934); also General B. Gourks, *Russia 1914–17*, memoirs, (New York, 1918); also M. Botchareva, *Yashka*, memoirs, (New York, 1919); also L. Bryant, *Six Red Months*, (New York, 1918); also N. Krupskaya, *Memories of Lenin*, Vol. 2, (New York, 1930); also David Shub, *Lenin*, (New York, 1950).

16. Compare General Loukomsky, *Memoirs of the Russian Revolution*, (London, 1922); also L. Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution*, Vol. 1–3, (London, 1932–33).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 21

1. See on this point, A. Vishinsky, *The Law of the Soviet State*, (New York, 1948), pp. 39ff.

2. *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*, (Moscow, 1945), p. 274; see also *Bolshevik*, (October, 1950), pp. 19–31; S. Kovalev, "Overcoming the Survivals of Capitalism."

3. Lenin, *Sochinenia*, Vol. 21, pp. 431–432. See also Stalin in *Bolshevik*, (August 1, 1950).

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4. Lenin's speech before the All-Russian Conference of Transport Workers in March, 1921. See also L. Owen, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

5. See Stalin's statement to Churchill in Churchill's memoirs, *The New York Times*, October 30, 1950, p. 29.

6. M. K. Bennett, "Food and Agriculture in the Soviet Union," *The Journal of Political Economy*, June, 1949, p. 191.

7. N. de Basili, *Russia Under Soviet Rule*, (London, 1950), pp. 286–300.

8. See A. Vucinich, "The Kolhoz," *The Am. Slavic and East European Review*, February, 1949, p. 13.

9. See speech of N. S. Khrushchev at the plenary session of the Moscow Province Party Committe, Dec. 20 and 22, 1950.

10. See *Pravda*, October 9, 27, 1950; also *Izvestia*, October 14, 1950.

11. See, for instance, *Pravda Vostoka*, May 18, 1949; also L. I. Berri, "K voprosu o razdelenii truda v sotzialisticheskom obshchestve," *Izvestia akademii nauk SSSR*, Nov. 3, 1947, pp. 155–172.

12. See *Voprosy Ekonomiki*, Oct., 1950, pp. 99–108.

13. Compare "The Russians can Manage," *Fortune*, January, 1945, pp. 161, 193. See also Harry Schwartz, "Soviet Labor Policy," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May 1949, p. 78.

14. *Trudovye Rezervy*, Ukaz of 2 Oct. 1940, Point 7.

15. *O Poryadke Obyazatelnogo Perevoda Inzhenerov, Tekhnikov, Masterov, Sluzhashchikh, Kvalificirovanykh Rabochikh*, Ukaz of October 19, 1940. 000

16. *Ustav Profesionalnykh Soyuzov SSSR*, 1949. See also *Trud*, January 25, 1951.

17. L. Berri, *op. cit.*, pp. 155–172.

18. See *Voprosy Ekonomiki*, *op. cit.*; see also *Voprosy Filosofii*, December, 1949, pp. 243–264.

19. *Ibid.*

20. See, for instance, *Izvestia*, "Vasily Vasilyevich Vakrushev," January 14, 1947, p. 3; also *Pravda*, "*Na polyakh peredovogo Kolkhoza*," July 19, 1947, p. 2.

21. *Constitution of the U.S.S.R.* of 1936, Article 12.

22. Compare L. Hubbard, *Soviet Trade and Distribution*, (London, 1938); also A. Baykov, *Soviet Economic System*, (New York, 1947); see also M. Polenyi, *The Contempt of Freedom*, (London, 1940); also S. Turin, *The U.S.S.R.*, (London, 1945).

23. *Pravda*, January 20, 1947. See also L. Hubbard, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 74. See also "Inside a Soviet Industry," *Fortune*, Oct., 1949, pp. 116–178; also "The Russians Can Manage," *Fortune*, Jan., 1945, pp. 161–193.

24. Compare J. C. Worthy, "Organizational Structure and Employee Morale," *American Sociological Review*, April, 1950, pp. 173–178.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 22

1. See the draft of the new Statute of the CPSU, Articles 29–35.

2. See the draft of the New Statute CPSU, Articles 40–59. See also the Composition of the new Central Committee CPSU, October, 1952.

3. Compare Louis Nemzer, "The Kremlin's Professional Staff: The 'Apparatus' of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union," *American Political Science Review*, March, 1950, pp. 64–68. See also J. Towster, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–137, 166.

4. See the draft of the New Statute CPSU, Article 35.

5. See the draft of the new Statute CPSU, Article 4; compare H. V. Dicks, "Observations on Contemporary Rus-

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sian Behaviour," *Human Relations*, 1952, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 126–131.

6. *Pravda*, October 11, 1950. See also the draft of the new Statute of the CPSU, Article 27.

7. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, (Moscow, 1947), pp. 140ff.

8. See the draft of the new Statute of the CPSU, Articles 1–28.

9. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, *op. cit.*, pp. 140ff.

10. Compare John Fischer, *Why They Behave Like Russians*, (New York, 1946), pp. 92–97, 48–49; also Tanya Matthews, *Russian Child and Russian Wife*, (London, 1949), pp. 233–234; also Alex Inkeles, "Social Stratification and Mobility in the Soviet Union: 1940–50," *American Sociological Review*, August, 1950, pp. 465–479.

11. Merle Fainsold, "Postwar Role of the Communist Party," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May, 1949, p. 21.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

13. *Pravda*, January 22, 1947 ("Nas osenyaet velikoi znamya Lenina-Stalina" by G. F. Alexander, p. 3).

14. J. Towster, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

15. Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 112–113. Also General Smith, *My Three Years in Moscow*, New York, p. 114.

16. In 1950 there were 880 higher educational institutions in USSR with 1,230,000 students (*Pravda*, January 24, 1951).

17. *Pravda*, Jan. 24, 1951.

18. Concerning Social Mobility and Stratification, compare J. Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 112; also N. S. Timasheff, "Vertical Social Mobility in Communist Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, (1944), pp. 18–19; also Dallin, *The Real Soviet Russia*, New Haven, p. 112; also Tanya Matthews, *op. cit.*, pp. 233–236; also A. Inkeles, *op. cit.*

19. J. Stalin, *Voprosy Leninizma* (Questions of Leninism), (10th Russian ed., Moscow, 1933), pp. 508–509.

20. A. Vyshinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 504, 533–537.

23. Lenin, *Collected Works*, (Russian ed.), Vol. 27, p. 299; also *Pravda*, March 28, 1947.

24. *Pravda*, March 28, 1947. See also C. A. Golunskii i D. C. Karev, *Sudoustroistvo SSSR*, Moscow, 1946, pp. 169–183.

25. Compare Lenin, *Collected Works*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 27, pp. 298, 301. See also Article 113 of the *Constitution of the U.S.S.R.* of 1936; also Article 117 of the *Constitution of U.S.S.R.* of 1936.

26. Stalin, *Voprosy Leninizma*, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

27. Compare *Pravda*, October 27, 1950.

28. See, for instance, Article 58–1–v of the *Criminal Code* of 1934.

29. Compare Oksana Kasenkina, *Leap to Freedom*, (New York, 1949), p. 69.

30. Lenin, *Collected Works*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 27, p. 130; also A. Vyshinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

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1. See on this point A. Vyshinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

2. *History of the Communist Party*, *op. cit.*, pp. 355–356.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 356.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 358.

5. *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, March 8, 1952, pp. 2ff.

6. Trofim Lysenko, *The Science of Biology Today*, (New York, 1948), p. 28.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 48.

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8. See T. Lysenko in *Pravda*, Nov. 3, 1950.

9. *Bolshevik*, (Sept., 1950), pp. 40–51; compare *Pravda*, Sept. 19, 21, 1950; also *Izvestia*, Sept. 19, 1950.

10. See recent Soviet film on the life of Pavlov. It is along the same line of thought that the Soviet leaders have apparently encouraged experiments in "mind reading" by means of radioactive beams. See on this matter the statement of Jacques Nicoll, member of College of France, at a meeting of Communist "Peace Partisans" in East Berlin, *Reuter Dispatch*, August 9, 1950.

11. *Voprosy Filosofii*, (Dec., 1949), pp. 247–264.

12. *Nauka i Zhizn*, (August, 1950), p. 48.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, Sept. 20, 1950.

15. *Voprosy Filosofii*, (Dec., 1949), pp. 247–264.

16. A. Zhdanov in *Izvestia*, September 21, 1946.

17. K. Simonov in *Pravda*, Nov. 22, 1947.

18. *Bolshevik*, (February, 1951), pp. 27–35.

19 *Sovetskoe Gosudarstvo i Pravo*, (July, 1950), pp. 1–13.

20. See Decree of December 16, 1948; also Law of February 4, 1948.

21. See Dimitri Buligin, "Memoirs of a Soviet Author," *The American Mercury*, (1948), pp. 180–188.

22. On manipulation of statistics see M. K. Bennett, "Food and Agriculture in the Soviet Union," *The Journal of Political Economy*, (June, 1949), pp. 193–194.

23. This textbook, written by B. P. Yesipov and N. K. Goncharov, (Moscow, 1946), was translated in part by G. S. Counts and N. Lodge under the title *I want to be Stalin*, (New York, 1947).

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 94–95.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 49, 112.

28. *Voprosy Filosofii*, (December 1949), pp. 247–264.

29. Yesipov and Goncharov, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

32. *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, Dec. 19, 1950.

33. *Voprosy Filosofii*, *op. cit.*, pp. 247–264.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Sovetskoe Gosudarstvo i Pravo*, Sept. 1949, pp. 6–12.

36. *Pravda*, January 21, 1947.

37. Evgeny Vazanchek in *Pravda*, January 21, 1947, in a poem to Lenin.

38. *Pravda*, August 28, 1936; May 23, 1935; see also *Turkmenskaya Iskra*, September 23, 1951, p. 3.

39. For such letters see *Pravda* and *Izvestia*.

40. *Seventh Congress of the Comintern*, Stenographic report, (Moscow, 1939), pp. 10–11.

41. *Izvestia*, January 21, 1947. The Bolsheviks affectionately refer to Lenin as Iliich. This is his second name (patronymic).

42. *Izvestia*, January 7, 1947.

43. *Pravda*, January 21, 1947.

44. *Izvestia*, January 21, 1947.

45. *Pravda*, January 21, February 12, March 19, 1947.

46. See, for instance, *Izvestia*, January 21, 1947; *Pravda*, January 25, 1947; *Pravda*, January 22, 1947; *Izvestia*, May 23, 1947; *Voprosy Filosofii*, Dec., 1949, pp. 247–264.

47. A. Zhdanov, in *Izvestia*, May 25, 1947.

48. Garrett Underhill, "Report on the Red Army," *The New York Times Magazine*, October 16, 1949.

49. J. Stalin, *The Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, (1944), p. 28. See also *Izvestia*, Dec. 13, 1949.

50. Yesipov and Goncharov, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

51. "Against the Bourgeois Ideology of Cosmopolitanism," *Current Digest*

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of Soviet Press, Washington, D.C., February 1949, p. 12.

52. B. D. Grekov, *The Culture of Kiev Rus*, (Moscow, 1947), pp. 143–44.

53. *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, Dec. 20, 1950.

54. *Voks Bulletin*, (1949), No. 57, p. 36.

55. See, for instance, *Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR*, Dec. 1950, pp. 77–79; *Kultura i Zhizn*, Jan. 11, 1951, p. 4; *Pravda*, Dec. 26, 1950.

56. See J. Stalin, "Otnositelno Marksizma v yazykoznanii," *Pravda*, June 20, 1950.

57. *Program of the Communist International*, Parts I and II.

58. *Ibid.*

59. Alexander Fadeyev speaking before the World Congress of Intellectuals, Warsaw, Poland, Aug. 25, 1948; see also *Pravda*, March 24, 1949.

60. Lenin, *Sochinenia*, 3rd ed., Vol. 24, p. 122; also Vol. 27, p. 117.

61. *Program of the Communist International*, Part III–V.

62. M. V. Frunze, *Sobranie Sochineny*, (Moscow, 1927); see particularly Vol. 3, pp. 242–244.

63. Capt. Sergei N. Kournakoff, *Russia's Fighting Forces*, (New York, 1942), p. 56.

64. Paragraph 6 of the 1946 Armed Forces Disciplinary Manual. See G. Underhill, *New York Times Magazine*, October 16, 1949.

65. *Ukaz* of January 3, 1939; *Pravda*, Jan. 4, 1949; "O tekste prisyagi rabochekrestyanskoy Krasnoy armii," p. 1.

66. J. Towster, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

67. Capt. Sergei N. Kournakoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–98.

68. N. Kournakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

69. J. Stalin, *The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, (1946), p. 57.

70. General D. D. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe*, (New York, 1948), pp. 461–465.

71. J. Stalin, *O Nedostatkakh Partiinoy Raboty*, (Moscow, Partizad, 1937), p. 28. See also *Sovetskoe Administrativnoe Pravo*, (Moscow, 1940), p. 22.

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1. See decrees "On Dissolution of Marriage" and "On Civil Marriage, on Children," and "On the Introduction of Registry Books for Acts of Status." See also Code of Laws of 1918.

2. The close relationship between school training and family training is seen, for instance, in the pedagogical principles according to which the teacher must manage and supervise also the "out of school" work of children. He must assist the parents in the rational use of leisure time of children at home. (Yesipov and Goncharov, *op. cit.*, pp. 100ff.) See also *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, January 12, 1952, pp. 1–3.

3. V. S. Tadevosian, *Prava, i Obiazanosti Roditeley v Sovetskom Gosudarstve*, (Moskva, 1947), pp. 21–22; also resolution of the central Committee Bolshevik Party, March 31, 1935.

4. G. M. Sverdlov, "Milestones in the Development of Soviet Family Law," *The American Review of the Soviet Union*, August, 1948, p. 12.

5. Compare G. Sverdlov, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

6. V. Tadevosian, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

7. *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, January 12, 1952, pp. 2–3.

8. From the statement of an informant (Riemer interviews, No. 4). In the winter of 1948 a number of interviews were conducted with the Russian nonreturners. The purpose of these inter-

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views was to check the findings based on documentary sources.

9. Markoushа Fischer, *My Lives in Russia*, p. 55.

10. *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, Sept. 20, 1950.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. Ed. Stevens, "This is Russia—Uncensored," *Christian Science Monitor*, October 20, 1949.

14. G. M. Sverdlov, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

17. Decree of July 8, 1944, Part 26.

18. G. M. Sverdlov, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

19. *Vedomosti Verkhovnoga Soveta USSR*, No. 37, July 16, 1944. See also V. Tadevosian, *op. cit.*, p. 14; also G. Sverdlov, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–22.

20. See Part 14 of the amended Constitution of the USSR, 1947.

21. G. Sverdlov, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

22. On the attachment of Lenin to his mother see Boris Shub, *Lenin*, (New York, 1950).

23. B. Yesipov and N. Goncharov, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

24. V. Tadevosian, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

25. See Decree of August 22, 1943.

26. See, for instance, Decree of the Presidium of the USSR of Dec. 16, 1947; also *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, July 1, 1950.

27. V. Kliuchevsky, *A History of Russia, op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 91.

28. These points are supported by the evidence gathered through a number of interviews of Russian non-returners conducted by the author since 1947.

29. Riemer interviews, No. 24; also No. 23. Compare *Bolshevik*, January, 1951; also *Nauka i Zhizn*, October, 1950, pp. 42–46.

30. The seriousness with which the Bolsheviks regard this kind of hostility to their rule was manifested in recent years in an increasing number of inmates in concentration camps known as the *Antidotchiki*.

31. See on this point M. Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

32. Compare E. Stevens, *op. cit.*, *Christian Science Monitor*, October 25, 1949, p. 1.

33. Compare *Nauka i Zhizn*, October, 1950, pp. 42–46; also *Bolshevik*, January, 1951.

34. See John Steinbeck, *Russian Diary*, (New York), pp. 44–45; also Charles Ciliberti, *Backstairs Mission in Moscow*, (New York, 1946), p. 26.

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1. M. Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

2. *Vetnik Akademii Nauk SSSR*, October, 1950, Editorial.

3. G. Maximoff, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

4. E. Stevens, *op. cit.*, December 29, 1949.

5. Compare *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, September 20, 1950.

6. Report to the 1937 Plenum of the Central Committee CPSU. See also *Trud*, August 5, 1952, p. 2.

7. General W. B. Smith, "My Three Years in Moscow," *The New York Times*, November 11, 1949.

8. E. Stevens, *op. cit.*, October 18, 1949.

9. E. Stevens, *op. cit.*, Dec. 24, 1949. See also P. Miliukov, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 114–116.

10. *Voprosy Ekonomiki*, October, 1950, pp. 99–108.

11. Compare *Bloknot Agitatora*, agitator's notebook published several times a month by propaganda and agitation sections (*Agitprop*) of Party committees.

12. *Pravda*, January 20, 1947.

13. B. Yesipov and N. Goncharov, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 70.

14. K. Simonov, *Stikhi, Piesy, Rasskazy*, (Moscow, 1949), p. 137.

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15. A. Tolstoy, *Sochinenia*, (Moscow, 1950), Vol. 14, p. 207.

16. Mikhail Sholokhov, *Nauka Nenavisti*, (Moscow, 1944).

17. *History of the Communist Party, op. cit.*, pp. 359–60.

18. Compare *History of the Communist Party, op. cit.*, pp. 346–348.

19. A. Vyshinsky, *The Law of the Soviet State, op. cit.*, pp. 1–41.

20. A. Vyshinsky, "Predislovie," in T. V. Averbah, *Ot Prestuplenia k Trudu*, (Ogiz, 1936). See also *The New Phase in the Soviet Union*, report to the enlarged Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, February 25, 1920, (New York, 1930), pp. 25–26.

21. Lenin, *The Infantile Sickness of Leftism*, (New York, 1920), p. 42; see also pp. 57, 59, 64, 89, 96.

22. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. 7, p. 297.

23. See, for instance, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, November 24, 1951, p. 2.

24. Yesipov and Goncharov, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

25. Compare Alexander Barmin, *One Who Survived*, (New York, 1945), pp. 319, 321.

26. R. E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, (New York, 1950), p. 793; see also the memoirs of Winston Churchill in *Life*, Oct. 30, 1950, pp. 95, 104–106.

27. See General Eisenhower, *op. cit.*, pp. 467–470; also General J. Dean, *Strange Alliance*, (New York, 1946).

28. General Carl Spaatz, "The Prospects for Victory in Korea," *Newsweek*, Sept. 4, 1950, p. 18.

29. General Eisenhower, *op. cit.*, p. 469.

30. *VII Congress of the Communist International.* Abridged Stenographic Report of Proceedings, (Moscow, 1939), p. 2, and *Programme of the Communist International*, as adopted at the Sixth World Congress, (Moscow, 1928). See also *The Communist*, October, 1935.

31. *VII Congress of the Communist International, op. cit.*, p. 5; see also pp. 50ff. See also *The Communist*, October, 1935.

32. *The Programme of the Communist International, op. cit.*, pp. 219–220.

33. *Theses and Statutes, op. cit.*, "Role of the Party in the Revolution," Points 13 and 14.

34. *Ibid.*, "Conditions of Admission," Points 12 and 16.

35. *Ibid.*, "Role of the Party in the Revolution," Point 5.

36. *Ibid.*, Points 13 and 14.

37. *Ibid.*, "Statutes," Preamble. See also "Conditions of Admission," Point 17, "Role of the Party in the Proletarian Revolution," Preamble.

38. *Ibid.*, "The Substance of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and of the Soviet Power," Point 2.

39. George Dimitrov, General Secretary of the Communist International in his closing address to the Seventh Congress, *Seventh Congress of the Communist International, The Communist* (A Magazine of the Theory and Practice of Marxism Leninism) October, 1935. Compare the draft of the new statute CPSU, Art. 32.

40. *Constitution of People's Republic of Hungary*, Preamble. See also the Preamble to the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic of May 9, 1948.

41. The "people's democracies" of the Orient which rose on the ashes of colonialism are said to be "dictatorships of the proletariat and the peasantry."

42. See, for instance, *Pravda*, August 23, 1950.

43. Jacob Berman, Member, Political Bureau, United Workers' Party of Poland, "Role of the Soviet Union in Establishing New Democracies," *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, Organ of the Information Bureau

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of the Communist and Workers' Parties, Bucharest, March 15, 1949. See also Tito's speech to Yugoslav miners, *Borba*, Zagreb, Sept. 13, 1949. See also Milentie Popović, "O Ekonomskim odnosima izmedju socialističkih zemalja" (About the economic relations between socialist countries), *Borba*, Zagreb, Sept. 17, 1949. Also *Politika*, Belgrade, April 23, 1950.

44. Compare D. and E. Rodnick, "Communist Personality Types in Czechoslovakia," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Spring, 1950, pp. 81–88.

45. A. Zawadski, Secretary, Central Committee, United Workers' Party of Poland, *For a Lasting Peace, op. cit.*, Nov. 4, 1949. See also Boleslaw Bierut, Chairman of the Polish Communist Party, Central Committee, and President of Poland in his speech before the Party's Central Committee in November, 1949.

46. Joseph Chisinevschi, *For a Lasting Peace, op. cit.*, Sept. 30, 1949.

47. From the text of the Communiqué made public by the Cominform, Nov. 30, 1949.

48. Such a policy, which was contrary to the established pattern of Soviet expansion, was the result of an agreement in October, 1944, between Churchill and Stalin about joint control of Yugoslavia on a fifty-fifty basis. (See about this agreement in *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull*, (New York, 1948), Vol. 2, pp. 451–458; also in R. R. Stettinius, *Roosevelt and the Russians*, (New York, 1949), pp. 12–13. The Bolsheviks therefore withdrew their armed forces to avoid joint occupation of the country with the British troops, figuring that as long as the British troops were kept out of Yugoslavia complete Communist control over that country which was led by a Stalinist faction would be safeguarded.

49. See *Letter from Central Committee of Communist Party of Soviet Union to Comrade Tito*, March 27, 1948. Also *Letter from CCCPSU to Central Committee of Communist Party of Yugoslavia*, May 4, 1948. English texts of these and other letters quoted in this article are published in *Soviet-Yugoslav Dispute*, Royal Institute of International Affairs, (London, 1948).

50. *Letter from CCCPSU to Comrade Tito, op. cit.*, see also *Letter from CCCPSU to CCCPY*, May 4, 1948, *op. cit.*

51. *Letter from CCCPSU to Comrade Tito, op. cit.*

52. *Letter from Tito and Kardel to Stalin and Molotov*, April 13, 1948.

53. See Tito's article in *Life*, May 12, 1952.

54. *Ibid.*

55. Compare articles of Milovan Djilas, Member Politburo, Yugoslav Communist Party, in *Borba*, Zagreb, Sept. 8 to Sept. 12, 1949.

56. Compare the address of Edward Kardelj, Member Politburo, Yugoslav Communist Party, before the Academy of Science, Ljubliana. Text published in *Yugoslav Fortnightly*, January, 1950.

57. General Prochazka, Czechoslovakia's Army Chief of Staff, quoted by *Tvorba*, Communist weekly, Prague. See *United Press* dispatch from Prague, *New York Times*, May 12, 1950.

58. Gerard Friters, *Outer Mongolia*, (Baltimore, 1949), p. xxxvii.

59. Marshal R. Rokossovsky, a Polish-born but Russian-trained Soviet officer, was appointed the Commander-in-chief of the Polish armed forces, Minister of National Defense and member of the Politburo of the Polish Communist Party.

60. Vladimir Houdek, Czechoslovak representative in the United Nations in his statement to the Press at the occasion of his resignation, *The New York Times*, May 17, 1950.

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Ibid.*

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000 RUSSIAN FOLK-SONGS

AS SUNG BY THE PEOPLE

.... AND ....

PEASANT WEDDING CEREMONIES

CUSTOMARY IN NORTHERN AND CENTRAL RUSSIA.

From Authentic Material Collected and Translated by

MME. EUGENIE LINEFF,

With a Preface on Russian Folk-Songs by

H. E. KREHBIEL.

CHICAGO:
CLAYTON F. SUMMY,
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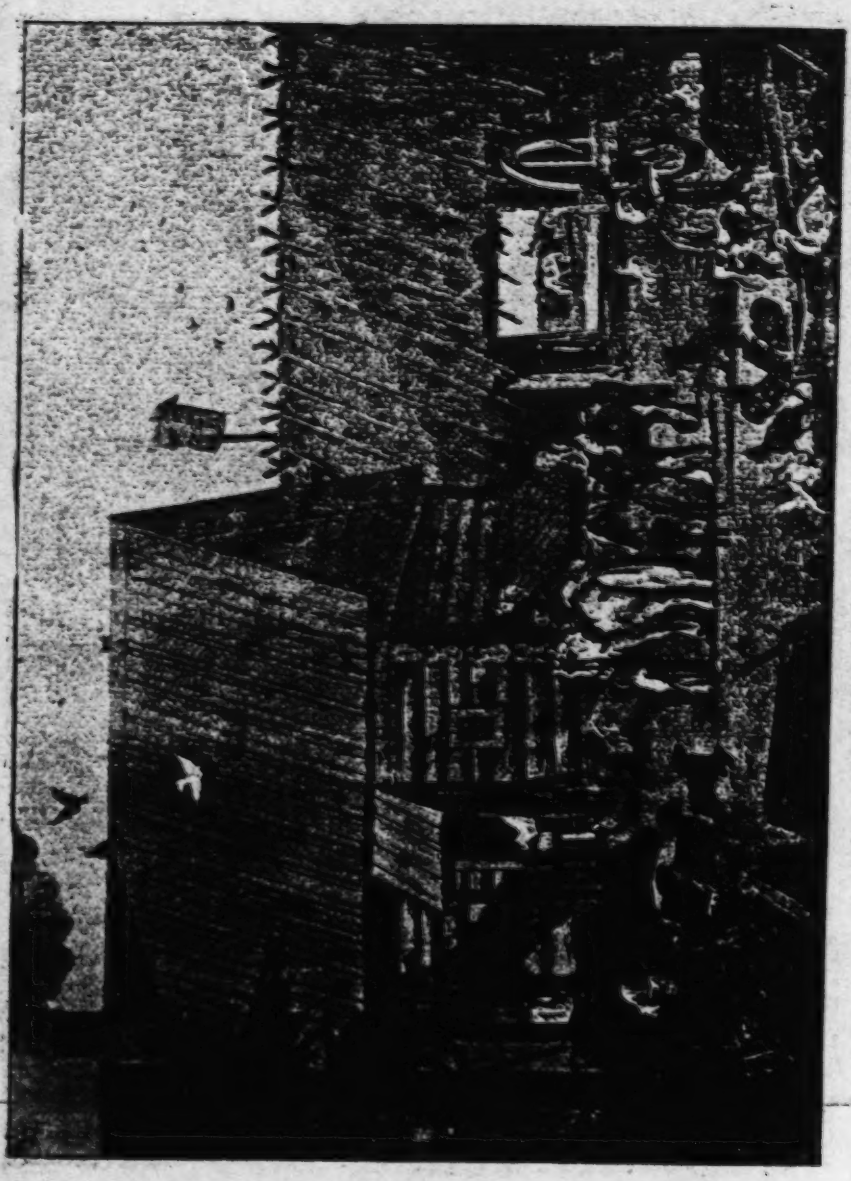

A PEASANT HOME AND FARM YARD.

[p. 4]

A Note on Russian Folk-Music.

517 "To husband and wife it (song) suggests many a form of loving words, and teaches them how, with croons about the evil Tartars of olden days, to lull their babies to sleep and to soothe restlessness of their elder children. Song lightens the toil of the working hours, whether carried on out of doors, amid exposure to sun and wind, and rain and frost, or within the stifling hut, by the feeble light of a pine wood splinter; it enlivens the repose of the holiday, giving animation to the choral dance by day and the social gathering at night. The younger generation grows up, and song escorts the conscript son to the army, the wedded daughter to her new home, and mourners over the sorrow of the parents of whom their children have taken what may be a last farewell. Then comes the final scene of all, and when the tired eyes are closed forever, and the weary hands are crossed in peace, song hovers around the silent form, and addresses to its heedless ears passionate words of loving entreaty. Nor does its ministering stop even then, for, as each returning spring brings back the memory of the past, together with fresh hopes for the future, song rises again above the graves of the departed, as, after the fashion of their pagan ancestors, the villagers celebrate their yearly memorial of the dead."

IT IS thus that Ralston describes the part which the people's songs play in the social and domestic economy of the Russians. In his words there is nothing of extravagance or hyperbole. Each of the incidents mentioned is to be understood as an episode of great significance in the regular cycle of Russian family life. Music accompanies these people literally, not only from the cradle to the grave, but beyond the grave, being a leading feature in certain post-burial ceremonies which have survived from a period earlier than the introduction of Christianity in the empire.

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121 Modern methods of study have taught us to attach an importance scarcely appreciated a score of years ago to popular songs and popular customs. What is called the science of folk-lore (though its methods are scarcely well enough digested and ordered to entitle it to the term) is opening the way to new revelations of unexpected interest and value touching racial origins and relations, primitive religions and the development of social and political systems. In nursery tales and popular songs we are learning to recognize fragments of early mythologies and histories. When this fact is fully recognized we may expect to see a marvellous out-blossoming of an interest in several branches of science toward which the mass of the people have been indifferent heretofore. Ethnology, archæology and anthropology will no longer have a terrifying sound when the knowledge becomes general that they can be studied in the intelligent perusal of fairy tales and inculcated through the agency of folk songs.

For this delightful method of study no field offers greater inducements than the Russian. This is indicated by the statements of Ralston which I have placed at the beginning of this note.[1] It can not be said of any country that all its treasures of folk-song and folk-lore have been brought to light;—not even of Germany where the greatest labor has been expended. Least of all can it be said of Russia which, in its heart, may be said to be a sealed book not only to other nations but even to the majority of its own inhabitants. The explanation lies, I think, in two circumstances, *first*, the Russia which has been open to the inspection of the general reader hitherto is the Russia of imperial cities with its veneer and varnish of foreign culture; *second*, the political system of the Czar's mighty empire has not encouraged true national expression in art. So long as Russia failed in appreciation of her own possessions, it was not likely that the outside world should place a high value on them.

Of recent years, however, we have witnessed a mighty change in Russia's attitude toward her own people; and this has been followed, in a marvelously quick time by a change in the attitude of other people toward Russia's artistic products. In literature and painting and in music Russia now holds the

[1] [see cat. 116, p.5 -- Analyst]

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attention of the world as if through the magic of an irresitible charm.

We are, however, concerned directly with Russian art only in so far as it reflects those primitive impulses which give it character and individuality. These things are the very soul of the people's songs, and the customs of which those songs are an integral element. It was a happy idea to bring the marriage customs of these people on the stage and thus to give us a beautiful object lesson in the scientific study of which I have spoken. Books, paintings and musical performances have done much to make us understand Russian thought and feeling, but nothing could be devised to vitalize this understanding better than a dramatic representation of the chief incidents of the wooing and wedding as they have existed from time immemorial. The antiquity of the ceremonial observances is indicated in the relics of savagery which they contain—the obvious modification of marriage by theft or capture and marriage by purchase. The subservience of wife is characteristic of the patriarchal system still prevalent; but there are not wanting suggestions of a much earlier system when descent was traced in the female line and the husband became a member of the family, or gena, of his wife.

But it is not my purpose to dwell on this, to which reference will be found hereafter in the description of the wedding ceremony. I am more directly concerned with the music of the songs which occur in the course of the ceremony. The predominant note of Russian music is profound melancholy. This is true even of songs with which the maiden friends of the bride beguile their labors during the *devitchink* at which the wedding garments are prepared. As a rule climatic and geopraphical conditions explain the prevalence of the major or minor mode in folk-music. Thus the music of all Europe above the southern line of the North Sea is predominantly minor. South of that line it is major except in Russia. Even in the Oukraina the melancholy mode prevails. It is obvious, therefore, that the question is not distinctly one of latitude, but of the consequences of latitude. Suffering is a familiar idea to people living in the cold, gloomy and rugged northland; and the symbol of suffering in

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533 music is the minor mode. But suffering from climatic and geographical conditions has its analogues in suffering produced by other causes, and this fact sufficiently accounts for the melancholy burden of the songs of the Russians who live in the sunlight of nature's smiles. A special cause of the mournfulness of the songs of the *devitchink*, moreover lies in the circumstance that once they dealt with things which were in themselves mournful. Formerly marriage, to the maiden, meant being sold or given into involuntary servitude. She was not consulted about the match, which implied not only permanent separation from parents and friends, but also possible ill-treatment by her husband and his family against which there was no sure safeguard but death. In the *Lootschina*, sung in the first scene of "A Russian Peasant Wedding," one of the most beautiful as it also is one of the most truthfully expressive of Russian folk songs, one may hear the voice of suffering caused by the persecutions of the Russian mother-in-law. "It is sad and joyful on a quiet summer's night," says Tolstoi, "in the midst of a wordless forest, to hear the wide-sweeping song of the Russians. In it is yearning without end, without hope, also power invincible, also the fateful stamp of destiny, iron preordination, one of the fundamental principles of our nationalty with which it is possible to explain much that in Russian life seems incomprehensible. And what, besides, may not be heard in that drawling song in the summer night and the silent forest? . . . We are like the sharp arrow; it flies from the string, where the hard point pierces there is its home. . .. . Clouds concealed the moon, the wind shook the tops of the linden trees, and scattered blossoms in an odorous rain on the prince and on Yelena. The old branches trembled, as if wishing to say, 'For whom do we blossom, for whom do we blow?'"

[584 562]

Along with the gloom of the folk-music of Russia, however, we find a boisterous humor—the humor which whirls us off our feet in the *scherzos* and *finales* of the Russian symphonists. The phenomenon is startling but not inexplicable. The most profoundly melancholy composers that have ever lived have also been the maddest ones. So under the conditions of their life the

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music of the peasants of Russia, swings from the one extreme of deepest melancholy to the other of desperate and reckless hilarity. This tone has capital expression in the dance song *Kamarinskaya*, which Glinka made famous the world over by his admirable orchestral fantasia. 533

Out of the communal village system which prevails in Russia has probably grown two peculiarities which distinguishes Russian folk-song from that of all other peoples. It is always sung in harmony and it is frequently antiphonal between solo and chorus. The structure of the harmonic fabric is unique, moreover, in that it is polyphonous. The harmony, which seems to lie in the consciousness of the singers, is not highly developed in respect of variety, but occasionally effects of singular power and charm result from the method which has been adopted for the purpose of securing the desired polyphony. The harmony voices are improvised and the basis of the improvizations is free imitation of the melody.

H. E. KREHBIEL.

New York, September 20, 1893.

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A Russian Peasant Wedding.

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AMONG the Russian peasants, particularly in more remote districts, the social ceremonies of a wedding are complicated and of long duration, and vastly more important in popular opinion than the church rite; for this reason we shall describe only the former. Of course, the blessing of the church is necessary to make the marriage binding, but it is comparatively an innovation, having been introduced only about one thousand years ago, while the relations represented by the social forms of the wedding date back very much farther. In them are plainly seen the former structure of the *clan* or *gens;* the opposing interests of the families of the bride and the groom; the existence, in prehistoric times of marriage by purchase and by capture amongst primitive people; the subjection of the girl to the father, in the patriarchal family, and to her father-in-law in the new home.

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It may be necessary to explain that in Russia the unit of social and economic life is the family, and that the father or eldest brother is the head of it; the young man, on marrying, does not set up for himself, but brings the bride to his father's house, where she becomes one of the daughters and takes her part in the work of the family. Only after the old man's death does separation take place; the married men divide the property and found households for themselves.

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In the family the woman is completely dominated by man, a fact that is indicated by many features in the ceremony. While

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single, the girl is allowed some freedom; she has more time at her disposal, she can go about with her friends, attend parties, etc. When married, the cares of her new position, the necessity of harder work for her new family and her altered position amongst people who are strangers to her and who look upon her as an intruder—all these reasons keep her in the house, and her time for social recreation is past. Therefore girlhood is considered the golden time in the life of a young woman, and a girl looks with dread and apprehension upon her approaching marriage; but on the other hand, love prompts her to join her husband and she hopes that his love will compensate her for what she will have to endure. In this way there is a mixture of grief and joy in the whole ceremony.

The weddings are nearly all held in the late fall or winter, when the field work is over for the year, the harvest sold and the family knows how much money it can afford to spend. When the old people have decided that their child shall marry, they ask him or her whom he or she likes best and whom next best. Marriage, it must be remembered, is often a business matter; there must be a wedding and at the chosen period. In fact, a marriage at any other time of the year is an exception. In this way it comes about that all the marriageable girls in the village are expecting their offers to come during the same week in the fall or winter, and are ready for them.

The room is cleaned and lighted up every night, the old people and the girl stay at home, while the smaller children run about the village, looking into the windows to find out how things are going on in their neighbors' houses.

The preliminaries are usually arranged between the two families, the marriage being really more the affair of these, than of the two young people themselves, since it is in fact the giving up of a working-hand by one family and her adoption into another one. The arrangements are made by friends or go-betweens. It is customary that a female relation of the groom goes to ask for the hand of the girl, and is then called a *svakha*. With her goes some old male relation or friend, who knows all the necessary forms of ceremony and is a persuasive talker; he is

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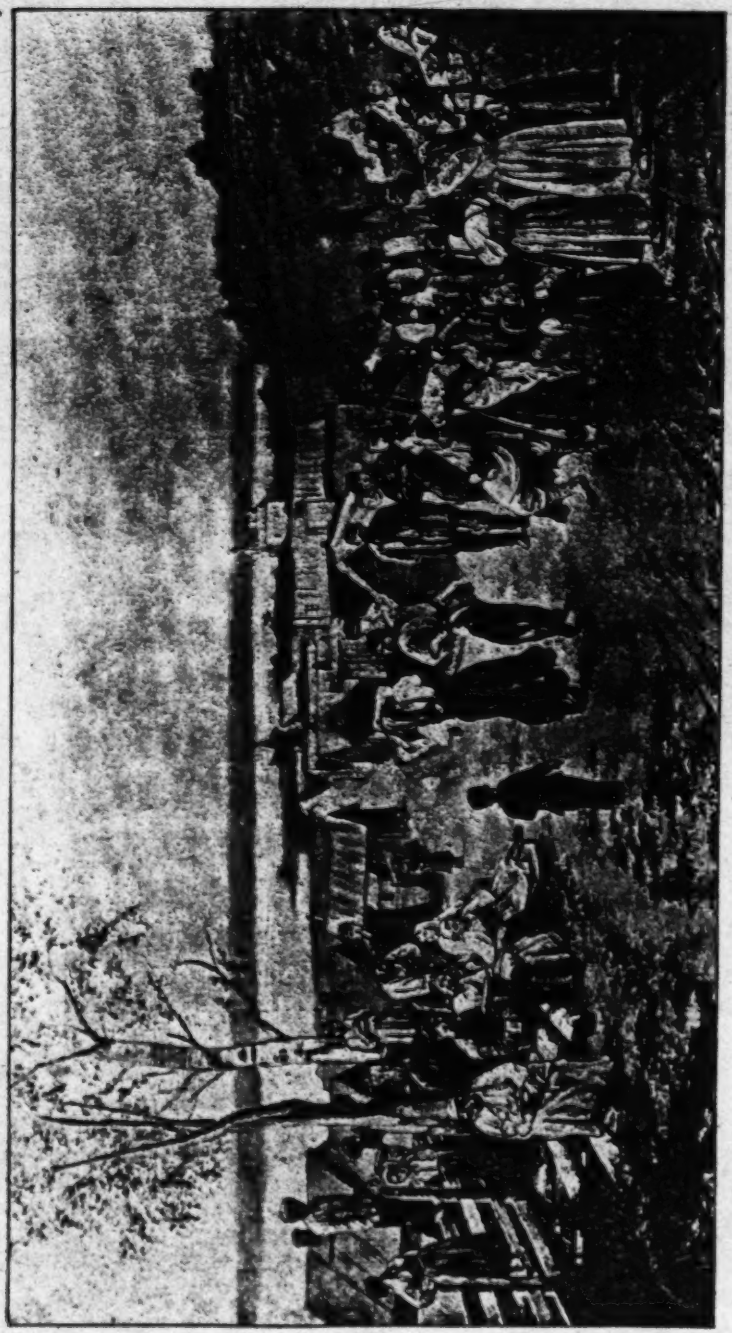

HOLIDAY IN A RUSSIAN VILLAGE.

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called the *svat*. It is his business to praise up the person he represents and to obtain easy conditions. This part is sometimes taken by an old and experienced relation of the groom. 584

As there is but little time to arrange a marriage, the two *svats*, on starting out, receive the names of several families in which to enquire for brides, and therefore it is a busy week in the village—many *svats* going about from house to house. They are dressed in holiday attire, which is a sufficient sign of their mission (these visits taking place mostly in the evenings during the week). The *svat* carries with him a quart of brandy, that he may offer the necessary treat during the negotiations.

The two *svats* slowly and solemnly enter the house, where they find the girl dressed up in her best, sitting at the table with her father and mother. When a prospective bride sees them she goes away and hides. The negotiations are opened and conducted with a great deal of ceremony, as the peasants are great sticklers for propriety and the girl would be highly offended if any formality were omitted, or the wedding celebrated with a particle less pomp than the family can afford. After the first courtesies, the *svats* are asked to sit down at the head of the room by the table. They refuse, upon one pretext or another, (as being cold, etc.,) and try to get a place under the middle beam of the ceiling, that being a good omen. [777] Their attire, ceremonious behavior, etc., show plainly on what business they have come, and the actions and answers of the people of the house show them, in turn, whether or not they are welcome and what decision they may expect. Thus both sides proceed very cautiously.

The business opens with a general conversation about the weather, the price of wheat, etc. After a while the *svat* mentions casually, that he has heard the people of the house have a commodity to sell, and that he has a buyer for it, (this feature is [583] quite plainly a relic of the ancient form of marriage by purchase). If the father says there is a mistake, that he did, indeed, have a commodity, but it is sold (which means that the girl has already been promised), then the *svats* take their departure in a little while and go to the next house on the list. If an excuse is

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584 offered and they are asked to call again to-morrow they know that the girl expects another suitor whom she prefers, but that her parents wish to keep the present offer open until the other one is closed with. But if the parents like the proposed match, they ask the two *svats* to move up to the head of the room, under the holy image, and to sit down at the table, which the old lady covers with a white cloth. The old man then asks the *svats* to speak out plainly, which they do. The parents answer that they have nothing against the proposition, but that they must ask the girl. The other side also asks to see her and get her own answer. The mother then goes after her daughter and brings her in, telling her meanwhile about the offer. If she declines, that is the end of the matter. While she is away the *svat* brings out the bottle of brandy which he had brought with him and sets it on the table. The girl comes in with some bread, which she also places on the table; her father pours some brandy into a glass and sets it on a plate, together with some bread; she takes up the plate and offers the refreshments to the two *svats*, without saying a word, but naturally with a blush—as this action shows that she is in favor of the match. As a visible token she takes up a towl and ties it around the left arm of the *svat*. The latter accepts the offer with thanks, tell the father that his commodity is a very fine one, and the first part of the bargain is done.

But if the young people do not know each other well enough, as, for instance, when they belong to distant villages, it becomes necessary to arrange a meeting between them, before making any definite answer. A day is set, as soon as possible, when the *svats* are to bring the young man to the girl's house, that the young people may become acquainted. The ceremony, as described, is gone through with, and when the girl is called in again (provided, of course, that the character and standing of the young man are satisfactory to the parents), if she likes his looks, she takes a long, embroidered towel, hangs it over his shoulder and knots it. She need not say a word; if she refuses to decorate him, the affair has fallen through.

If the girl accepts the young man, the bargain is but half done: the conditions of the marriage must still be settled by the

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parents and final disagreements about trifles are not infrequent. The wedding expenses are borne by the family of the groom, and it is a point of honor with the bride and her family that the feast must be as magnificent as their means will allow. On the other hand, the bride's family has to make presents to the members of the other one, which shall be worthy of them and cost not less than the expenses of the wedding. For these reasons the *svat* and the bride's father drive a long and hard bargain concerning the articles to be furnished. The latter calls for a certain quantity of breadstuff, meat, malt, brandy, etc., which he insists the groom shall furnish. While the *svat* demands that the bride bring with her for her own use, certain articles, more or less expensive, such as bedding, wearing apparel, and also presents for the members and relatives of the other family (for instance: a new dress, of a certain price, for the mother-in-law, handkerchiefs for the aunts, etc). The two sides may become excited and disagree over a bottle of brandy or a handkerchief and even break off the negotiations. Generally the expenses of a wedding are a heavy burden to a peasant's family.

When all the conditions have been settled (always by word of mouth only). the time of the wedding is set, usually two or three weeks ahead, and then the *svats* take a ceremonious farewell. First, however, a day is agreed upon for the formal betrothal, at which both families are present, and give their blessing. Only then is the engagement considered binding, and damages can be claimed for expenses and dishonor, if one side breaks the agreement.

To remind the bride's family that it is time to begin the preparation for the wedding feast; the groom sends a large cake to the house of the bride. This is done with peculiar ceremonies. Then the baking, brewing, dressmaking, etc. begins. The maidens hold nightly parties (*devitchnik*) in the houses of the bride or her friends, at which they cut and sew and fit, regaling themselves with refreshments and songs while working. To these gatherings young men are not admitted.

After the betrothal, when a relative or friend comes to the house of the bride, the latter acquaints the former of her intended

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PROCEEDINGS USUALLY FOLLOWED AFTER THE BRIDE HAS TAKEN THE BATH.

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marriage by hiding herself and wailing for the loss of her maiden freedom and for her transfer to a strange family, and if she wishes to particularly honor the guest, she will do this, not only at the first visit, but also at every one that follows. The groom does not gain any new rights by the betrothal, and does not come to the house to see his bride; the most he can do is to come to the window, bringing cakes and candy, and talk to her from the outside, in the evenings. About two nights before the wedding, the maidens have a party, at which they try on the bridal dresses, help to finish the outfit, etc., singing at the same time doleful songs; deploring her hard fate of having to leave home and go among strangers to live. On the eve of the wedding there is another party, to which the young men are admitted. The maidens take leave of their playmate, who is going to bear the cares, hard work and responsibilities of a married woman; the men agree upon the order in which they will go in the wedding procession, and arrange about the outfit of sleighs, horses, bells, ornaments, etc. Meantime, of course, refreshments are served and songs sung.

In the marriage ceremonies themselves, are to be seen remains of many ancient social customs, and we may call attention to the changes in the life of a girl which they represent:

1. The meeting bears at first the character of the usual girls' social gatherings—*possidelky*, in this way depicting her previous easy life at home, free from care.

2. Enter the *svats*, who with ceremonies, sit down on the bench under the principal beam of the ceiling. They conduct the negotiations. The bride treats them to a glass of brandy, and gives expression to her consent by tying a towel around the arm of the *svat*.

3. The bride is preparing for the wedding. The *svat* and the other male guests are driven out of the room, with noise and jokes. The hair of the bride is combed and made up for the last time, into the single, free-hanging braid of a girl. This action can be seen in the picture of Makovsky, "The Dressing of the Bride," in the Russian section of the Art Palace, at the Columbian Exposition; only the scene and time refer to a wedding amongst Boyars, about 200 years ago.

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585 Another picture refering to the wedding ceremonial is the one of Korsukhin, to be seen at the same place, and a copy of which we reproduce on page 16 of this book. It represents the return of the bride from the bath on the eve of the marriage, with her companions and the *svakha*, with songs and dances, 789 while one maiden sweeps the path before the bride. This is a bit of superstition, and illustrates the fear that the bride might be bewitched by something thrown in her way.

583 4. The blessing of the bride by her parents. As the parents of the young couple do not go to church, the wedding procession is evidently the relic of the ancient form of marriage by capture, which was customary with the Russians in prehistoric times.

5. The arrival of the groom with his kinsmen, representing the ancient clan, who used to help him capture the bride. The whole party goes in procession to the church, for the celebration of the sacred rite,—with shouting, bell-ringing, etc.

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Argument of the Play.

ACT FIRST.—The Betrothal.

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Scene 1st. The best room in the house of the bride's parents. Enter the bride, her parents and a young brother; they tidy and adorn the room; a table is set with sweetmeats, nuts and small beer (*braga*). The old people finally sit down at the table and talk to each other; the bride and her brother stand at a little distance, talking apart.

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Scene 2d. The proceedings now about to begin, are similar to the usual winter night social gatherings—*posidelky*—which are frequented by the young people of the village.

Enter the girl friends of the bride, with their spinning combs (*prialki*) their knitting and sewing; soon after them arrive the young men of the neighbourhood. The bride meets and welcomes them; the girls sit down in a circle in the middle of the room, laughing and chatting; the young men stand around them talking and joking, treat them to nuts, candy, etc. Different songs appropriate to the occasion are sung by the company, *e. g.* "The Birchwood Splinter"—*Lootchina* (No. 5)[1] "I was sitting late at night"—*Posdno Vetcherom Sidela* (No. 6)[2] etc. Suddenly there is a loud rapping, the songs cease, and everybody looks towards the door.

Scene 3d. Enter the two *svats* (matchmakers); they bow respectfully to the parents, with a "good morning, good people," to the girls, "good mornings, beautiful girls" and to the boys. The parents bid them welcome, and ask to sit at the table; the *svats* civilly decline to do so on some pretext or other, but take their chairs and place them directly under the middle beam of the ceiling. When the girls notice this, they begin to whisper meaningly. The parents and the *svats* then proceed to discuss the match, and finally conclude the bargain; the other guests meanwhile sing an appropriate song (*Devitzy Krasavitzy*).

When the preliminary arrangements have been settled to mutual satisfaction, the mother whispers the bride, that *svats*

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 29—Analyst]
[2] [See cat. 116, p. 30—Analyst]

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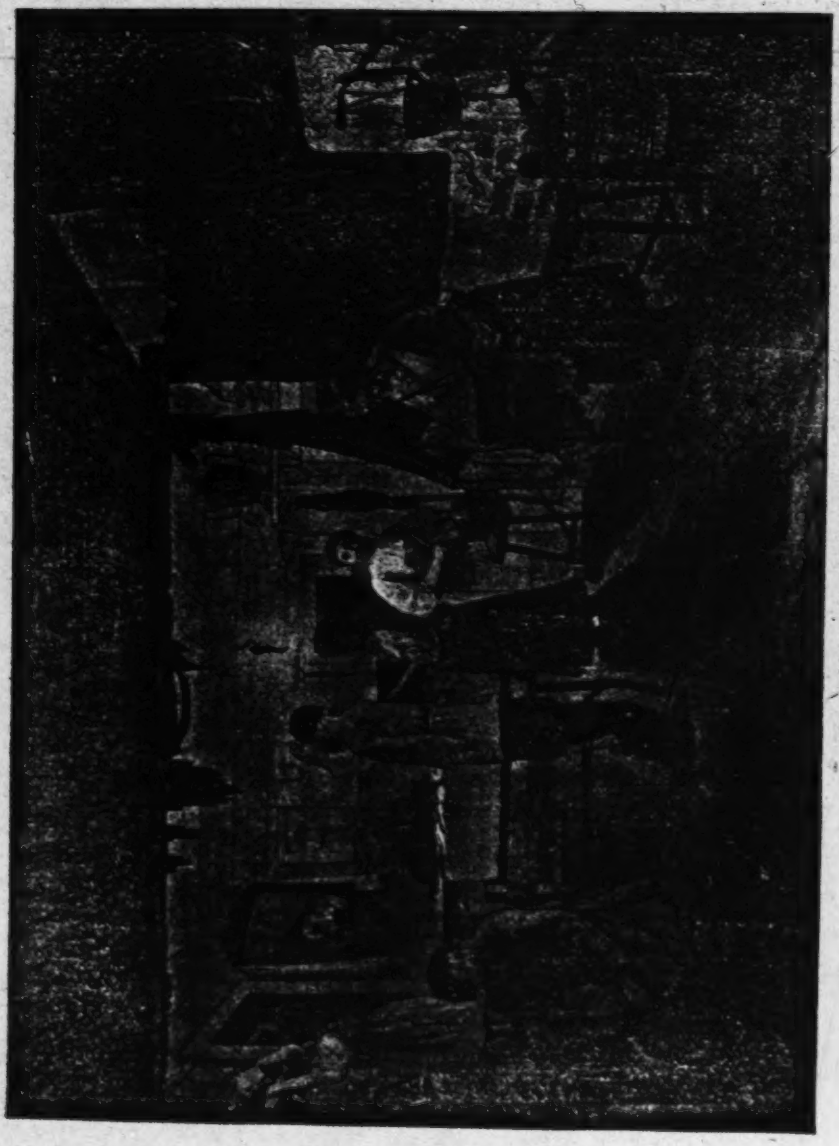

INTERIOR OF A PEASANT HOUSE.

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from such a young man (naming him) have come to ask for her. If she likes him, she ought to answer the *svats* and treat them to something. The girl throws a towel over her shoulder, puts a glass of brandy upon a plate and brings it to the *svat*, he accepts it with thanks, but before drinking asks her what answer he shall take to young so and so. The girl blushes, but takes off the towel, and ties it around his left arm—which means her consent: the *svat* thanks her and drains his glass, while she sits down at the table and cries. The *svat* then rises, thanks the people of the house for the entertainment, and starts to leave. At this juncture, the other girls, the friends of the bride, surround him, mock and jeer him, pull him about, splash water on him, etc., at the same time singing a mocking song, "Matchmaker, you foolish matchmaker"—*svatoushka* (No. 23)[1] this is to express their displeasure for depriving them of a companion. Finally the *svat* pacifies them by some small presents and is allowed to withdraw; the *svakha* (female matchmaker) remains behind and sends out all the men. The girls at the same time surround the bride, cover her head with a kerchief (in sign of her future dependence), commiserate her, and cry over her.

SCENE 4TH. *The Braiding of the Hair* (shown in the picture by Makovsky, "The Toilet of the Bride," in the Russian Section of the Art Palace). The *svakha* takes the bride by the hand and leads her to a chair in the middle of the room; she undoes the single braid, as worn by peasant girls, and combs it out, all the girl friends also come up one after the other and help to comb it, it is then put up again, for the *last time in her life*, into the single plait. The girls, meantime, depict in song the sorrow of separation from her family, the uncertain treatment awaiting her, etc. "A little duck"—*Outoushka* (No. 23):[2] When the bride is dressed and her hair arranged, she is led to the table where she sits down with her younger brother by her side.

SCENE 5TH. A loud noise and stomping are heard approaching, and then a loud knocking at the door. On bidding them to come in, enter the groom, *droushka* (best man), and his friends. The bridegroom takes his place at the table by the bride, the others

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 44 — Analyst]
[2] [See cat. 116, p. 46; it should be no. 27 —Analyst]

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515 stand; the young men and women sing a song of glorification and praise. After its conclusion the groom thanks the company and rises; when he wants to lead the bride away, her brother resists him and has to be pacified with presents. This action hints at the old custom of purchasing the bride from her family or clan.

[788] SCENE 6TH. *The blessing of the bride.* The parents of the bride take a plate with bread and salt, and a holy image and advance into the middle of the room, where they stand facing the door. The groom leads the bride out to them, the young couple bow three times to each, kiss the image and then the old people, and receive their blessing. The bride embraces her mother and clings to her, crying. The *svakha* separates them and leads her out, preceded by the *droushka* and bridegroom. At the door the party is met by the girl's brother with a stick, and a girl friend with a spinning comb (*prialka*), who refuse to let them pass with threats and offers of violence. The *droushka* is obliged to buy them off again with a present, and then the young people go out to the waiting friends, who form into a procession and go to the church, with noise and merrymaking. The companions of the girl also leave the room; the parents of the bride remain behind after the leave-taking, and sit down at the table with bowed heads and crying.

ACT SECOND.—THE MARRIAGE FEAST.

SCENE 1ST. At the house of the groom. The parents of the groom busy themselves in preparing the room for the reception of the young couple, on their return from the church. Outside is heard the noise of an approaching party. The father of the groom takes a holy image, the mother some bread and salt on a plate (a sign of welcome), and both advance to the door to meet the procession.

SCENE 2D. The friends come in first, salute the old people and place themselves around the room; there are a few moments of expectation.

SCENE 3D. Finally the *droushka* (best man) appears, walking slowly and solemnly, leading the young couple, with the

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svakha behind. The groom and the bride advance to his parents and salute them. The company sing a song of glorification. The young couple bow to the groom's parents, three times to each, kiss them and receive their benediction; then the bridal pair are led to the table, at which they sit down. The *droushka* takes the plate with bread and salt from the father and goes out of the room with it to the bride's house, to invite her parents to the feast. 585

SCENE 4TH. The *svakha* leads the bride away into another chamber, where she is to change her dress and rearrange her hair. The *svakha* takes the veil off the bride, undoes her hair, combs it and makes it up again into two braids, which she winds around the head and covers with a kerchief; this is the way the married women dress their hair. [302]

SCENE 5TH. The bride is again covered with the veil and the *svakha* leads her out to the company, places her next to the groom and then solemnly pulls off her veil. This is the turning point in the ceremony, and from this moment the bride ceases to be a girl before the world and assumes the status of a married woman.

Somebody raps at the door.

SCENE 6TH. Enter the *droushka* with the bride's parents, who are welcomed with great honors and led to places near the head of the table.

Setting of the table. The *droushka* directs all the ceremonies of the feast. He first calls upon the *svakha*, who represents the groom's mother, to take out of the oven whatever she has and to set it upon the table. The *svakha* tries to remove the oven lid, but cannot do so and asks for help. The *droushka* then directs his friends to help her, and with songs, indicating the difficulty of the work, the young men of the groom's party pull off the lid and draw out the pots, which they place upon the table; the songs accompanying these actions are: "*Doobinoushka*" (No. 19)[1] and "Bold Mustaches"—*Oussy* (No. 14).[2]

The Feast. The whole company sit down to the table (except the *droushka* who sees that every guest has plenty of everything), cross themselves, asking a blessing and fall to. After they have eaten for a while, the best man offers a glass of 585 574

1 [See cat. 116, p. 40 — Analyst]

2 [See cat. 116, pp. 37–38 — Analyst]

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574 brandy on a plate to the groom's father, who tastes of it, but makes a wry face and says: "*gorko*" (bitter). The *droushka* puts a piece of sugar into the glass, the father tastes it again and repeats, "*gorko.*" Then the *droushka* asks the young couple to sweeten the drink; they thereupon rise, bow to the old man and kiss each other three times; the father then drains the cup with evident satisfaction, saying: "Ah, this is good." The same ceremony is repeated with the other relatives and guests, some of whom even insist on repeated sweetenings, to tease the young couple—especially if they see that the bride is bashful. The company, meantime, joke and sing appropriate songs. This scene is represented in the well known picture of Makovsky, called a Boyar's Wedding.

The presentation of gifts from the bride to the groom's relatives. The *droushka* first leads out the groom's father to a chair in the middle of the room, where he asks him to sit down; then the *droushka* approaches him with a glass of brandy on a plate, accompanied by the *svakha* with a present and by the young couple. They all bow to the father and ask him to accept the offerings. The *droushka* using a formula like this: "The young prince and the young princess do homage to you with a low bow and a bowl of festal mead. They beg you to accept the cup, to drain it and to cover the bottom—not with a dime or a dollar, but with a piece of gold; and if you have not that, half a dozen dollars will be acceptable to us and an honor to you." The presents consist of wearing apparel, gloves, kerchiefs, embroidered towels, etc. The father takes up the glass and tastes it, but refuses to drink, claiming it is too bitter; the young couple must sweeten it for him, just as before, which they finally do; when he drains the cup and accepts the present, they bow to him and kiss him. The mother of the groom is the next one to be led to the chair and given a present; she also asks for a sweetening of the drink, etc., and the same ceremony is gone through with all the groom's relatives.

In return for the teasing, each one puts a piece of money upon the plate. Songs enliven the proceeding, as for instance: "Glory to the Swan" (*Slava Lebediu*), etc.

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The feasting meantime goes on; the *droushka* treats everyone and asks the company to drink more. The songs at this time are: "I walk with the Wreath" (*So vyounom ya khojy*)[2] and "In the Meadows" (*Vo loosiakh*).[3]

The company gradually becomes more excited; they start to sing dance-songs; a young man and a girl come out into the middle of the room and start a jig dance, while the balance of the company sing the *Kamarinskaya* (No. 10)[3] or the "Entrance Hall"—*Sseny* (No. 9).[4]

The bride's parents ask everyone to their house, to finish the night. The guests jump up and bid good-bye to the bridal pair and to the parents of the groom, and go away, singing and dancing.

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2 [See cat. 116, p. 44 — Analyst]
3 [See cat. 116, pp. 35-36 — Analyst]
3 [See cat. 116, p. 35 — Analyst]
4 [See cat. 116, pp. 34-35 — Analyst]

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SONGS OF GREAT RUSSIA.

A. KHOROVOD SONGS.

(CHORAL DANCE.)

539

1. THE AUTUMN NIGHT.

(*Notchka.*)

Oh, thou dark autumn night,
Thou dark night, and not the last one.
A young and sorrowful maiden,
Here I sit and wait all alone,
I lie down, feeling lonesome ;—
Sorrow and worry overcome me,
Worry about my dear lover.
My lover lives far away,
On the other side of the river.
My dear one walks on the other side,
And waves his right hand to me,
With his black hat in the hand.
"Come over," says he, "to this side!"
I would like to come, but I find no ford ;
I found a crossing, but it is over a pole,
And that pole is thin and the creek is deep,
And the water is so awfully cold in it.

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The musical construction of this song is based on the principle of *imitation*, which denotes the repetition of the principal melody in harmonic variations, for the secondary voices. The tune is very simple, consisting of a descending scale of notes, in groups of four, and the different voices are beautifully interwoven. The effect is very characteristic and fine.

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2. DUCKY DARLING.

(*Outitza.*)

Oh, ducky, my darling,
Down by the meadow,
My own young one,
Where have you been?
Where did you stay?
Last night, in the woods,
By the willow trees,
Under the raspberry bush,
There saw I pass,
Two bold young men,
Not married yet.
They each had a knife,
They cut shoots off the willows
And made whistles of them.
Oh, whistles, blow not so loud,
Wake not my father dear.
Do not disturb my mother,
Who is over the river,
Brewing beer for the son-in-law.

The principle of *imitation* is also very strongly carried out in the melody of this song, so as to make each part of it important. [533]

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3. THE GREEN FOREST.

(*Zelionaya rostcha.*)

The green forest roared the whole life-long night,
And I, poor young maiden, did not shut an eye;
I dreamt not, I slept not, I sat up and spun;
And while I was spinning, so lazy I felt—
I felt very tired, with grief overcome.
I had been invited to come to a feast,
To come to a wedding, my false lover's own.
My lover was handsome, so curly and fair,
The horse that he mounted went proudly along.

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4. ON THE SEA.

(Kak po moriu.)

Far on the sea, the wide sea ;
Far on the deep, blue sea,
There swam a swan with her little ones,
With her little ones, her cygnets.
Suddenly a bold falcon appears ;
He strikes and kills the white swan.
The blood flowed out into the sea,
The feathers flew to the beach,
The down was blown about by the wind.
Young maidens went out together
To collect the down of this swan.
There appears a nice young man :
" Good day to you, my dear young maids,
" Good luck to you, collecting down
" To fill the pillows of your lovers ! "
All the girls made him a bow,
Only one of them did not do so.
" All right, my dear young maid ;
" I wish you to wed my brother,
" And to stand by the side of your bed
" Until your feet are cold and tired,
" And to weep blinding tears."
When she heard this reproach
The girl humbled herself and bowed to him :
" I did not know that it was you,
" When you came and bowed to us so low."

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B. POSSIDELOTCHNY SONGS.

(SOCIAL GATHERING.)

5. THE BIRCHWOOD SPLINTER.

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(*Lootchina.*)

My dear birchwood splinter,
Why don't you burn brightly?
Or, may be, you have not been in the oven?
I have been in the oven all last night,
But the wicked mother-in-law crept into the oven,
She crept into it to put a pan of water,
And drenched me all over with water.

This is one of the possidelotchny or social gathering songs, which are used at the *possidelky*, as explained on page 17.[1] The subject refers to the unhappy condition of a newly married young woman, living with her husband's family, whom the mother-in-law does not like and annoys out of spite. The birchwood splinter was used formerly by the peasants for lighting the house at nights. [606] [373]

A long block of birchwood was carefully split into long pieces, like laths, which were dried in the big oven over night; when a light was necessary, such a splint was stuck into an iron fork, which stood on the floor, and the lower end ignited. This splint, even when perfectly dry, caused a great deal of trouble, as it had to be attended to frequently, to snuff it and to renew it. When wet, it was nearly useless, of course, and to work by it was nearly impossible.

In the next piece an allusion is made to the ends of the splints which had been left over from previous nights, and which the careful housekeepers required to be burnt when there was chance to do so, *i. e.*, when there was no company and not so much light was needed.

The simple and plaintive melody alone is sufficient to depict the deep grief caused by the tyranny of the family over a defenceless member of it

1 [See cat. 116 — Analyst]

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6. LATE AT NIGHT.

(*Posdno Vetcherom.*)

I was sitting late at night,
Keeping up the birch splint light,
Oh, hayduck, haydutchiok,
Keeping up the birch splint light.

Keeping up the birch splint light,
I burnt what ends I found
Oh, hayduck, haydutchiok,

I burnt up what ends I found,
Waiting for my dearest friend.
Oh, hayduck, etc.

I was waiting for my friend,
And at last my lover came.
Oh, hayduck, etc.

When at last my lover came,
I embraced him with joy.
Oh, hayduck, etc.

I embraced him with joy,
Wound my arms around his neck.
Oh, hayduck, etc.

Wound my arms around his neck,
While my eyes were shedding tears.
Oh, hayduck, etc.

Asked him with tearful eyes,
Not to stay away so long.
Oh, hayduck, etc.

The meaning of burning up the ends of the birch splint partly used has been explained in the previous song.

Hayduck—in the refrain is of uncertain origin; its latest meaning was that of a servant; haydutchiok is the diminutive of it.

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7. I FEEL SLEEPY.

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(*Spitsia mne.*)

I feel sleepy and am dozing,
My head is dropping on the pillow;
My father-in-law is walking in the hall.
Angrily he is making a noise.
He knocks, he raps,
He knocks, he raps,
He does not let the daughter sleep.
"Get up, arise, you sleepy-head
"Get up, arise, you sleeper,
"You useless girl, you lazy one!"

My mother-in-law walks in the hall,
Angrily she goes up and down.
She knocks, she raps,
She knocks, she raps,
She does not let the daughter sleep.
"Get up, arise, you sleepy-head
"Get up, arise, you sleeper,
"You useless girl, you lazy one!"

I feel sleepy and am dozing,
My head is dropping on the pillow,
My dear husband walks in the hall.
Easily, softly he is saying:
"Sleep, dream, my dear,
"Sleep, dream, my own!
"You have been scolded and persecuted,
"You have been given away
"Too early in marriage!"

This is another example of songs which refer to the ill-treatment of a young wife by her husband's parents; only the love of her husband makes life at all bearable to her.

[606]

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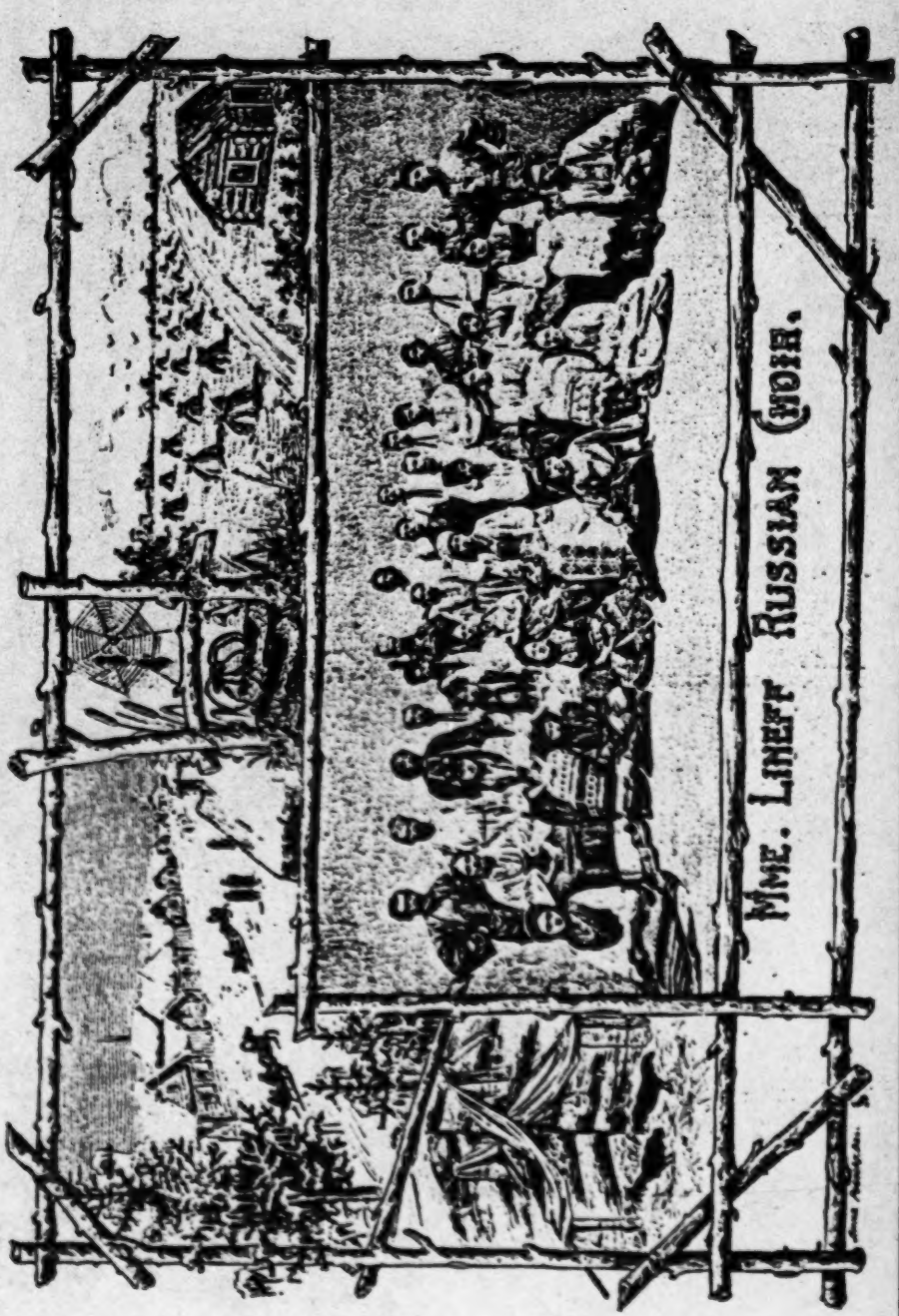

[pp. 32-33]

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8. LAST NIGHT I WAS AT A PARTY.

(*Ya vetchor moloda.*)

Last night I was at a party,
At a pleasant and social party,
At a social party at my neighbor's.
I did not drink mead nor light beer,
But I drank some sweet brandy;
Not from a wine glass, nor from a tumbler,
But right out of a great, big bowl,
Over the brim, till I could see the bottom.
Home I went, through the woods without fear,
I went through the open fields without tottering;
When I reached my home, I stumbled
But caught hold of the post of the door.
"My dear, dear doorpost.
"Hold me up, poor woman,
"The drunken woman, the tipsy fool.
"My husband is a hard drinker:—
"He does not drink brandy, but keeps tipsy on water."

A humorous song, the lively melody of which agrees well with the words.

C. DANCE SONGS.

9. THE ENTRANCE HALL.

(*Sseny.*)

Oh, my new "sseny," built not long ago,
Of maple lumber, with latticed work.
I shall never again walk in that hall,
Never walk there hand in hand with my lover.
The young woman came outside the new gate,
She turned loose a falcon off her hand.
"Fly away, falcon, go high and far;
Go to my native country far away!

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In my native country lives my stern father;
He was harsh and had no pity on me.
He forbade me to walk out in the evening;
I disobeyed my father and pleased my lover."

This song is greatly liked at dancing parties amongst the peasants, but it really was not a dancing song originally. While the time is quick and lively, still there can be heard in it an undercurrent of sadness, and this combination of two opposing feelings is also expressed in the words of the song.

A young woman remembers her former home, from which she escaped against the wishes of her stern father, who did not allow her to atttend the social gatherings of her friends. Her present life with her husband seems to be a happy one, and this strain predominates in the tune, and she wants the falcon to go to her father and tell him so; but then she also has a feeling of homesickness, which can be heard beneath the rollicking tune. [593]

The simplicity of the melody gives it great strength, but it also contains the danger of being easily made trivial by an unfeeling execution.

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10. KAMARINSKAYA.

What a queer fellow you are, Kamarinsky peasant,
As you run stumbling along the street!
"I am running to the rumshop, with a headache.—
Without drinking a peasant can not live."

One of the favorite male dancing songs; the words are humorous, but rather coarse, so that but one verse can be given here, and even that one slightly modified.

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11. THE MEADOWS.

(*Vo loosiakh.*)

In the meadows, in the green meadows,
There grew soft, silky grass,
There bloomed little blue flowers,
There spread sweet odors.
On that grass I will feed my horse,
I will feed it and comb it:
I will put on its silver bridle,

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Put on the silver saddle,
And lead the horse to my father.
"Dear father, my own master,
"Listen to a civil word:
"Do not give me away to an old man;
"I hate an old man worse than death;
"I can not go walking with an old one,
"I rather stay an old maid.
"I will then comb my hair nicer,
"I will then plait it finer,
"And wind a red ribbon into it."

D. RECRUIT SONG.

12. THE WHITE SNOW.

(*Ne bely snegy.*)

It is not the white snow that shines in the open field,
It is the white stone house of my beloved that shines.
In that house there stands two oaken tables;
Behind those tables sit two bold young men;
They hold in their hands pens of swan feathers.
Near them stands a young girl and cries bitterly.
One of the young men tries to console her.
"Do not cry, my dear girl, do not cry nor grieve,
Thy lover is not going to be a common soldier,
But he is going to join the bold Cossacks of the Don.

[702] The taking away of a young man for service as a soldier used to be as strong a cause for grief to his family and friends, as his death itself, because the term of a soldier used to be 25 years—practically all his life. Therefore the girl is crying before the recruiting officers and all the consolation they can give her is the fact, that the young man will be put into a Cossack regiment—the Cossacks enjoying some privileges over the regular soldiers, such as the election of their own officers, better treatment and generally a more democratic institution.

But the powerful melody of this song indicates another current of feeling, than grief alone. The victorious solemnity and energy of this tune represents the manly response of a young man to his country; we hear in it the self-reliance born in an army which has centuries of victories behind it, which has made the country what it is, and which is ready to go and die for it, when called upon. This bold and calmly strong spirit has already affected even the recruit.

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13. IN PRISON.

(*V temnitze.*)

In a gloomy prison a robber was lying,
Expecting a shameful death: he was saying:
"How soon shall I see the hangman?
"I shall expiate my crime then.
"Do not tarry with your whips, but punish me quickly;
"I have deserved that punishment.
"Let it burn me fiercer than a bonfire,
"Sharpen well your knives for me,
"Beat and cut me, I am a robber,
"And I have deserved my fate.
"A terror in the field I have been, killing and destroying,
"Without regard to any prayers for mercy:
"Like a raven striking a bird did I act."
Suddenly soldiers knocked at the door,
Their bayonets flashed and the words froze on his lips.
"Good bye, my beloved woods and hiding places;
"Do not worry for me, my dear ones!"

E. ROBBER SONGS.

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14. THE BOLD MUSTACHES.

(*Oussy.*)

Up 'til now the Mustaches were not heard of,
Nor was anything ever seen of them;
But lately bold Mustaches have appeared in Russia,
In the new settlement of Strogonoff.

They walk proudly about the town;
Their hats are of beaver, with velvet tops,
Their dark gray coats are padded,
Are padded with damask silk.

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The Mustaches have met in the grogshop,
And sat down in a circle by themselves;
The biggest Mustache was the chief of them all,
Gryshka Mourishka, a nobleman's son.

And he says, stroking his mustaches:
"Brethren mine, you bold Mustaches,
"The summer is passing, the winter is near,
"And we must consider how we will feed our bellies."

"Go, boys, and grind up your axes,
"Have the blacksmith make pikes for you,
"Whet your long knives to a good edge—
"For we shall need all these weapons soon."

"I know of a man who is very rich,
"And he lives on a mountain far away;
"He does not plow, but has wheat to sell,
"And the money for it he puts in a box."

[579] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries organized bands of robbers were frequent in Russia and were a ready refuge for young men, unable to bear the petty restrictions of law and custom at home. As they also often were protectors and avengers of the poor, they were rather popular with the masses; the strain of romance in their mode of life added to the regard in which they were held. For these reasons the number of robber songs, which passed amongst the people was quite great.

Mustache was probably the nick-name of some robber chief, adorned with particularly long mustaches, and his gang may have been called after him—the Bold Mustaches.

[533] A peculiarity of the robber songs is that they are hardly ever executed as solos; many other songs are used by a single voice as well as choir, but these it is customary to render by many voices together. This fact evidently is directly connected with the essence of the subject, which they deal with, as robbers did their work also in organized bands.

This same feature is observed in the laboring songs, which are translated herein; they also must be sung by a choir, as the work must be done by a gang of men together.

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F. BARGEMEN'S SONG.

16. VOLGA.

Down the Volga, down our mother river,
Down the broad and long river,
A storm has arisen,
Not a little storm either,
The waves run high;
Nothing can be seen in the waves,
But a small red boat.
White shine its sails,
And black are the caps of the rowers.
The master stands at the stern,
Dressed in his best attire.

This song is a favorite one with the bargemen on the river Volga, and is also much liked all over Russia; hardly a boating party takes place without the singing of the *Volga*.

This song originated amongst the robbers who used to infest the river Volga in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; they organized themselves into large bands and captured vessels; sometimes they were powerful enough to go out to sea and take and plunder large towns on the coast. [579]

The song describes the sailing of a band on the river in stormy weather; the crew is well dressed and the chief is in holiday attire. They are going down the river, and are going to carry away a young woman, who is waiting for them.

The song is quite old, several hundred years, but has been preserved in nearly the original form. The sustained boldness and freedom of the tune seem in perfect consonance with the storm on a broad and deep river.

G. LABORING SONGS.

17. HEAVE, HO!

(*Ay, oukhnem.*)

Oh, heave, ho!
Oh heave ho!

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Once more heave, ho, once more heave!
We untwist the little birch,
We untwist the curly one!
Ay, da da, ay da,
Ay, da da, ay da,
We untwist the curly birch!

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18. HEAVE, HO, STRIKE UP!

(*Oukhnem, grianem!*)

All through the dark night, the long dark night,
The autumn night, the long one,—
We heave, Strike up!
The boss calls out to us: "Heave, ho!"
And we heave, strongly we row.
Oh, heave! Strike up!

---

19. DOUBINOUSHKA.

(*Little Club.*)

Here, old woman, be not angry
Catch hold of the oven lid!
Oh, doubinoushka, let us come down,
At the green one we'll pull;
We'll pull, we'll pull,
Come down!

Pull your baking out of the oven,
And treat your guests to some of it,
Oh, doubinoushka, etc.

Here our prince stands waiting,
For a chance to kiss his princess.
Oh, doubinoushka, etc.

The guests ask the young couple
To sweeten the drinks by kisses.
Oh, doubinoushka, etc.

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And for your bread and wine,
They will put rubles on the plate.
Oh, doubinoushka, let us come down,
At the green one we will pull.
We'll pull, we'll pull.
Come down!

The laboring songs here given are very common in Russia, where nearly all labor done by the concerted effort of a crowd is accompanied by a song.

The first two were originally bargemen's songs, but have been carried all over the country by this time. The tune is very simple but extremely picturesque and effective; the *oukhnem* represents phonetically the release of the breath after a violent effort—*oukh-* ; the meaning of *untwisting* the birch or the club has been lost to us during the progress of the song through many ages.

The expression of the melody is one of great physical effort and also of power to carry it on and to overcome obstacles.

A fine effect is produced by starting No. 17 pianissimo with a gradual crescendo, as if the choir was at first far away and approaches while pulling a boat; in the middle—the full power of the song is heard by the audience, and, the crew going on, the song diminishes in strength and finally fades away.

A pure laboring song is No. 19, which cheers up the tired men at work wherever the Russian language is heard. It is started as a solo by the leader of the gang, in most any kind of words, often extemporized; the choir takes up the refrain.

In our version it has been adapted to the humorous incident at the wedding. 1

H. WEDDING SONGS.

20. GLORIFICATION.

Praise be to the Lord in Heaven, Glory!
To our prince* on this earth, Glory!
May our prince never grow old, Glory!
May his festal dress never wear out, Glory!
May his good horses never break down, Glory!
May his faithful servants never fail, Glory!

1 [See cat. 116, p. 23 -- Analyst]

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May the right shine in our country, Glory!
Brighter than the sun, Glory!
May his treasure chest, Glory!
Always be full of gold, Glory!
May his glory descend, Glory!
By the great rivers to the sea, Glory!
And by the creeks to the flouring mill, Glory!
This song we sing to the bread, Glory!
And we offer praise to the loaf, Glory!
As a solace to the old people, Glory!
And for the public to hear, Glory!

This song has been utilized by Beethoven in his op. 59, Rasoumovsky Quartet in F.

*By *prince* and *princess* are meant in this song, the newly married people.

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21. THE SOWING OF THE MILLET.

(*A mi prosso Ssegali.*)

[776]

This song is at least a thousand years old and dates from the heathen times of Russia, as the invocation of Lado, the deity of the Spring testifies. It typifies the custom of obtaining the bride by purchase.

The first chorus begins:

We have sown, we have sown millet,
Oy, Did-Lado, we have sown,

to which the other replies:

But we will trample it, trample it,
Oy, Did-Lado, will trample it.

Then the two choruses sing alternately:

1. But with what will you trample it?
2. Horses will we turn into it.
1. But we will catch the horses.
2. What will you catch them with?
1. With a silken rein.
2. But we will ransom the horses.
1. What will you ransom them with?

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2. We will give a hundred roubles.
1. A thousand is not what we want.
2. What is then you want?
1. What we want is a maiden.

On this, one of the girls in the second choir goes over to the first, the two sides singing, respectively "Our band has lost," and "Our band has gained." The game lasts until all the girls have gone from one side to the other. Of course in the concerts the action is abridged.

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22. WHAT DUST IS THAT ON THE ROAD. 539

(*Chto vo pole pilno.*)

Dear Mother, what is that dust on the road?
Beloved, what dust is that on the road?
My child, the horses are playing and running about,
My sweet child, the horses are playing and running about.

Dear mother, visitors are entering the yard,
Beloved, visitors are entering the yard!
My child, fear not, I shall not give you up,
My sweet one, fear not and be not scared.

Dear mother, the guests are mounting the porch,
Beloved, the guests are mounting the porch!
My child, fear not, I shall not give you up,
My sweet one, fear not, I'll not let you go.

Dear mother, they are entering the front room,
Beloved, they are entering the front room!
My child, fear not, I shall not give you up,
My sweet one, fear not, I'll not turn you away.

Dear mother, they are sitting down at the table,
Beloved, they are sitting down at the table!
My child, fear not, I'll not give you up,
My sweet one, fear not, I shall not give you away.

Dear Mother, they are taking down the holy image,
Beloved, they are blessing me with the holy image!
My child, the Lord be with you,
My sweet one, the Lord be with you!

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23. THE MATCHMAKER.

(Svatoushka.)

539

Matchmaker, you old matchmaker,
You stupid matchmaker;
You went after the bride, you came into the kitchen garden,
You spilled a keg of beer all over the cabbages,
You saluted the fence, you worshipped the door post.
Oh, door post, you good door post,
Show him the way to go after the bride.
Matchmaker, take a hint:
Pull out your purse,
The money in it is jumping about,
And the girls like the looks of it.

---

24. I WALK ABOUT WITH THE WREATH.

(Sso vyunom ya khojou.)

I walk about with the wreath,
I walk with the golden one;
I know not where to put it down,
I know not where to lay the golden one.
I will lay the wreath,
I will lay the new one,
In the bridal pair's room,
At the head of their bed, --
And may it do them good.
How can I redeem the wreath?
What can I give for the new one?
I will give for the new wreath
Two pieces of gold,
Three or four pieces of silver,
And two pacing horses.

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25. A GREEN PEAR SWINGS IN THE GARDEN.

(*Zelonaya grousha.*)

A green pear swings in the garden.
Dear Mary is crying bitterly,
The daughter of John is wailing loudly
Before her beloved father,
Before her beloved mother,
Because she is going away with strangers.

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26. ACROSS THE RIVER.

(*Kak za retchkoy.*)

Across the river, across the swift one,
Ay, luly, luly, the swift one,
Was walking a fine young man,
Ay, luly, luly, a fine young man;
His head was brown and curly,
Ay, luly, luly, brown and curly,
The hair was combed nicely,
Ay, luly, luly, nicely.
There came to meet him some young girls,
Ay, luly, luly, some young girls.
"Sell us, oh fine young man,
Ay, luly, luly, fine young man,
"Sell us your brown curly hair!
Ay, luly, luly, curly hair!"
"You foolish senseless girls,
Ay, luly, luly, foolish girls,
"I need my brown curls myself,
Ay, luly, luly, need myself;
"I am single yet and I need them,
Ay, luly, luly, I need them,
"To help me to get married,
Ay, luly, luly, get married!"

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27. THE LITTLE DUCK.

(*Outoushka.*)

A little duck was bathing herself in the sea,
A little gray duck was splashing about.
It went on the beach, shook itself, and said:
"How can I go away and leave the sea,
"How can I fly away from this high shore?
"The cold winter is coming,
"The hard frosts are approaching,
"The deep snows are nearing.
"I shall be forced to leave the sea,
"I shall be forced to fly from the high shore."
Young Thekla was washing herself in her room,
In the highceiled room she was dressing,
And bitterly crying over her fate.
"How can I part with my dear father,
"How can I leave my dear mother?"
Nahum is coming with all his friends,
The son of Pamphile with his friends,
He will take young Thekla by the right hand,
Lead her to the Lord's church,
And then home to his house.

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Ukrainians RD4

SONGS OF THE UKRAINA.

The songs of the Ukraina, in Southern Russia are different in character from those of Northern or Great Russia; they are nearer in harmonization to the type of music used in Western Europe, as the melody is carried by one voice and the other voices supply the chords for bringing out the melody more prominently. They are not inferior in melody to the Great Russian songs,—some musicians even give them the preference in this respect, although this may be owing to the fact that the melody is more apparent in them, when sung by one voice, owing to their construction, while in the Great Russian songs the full effect of the tune can only be attained by the co-operation of all the voices. This musical difference between these parts of the same country, is probably caused by the fact that the habit of equal co-operation in all actions of life is stronger in the northern part.

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28. IN THE GARDEN.

(Oy ou sadotchkou.)

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In the garden, under a pear tree,
Were sitting a pair of doves.
They were billing and cooing,
Embracing each other with their wings.
Suddenly a gray eagle appeared,
And killed the male dove.
The other dove he took home with him;
He made her a house and offered her wheat.
She does not peck the wheat, but moans,
And unceasingly under the pear tree she wails.
"Why do you moan, why do you remain alone,
"But go to weep under the pear tree?"
"I have seven pairs of doves,
"Go and choose any one you like best."
"I have tried to choose one of them,
"But found none like the one I have lost.
"If I had my dear one back again,
"I would gild his wings,
"I would adorn his head with gems,
"I would cover his face with kisses."

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Ukrainians RD4

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29. THE BUCKWHEAT CAKES.

(*Gretchaniky.*)

The mother went to the village
To get some buckwheat flour,
To make buckwheat cakes
For the children.

Rise, my cakes; rise my queer ones;
Why is it, that you do not rise on the pan?

The father ground unwinnowed buckwheat
The mother baked unsifted flour;
When some young town clerks came up,
The buckwheat cakes were in the oven.
Rise, my cakes, etc.

Go to the well, old man,
Go after water,
While I and my friend
Will cook the dinner.
Rise, my cakes, etc.

We boiled the gruel without grain,
We did not put in any salt,
We did not give him any bread,
But let the old man sit at the empty table.
Rise, my cakes, etc.

The father sits at the foot of the table
With his head bowed down;
And the like will happen to any one
Who has to obey his spouse.
Rise, my cakes, etc.

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30. ONE KNOWS.

(*Oy, znati.*)

One knows when young people like each other;
The young man presses her to his heart and caresses her.

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Ukrainians RD4

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One knows when you have young daughters:
How footpaths are trodden out in your garden.
One knows that when you are single,
There's sure to be a nice face like one of a princess.
One knows that when one is married,
The face is soon wrinkled and careworn;
But woe also to him that is unmarried,
He is like a cracked pot which boils and runs over,—
Wherever he turns he finds no happiness.

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31. THE BUCKWHEAT.

(*Gretchka.*)

Black is the buckwheat, white is the millet,
Let us hold to each other, sweetheart!
If we do not keep together,
People will laugh at us.

Black is the buckwheat, white is the millet.
Do not fall into men's hands, maiden;
If you get into their power,
You will find unhappiness.

Hardly had the girl tried married life,
When she cried bitterly,
"What have I done, poor girl,
By falling in love with a drunkard?"

Black is the buckwheat, white is the millet.
Do not get into men's power;
If you fall into their hands,
You will know what bad luck means.

(*The male voices answer:*)

White is the millet, black is the buckwheat.
The girl is foolish and silly;
She rushed into marriage
As if she were crazy.

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Ukrainians RD4

539 (*The whole choir together:*)
Black is the buckwheat, white is the millet.
Let us hold to each other, sweetheart!
If we do not keep together,
People will laugh at us.

K. RECRUIT SONG.

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32. IN THE MEADOW.

(*Oy ou loozy.*)

In the meadow, by the birch tree,
Under the elderberry bush,
A young woman gave birth
To a strong young son.

My mother, you ought not
Have given me these brows,
But you ought to have, mother mine,
Given me some luck.

Put out your leaves, dry oak,
To-morrow will came a frost;
Get ready, young Cossack,
To-morrow the campaign opens.

I fear not the frost,
I shall put forth my leaves at once.
I fear not the campaign,
I shall get ready for it at once.

The oak, on the border of the road, was green,
It covered itself with leaves.
The young Cossack was going
Far away from the Ukraina.

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Ukrainians RD4

L. HISTORICAL SONGS.

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33. YOU DID NOT DO RIGHT.

(*Oy, ne gorazd.*)

You did not do right, oh, Zaporogzy,
You did not do right;
The broad prairie, the smiling country
Have you brought to grief.

A black cloud is coming,
A storm is in the sky;
You have ruined the country,
And you will grieve for it later.

Be it right, be it wrong,
There is no help now;
The Zaporogzy may well enough
Live under Turkish rule if they must.

The song refers to an invasion of the Ukraina by the Turks in 1672; the author is dissatisfied with the efforts made to resist them and tries to shame his countrymen into a fiercer opposition. As a fact, the Turks did not stay there long.

34. DO NOT WONDER, GOOD PEOPLE.

(*Oy ne divouyte.*)

Do not wonder, good people,
That the Ukraina has risen,
And that near Dashevo, on the banks of the Soroky,
Many Poles have fallen.

Now, you Poles, drink the muddy water,
The water of the swamps,
While you used to drink, in the Ukraina,
Sparkling mead and sweet wine.

Oh, Cossacks, let us return,
Let us ride back home;
We have driven the Polish troops beyond the Vistula,
They will not return again in a long time.

The song refers to one of the numerous wars between the Cossacks and the Poles, in which both countries were embroiled for over two centuries; the fortunes of war were alternately on each side, but the result was finally exhaustion of both.

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SACRED SONGS.

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35. HOLY LORD.

(*Svaty Boje.*)

Holy Lord, holy powerful One, holy immortal One,
Have mercy upon us!
Praise be to the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost!
Now and forever!

36. LET MY PRAYER BE RECEIVED.

(*Da ispravitsa.*)

Let my prayer be received,
Like incense before Thee!
Offered by my hand as an evening sacrifice!
Lord, I call out to Thee, hear me!
Listen to the voice of my prayer!
When I call to Thee hear me!

37. CHERUB SONG.

(*Kheruvimskaya.*)

Like the cherubim, secretly worshipping,
To the life giving Trinity let us sing a thrice holy song!
Let us put away now every temporary care. Amen!
Let us praise the King of all,
With the invisible angels, who offer their praise!
Hallelujah.

38. HOW GLORIOUS IS OUR LORD IN ZION.

(*Kol slaven.*)

How glorious is our Lord in Zion,
The tongue unable is to tell;
Majestic in the skies enthroned,
In dust and on the earth as well.
Almighty is the Lord and splendid,
By day, by night in equal force.

39. THE LORD'S PRAYER.

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I

Russian Folk Songs.

FROM LESLIE'S MONTHLY.

THE concerts given by Mme. Lineff's Russian choir during the past season possessed the charm of novelty, and a unique importance as musical events. Those who were fortunate enough to hear these Russian singers will undoubtedly cherish the memory of the appearance in America of these artistic exponents of their native musical folklore. Imagine an English village of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, with its inhabitants hard at work in the streets and shops; women bustling about in kitchens; girls busy with decoration of homes, singing and chatting—suppose it all real and genuine; the people, costumes, dwellings, decorations, utensils, language, in fact everything, conjured by some magician from the Middle Ages, and brought bodily here among us in this year of grace 1893! What a sensation such an exhibition would produce!

Now, this is exactly what Mme. Lineff has done, from a musical point of view, with her Russian choir. The *latest* songs sang by her choir are of the sixteenth century, and the majority of them are much older. The costumes are quite in keeping with the songs, and on the whole it is a little bit of Old Russia brought here for our edification and delight.

I will endeavor to show briefly how this musical feat of *exact reproduction* of old folk songs becomes possible, and how it happens that, as far as we know, Russia is the only country able to treat so reverently, and at the same time so scientifically the musical art of her people.

The folk-song all over Europe, with very few exceptions, is

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000 a thing of the past. We mean by this that the people—not the musically trained minority—of most European nations have lost the faculty of creating new musical themes, worthy to take rank as addition to their musical lore. The old songs and poetry are forgotten and do not form, as in earlier days, a portion of the artistic heirlooms of each family, generation after generation. Although every nationality has made valiant efforts to preserve in writing the remnants of its old songs, yet it is not at all certain that with the help of such collections we can form a true idea of the folk-songs and the manner in which they were sung *by the people* in olden times. Several circumstances concur to strengthen this doubt. The old collectors of folk songs, as a rule, were not trained musicians, so that often the melodies and the rythm were not correctly noted down. Any amateur who has tried his hand at this kind of work knows with what difficulties it is attended. It is as if an amateur painter should attempt to make a picture of some complicated building, without knowing anything about the law of perspective. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that all the old collectors were content merely to note down the principal melody and the words, leaving out the accompanying voices as superflous. The more recent publications of the same folk-songs were usually harmonized or provided with accompaniments by professional musicians who never heard the songs performed by the people, and moreover entertained a certain professional prejudice in musical matters. The musical lyre was silent, the jolly performers a thing of the past; and there was no means of comparing the real thing with its assumed presentment in books on musical folklore. Consequently, with regard to real *people's music* we are as much in the dark as about the music of the old Greeks; some scientific authorities affirming that the choruses in the classical tragedies were sung in unison, while others maintain that they were sung in fifths, etc.

814 533 The most valuable addition to the musical folklore and the art of collecting songs have been made by Russian collectors during the last twenty years. An immense energy and almost devotional love for art were requisite to accomplish this result. As an example of an ideal collector of Russian folklore, we may

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mention Pavel Yakoushkin, a nobleman of culture and means, who spent all his life amongst the humble classes, frequenting public houses, country taverns, fairs, etc., in order to obtain access to the great source of folklore, the Russian peasantry. In the tattered costume of a country peddler, coarse patched boots and headgear to match, he crossed and recrossed Great Russia in all directions, singing with his beautiful tenor voice the songs he loved best, and collecting fresh ones. Then of a sudden he would appear in Moscow to unburden his soul before his admiring friends and various scientific societies of the new material he brought with him. He would delight the few real connoisseurs of the national music by his masterly singing, and then disappear for years in the mass of the peasantry and laborers. The result of his life's study is a classical collection of Russian songs and ballads (words only), the most complete and reliable work of this kind ever produced.

With such an example, and no lack of enthusiastic song collectors amongst the educated classes; with the most beautiful music lore still flourishing, it was only natural that the musicians soon entered the field and surpassed the old traditional collections of Russian folk songs.

Russia possesses about the oldest musical collection of songs, the more important of which, by Pratch, was published at the end of the last century. This work was followed by similiar publications of Kirsha-Daniloff, Kashin, Ssacharoff and many others. Pratch was considered for a long time the classical book on Russian folk songs, but we must add that it shared the same faults which have been mentioned with reference to European collections. The old Russian collectors, without exception, were quite ignorant of the fact, that the scales, and consequently the intervals, used by the Russian people are different from those adopted by musicians of Western Europe; accordingly, in order to bring uniformity, melodies had to be "doctored," the mistakes of the people "corrected," sharps and flats added, the rhythm altered, and the song generally "improved" according to the scientific notions of the collector. And to add insult to injury, a piano accompaniment was provided of chords in true Italian *canzonetta*

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fashion! What wonder, then, that a Russian melody thus polished and "improved" should sound quite strange to the ear of the people, and artificial and commonplace to students? True, some fragments of the beautiful melody were still there, but, on the whole, the soul, the color and the emotional element of the song were eliminated.

As mentioned before, the new school of musicians, aimed at reproduction of folk songs *exactly as they were sung by the people.* This work was carried out with great energy and perseverance; not only were the principal melodies faithfully reproduced and each syllable of the words written down, as pronounced by the singers, but every other part of the accompanying voices was similarly noted. Such reproduction was to all intents and purposes a photograph of the song. This plan was first proposed and carried out with infinite pains by J. Melgounoff, a thorough musician, and now the great Russian authority on folk songs. For some years he carried on his investigations among the peasantry of the province of Kalooga, and for the first time in the annals of musical lore, a set of true folk songs was published in 1879, followed by another volume in 1885. This work accompanied by a theoretical introduction of the principles underlying Russian folk music produced an immense sensation in the musical and ethnological circles, not only in Russia, but abroad as well. It revealed most characteristic properties in the Russian songs; *natural* scales (major and minor) as basis of the music; and complete polyphony—*i. e.*, each voice in choral songs takes the principal melody slightly modified to suit the polyphonic requirements; the leading voice gives out the principal melody as a kind of solo, and the same thing in turn is done by other voices in true fugue style.

The harmonic treatment in Russian songs is so interesting that an example of it will not be out of place. As an instance, we will take "Notchka"—a *Khorovod* (choral dance) *song*, which stood usually first in the programmes of Mme. Lineff's concerts.

It is evident that each voice is reproducing the same melody with harmonic variations, and, if sung separately, the individ-

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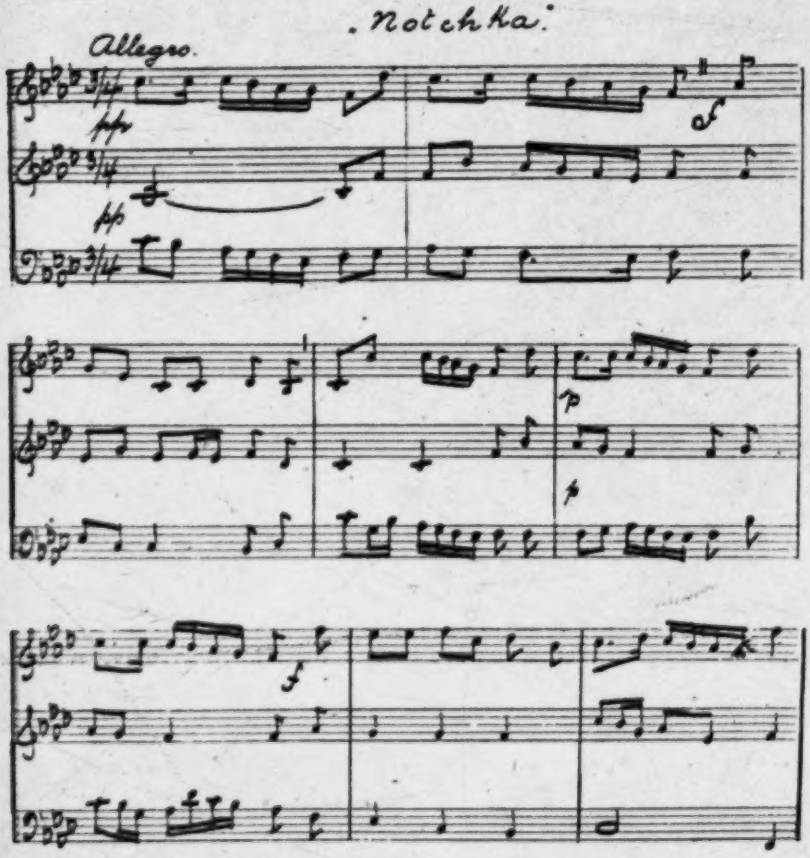
uality of the song can be recognized by the most inexperienced hearer. J. Melgounoff noticed when analysing the singing of large peasant choirs, that almost each singer joins the choir with a somewhat modified melody, not two singing alike, but always improvising some new variation of the same melody; hence that



wonderful harmonic fullness which is characteristic of Russian peasant singing. The peasants call each subordinate voice in the choir—*podgolosok* (*pod*—under; *golos*—voice) and by noting them down, Melgounoff found a rich source of melodic variations and in his now famous collection of "*Russian songs as sung by the people*," some of them are accompanied by dozens of such

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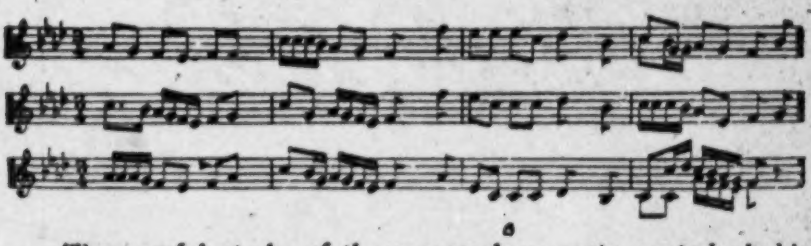
podgoloskies or improvised parts. The following parts from "Notchka" will serve as an example:



The careful study of these secondary parts or *podgoloskies* by Melgounoff was a great step forward in the studying of Russian folk-music, as it gave means to reproduce *exactly* the melodic and harmonic conception of the song as it existed in the consciousness of the people themselves. It is a matter of regret that the songs of other nations had not been treated in the same scientific manner when the folk-songs were still a living reality. Fortunately for Russia, where the natural part-singing is not yet extinct and in some remote parts even flourishing, this kind of study is still practicable and is pushed vigorously by a band of young and enthusiastic investigators.

A great movement was started in order to find means to carry on this work of investigation systematically in various parts of Russia. Since then very valuable additions have been made to the collection of musical lore, notably by Messrs. Lopatin and Prokoonine for Great Russia, and Mr. Lissenko for South Russia (Oukraina).

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To this faithful band of investigators belongs Mme. Lineff, with the difference that her training and experience as choir conductor eminently fitted her to make a powerful propaganda of these exquisite songs, not by mere books, but with a choir of singers trained by her, and therefore appealing to a much larger audience.

Mme. Eugenie Papritz-Lineff is a native of Moscow. Very early she showed a talent for music, and when a mere child she sang melodies heard from her mother, who is an accomplished musician, and pupil of the great Russian composer Michael Glinka.

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Mme. Lineff received her education in "St. Catherine's Institute for Daughters of Nobility," and showed such aptitude for singing, that at the age of fourteen she was selected as assistant conductor of the church choir of the institute, and later superintended the practice of a choir of over one hundred pupils. After having gained at the final examination the highest honors of the institute, she remained as conductor of the choir for nearly two years. She then went to St. Petersburg to study singing at the Conservatory of Music, and later to Vienna to become a pupil of the celebrated Marchesi, with whom she studied three full years.

MME. EUGENIE LINEFF.

In Vienna she met Anton Rubinstein, who invited her to sing at his musical *soirees*. One evening she brought with her some of Rubinstein's beautiful Persian songs. "Oh, no, no!" he exclaimed, good-humoredly, "enough of this trash; let us have some really *good* music; sing us something of Schubert!"

Her *debut* was in the farewell concert of the violinist Ole Bull. In consequence of a favorable notice from such musical critics as Dr. Hanslick and Dr. Schelle, she was engaged by an operatic company in Hungary, which engagement was followed by another from her Majesty's Italian Opera Company in England. Her *debut* in Russia was in the concerts given by the Moscow Syphonic Society under the direction of the late Nicholas Rubinstein, which was followed by an engagement at the Imperial Opera House in Moscow.

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The strong Liberal tide which swept over the best part of Russian society subsequent to 1860—the year of liberation of serfs in Russia—was not without a radical influence on Russian art, especially music. The study of national songs and poetry was cultivated energetically by a band of enthusiasts. Mme. Lineff became a diligent worker in this field. In summer she used to live amongst the peasantry in some out-of-the-way places, studying the best and purest Russian singing. It is an unquestionable fact that in Russia all the principal outward adjuncts of modern civilization—large towns, factories, railroads, hotels, etc. —exercise a blighting effect on the beautiful old folk-song. This disappears at the sound of the steam whistle, and is gradually superseded by commonplace melodies with stupid words, not seldom of doubtful propriety.

Several summers were thus spent by Mme. Lineff, in various parts of Russia and Oukraina, her aim being to compare the different styles of singing in various provinces. She also traveled a good deal on foot with female pilgrims to the various convents held in veneration by the Russian people, to study the peculiar songs of the wandering psalmodists (*Kaleyky-Perekhazie*) who frequent those places.

During her residence in Moscow, while still singing in concerts, her energy was directed particularly to the organization of choirs in schools, amongst university students—male and female —and amateurs. The folk songs were cultivated assiduously, and became the favorite pieces on the programmes. Mme. Lineff still uses a baton presented to her by the University Choir, which she directed during five seasons.

In 1890 she took up her residence in London. In one of the aristocratic gatherings at which she appeared she made a bold experiment by singing for an encore a Russian folk-song, "Lootchina," without accompaniment. The effect produced by the song was striking; she was surrounded by people eager to know the name of the composer and the author of the words. The surprise was still greater when the artist had to answer that the author both of the words and music was the Russian People, and that the date of its composition was quite unknown, and

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might have been contemporaneous with England's dependency under the Roman Empire.

So began Mme. Lineff's active propaganda of Russian folk songs abroad. She earnestly believes "that nowhere the originality and the wonderful effect of the beautiful songs of her land can be better appreciated than by the American public—so justly eager for novelties of merit."

Before analyzing the typical Russian folk-songs contained in the programme of Mme. Lineff's concerts, I will say in few words on the lectures of Mr. H. E. Krehbiel, the well-known musical critic of the New York *Tribune*, who introduced these folk-song concerts to the American Audiences, and explained the significance and importance of the folk music in general. "The study of this branch of science," he said, "has a great value not only from a musical point of view, but also as a means of obtaining new and valuable ethnographical and philological data. If it be truly said that speech is often used to conceal the real intention and feelings of the speaker, then it is really true that music reveals the innermost feelings and real life of the soul. Folk songs can reproduce to our minds pictures of social and family life in ages gone by, far more vividly than any treatise on the same subject. For the music of folk songs necessarily reflects the inner life of the people who evolved it. Like physical and mental habits, occupations and dwellings, its characteristic traits are the product of the geographical, climatic, social and political condition of the people. The people of Russia are intensely musical. All the significant features in the life of the Russian peasant are accompanied by ceremonies in which song plays a very important part. In the character of these ceremonies and the allusions found frequently in the songs may be discovered relics of ancient customs and religion. This point was illustrated by the performance of a Khorovod (choral) song, in which can be found the remains of the primitive drama, as it was developed among all the civilized peoples. The parallel can be followed through the religious dances of the ancient Egyptians and Greeks, and of the Teutons of the Middle Ages in Europe. Children's games of to-day in Germany, England and America may also be

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regarded as a degenerate form of the old ceremonies which once in Germany and England were performed by adults as they still are in Russia."

The programme of the concerts of Mme. Lineff was made up of the most characteristic and beautiful songs which the soil of Great Russia and Oukraina has produced. It was, however, only a very slight portion of the rich *repertoire* of Mme. Lineff's choir. Her original plan was to give a series of three concerts: one embracing exclusively songs of Great Russia; the second, songs of Oukraina; and the third concert was intended to illustrate the modern music of Russian composers in its relation to the folk songs. But for reason of practicability, the three concerts were provisionally curtailed and incorporated into one.

IN OUKRAINA.

The type of Oukraina songs differ considerably from those of Great Russia. Although just as melodious as the latter, the harmonization of Oukraina songs resembles much more the treatment usual in Western Europe, *i. e.*, by means of chords, and consequently the various parts of the score have nothing in common with the principal melody but are mere "filling in" for the sake of forming the necessary chords. Thus the whole character of the Oukraina songs gives an impression of a more modern origin, and the charm of strict polyphonic treatment, so prominent in Russian songs, is missing: The reason of this is not far to seek: the peasants of Great Russia perform their songs exclusively *a capella*, while in Little Russia a "bandura"—an instrument of the guitar tribe performs the usual accompaniment.

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The third part of the concert was devoted to music of modern Russian composers, in order to show the influence of the folk song on the present school of music. This is a comprehensive subject, requiring a special treatment. It was utterly impossible to treat the subject adequately in the short time at the disposal of the musicians in the recent concerts, and to show the growth of modern Russian music for church, opera and chamber. On the other hand, *ensembles* and choruses from operas written with an accompaniment of full orchestra lose a good deal when a piano is substituted for the orchestra.

From the Russian standpoint, both the singing and the costumes exhibited at the concerts, may be regarded as perfectly characteristic. After the first concert Mme. Lineff received a very touching letter from a Russian workman residing here, who thanked her for the extraordinary pleasure he had enjoyed in listening to the songs. "I fancied I saw a row of houses of my village, the street with birch trees round the houses, and the girls and boys moving in Khorovod. Oh, you cannot imagine how real it is!"

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Ukraine RD1

[For information pertaining to the musical form of Ukrainian songs, see 7: Lineva, RF1 Great Russia, category 116, p. 62.]

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[For a brief analysis of the texts of old Ukrainian folk songs see 7:Lineva, RF1 Great Russia, category 116, pp. 47-51.]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFi Great Russia RFi

I

Introduction

1
INTRODUCTION

THE RISE of Bolshevism in Russia and its rapid expansion has provoked a world conflict which is perilously close to breaking into all-out warfare on a global scale. An understanding of the dynamics of total power, particularly its effect upon the thoughts and feelings of man, might enable us to appraise the menacing implications of this world struggle and to find effective ways to influence its outcome. In an attempt to contribute to such objectives, we shall discuss in the following pages some of the social agents which have affected the formation of power and the growth of personality in Russian society and which might be the sources of its political explosiveness.

It is proposed that some of the most crucial elements in this social drama are the political elites, their psychology, their cul tural background and the social setting in which they act. In this interplay of personality, culture, social structure and ideology seems to lie the dynamic source of social change and of its trend. It appears that a system of interpersonal and institutional relationships (social structure) reinforced or undermined by traditional patterns of behavior (culture) and by external physical and social pressures affects the growth of personality and the composition and circulation of political elites. These in turn develop attitudes and formulate ideologies which tend to pro-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

voke changes in the system of political relations (power structure) and hence in the social structure.

Two contrasting cultures, that of the power-seeking and self-oriented nomadic horsemen of the Eurasian steppes, and that of the anarchic and group-oriented tillers of the land in the river basins of eastern Europe, provide valuable data for an understanding of the formation of political elites in Russian society, and particularly for identification of conflicting orientations which have been at the root of its social instability and political aggression throughout ages of its growth. There were other sources of conditioning circumstances which have provided significant elements to the content of Russia's culture and its social structure and which have affected the recruitment of political elites and the formation of ideologies. Such were, for instance, the Byzantine system of the administration and of the Church-State relations, the conditions of serfdom and the retarded growth of middle classes, and Western European technology and political and social philosophies. There were also "external" pressures which—in conjunction with Russia's geographic location—have influenced its social and political development. Such, for instance, were the quality of Russia's soil and climate, the moving of the trade routes from the Dnieper valley toward the West in the late middle ages, the sudden growth and disintegration of the Mongol empire, the formation and the expansion of Western European and of Pacific imperial systems. A number of these agents, however, have tended to perpetuate the initial basic structure and to intensify the clash of views of life which was introduced into Russian society through the imposition of the rule of the steppe nomads over the tillers of the land in the ancient past.

One of the basic traits in the interpersonal and institutional relationships of the horse-breeders from the steppes consists of an apparent want of lasting emotional attachments, of social trust and of ties of moral unity. There is a lack of stability in loyalties and therefore a system of power which is self-oriented, that is, based on personal drives for aggrandizement. Only continuing conquests and lasting threats of common external enemies can assure the perpetuation of this predatory system

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of rule. The defeat or death of the ruler, as much as lack of constant external pressures, are likely to bring about a sudden disintegration of a political structure based on such foundations. 121 181

Want of human attachments in the society of these steppe marauders might have been brought about by a strong feeling of insecurity which seems to be rooted in the physical as well as in the social environment of these people. Nomadic horse-breeding in the steppes and deserts, abusive dominance and humiliating submission in a despotic family organization, autocratic political system, sharply stratified social structure, and predatory warfare of enemy tribes present constant physical and emotional threats which breed deep fears, anxieties, lack of trust and violent hostilities. These conditions are harmful to the growth of social intimacy and to the development of group identifications and solidarities; they are likely to favor formation of a self-centered personality and to foster an urge for extreme power-seeking and destructive action as a means of personal survival. [154]

Contrasted to the society of these power-oriented and predatory warriors of the steppes, was the group-oriented and anarchic culture of the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators, spreading since remote times over the forest plains and along the river valleys between the upper Volga and the Carpathians. This society represented a stable system of self-contained and autonomous small agricultural communities with equalitarian social and family organization, diffused social power, lack of central political authority, lack of sharp economic or social stratification and lack of coerciveness. Interpersonal and institutional relationships in these communities promoted group intimacy and social cohesion; they discouraged self-seeking, destructive aggressiveness and warlike qualities. But as the nomadic warriors, in the course of their centuries-old invasions, were imposing their rule over this egalitarian and stateless social system, significant changes were taking place in the Old-Slavonic world; these have formed the basis for the formation and the growth of Russian society. [156]

One of the most important innovations consisted of the formation of a ruling class of conquerors whose whole view of life was in complete contrast to the social and political philosophy of the

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subjected agricultural population. In the ruling class of conquerors—who were marrying the native women—the steppe traditions of an unlimited paternal power, centered in a God-like, distant and strict father, tended to prevail. The principles of seniority, of priority of the male sex and of super-ordination and subordination among brothers and sisters favored sibling rivalry in this family system. At the same time, the mother, following her native traditions, tended to assert her marital equality, to maintain separate property rights, to teach her children the native speech and customs, and to protect them against the caprice and wrath of a domineering and warlike father.

[155] It is likely that children in such families of clashing marital and social philosophies might be exposed to alternating experiences of rejection and over-protection; they might develop an exaggerated self-concern and power-orientation, as well as feelings of inadequacy and dependence. Extremes in emotional reactions ranging from blind submission to destructive aggression and violent revolt tend to develop in such circumstances.

Such traits which contain a core of emotional instability and perpetual strife did not seem to be favorable for the growth and consolidation of State. Instead, a number of small principalities were formed, whose ruling strata were torn by internal rivalries and splits, and by never-ending parricidal and fratricidal feuds. Moreover, these petty princes and war chieftains, following steppe tradition, were interested in waging warfare more than in promoting agriculture or industry—which was contrary to the view of life and the social philosophy of the subjected population. There was, therefore, a lack of common culture, lack of common interests and want of social solidarity between the subjects and their warlike lords. Such a situation fomented social unrest; local riots and mass uprisings, which in turn promoted increasing rigidity of controls, centralization of power, never-ending internal splits and never-ending warfare.

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By the ninth century A.D., these turbulent warriors came into conflict with the Byzantine Empire which had a political interest in the same area. This contact with Byzantium was of far-reaching consequence, because it introduced the Eastern Church into the social and political structure of Russian society. This institu-

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121 Modern methods of study have taught us to attach an importance scarcely appreciated a score of years ago to popular songs and popular customs. What is called the science of folk-lore (though its methods are scarcely well enough digested and ordered to entitle it to the term) is opening the way to new revelations of unexpected interest and value touching racial origins and relations, primitive religions and the development of social and political systems. In nursery tales and popular songs we are learning to recognize fragments of early mythologies and histories. When this fact is fully recognized we may expect to see a marvellous out-blossoming of an interest in several branches of science toward which the mass of the people have been indifferent heretofore. Ethnology, archæology and anthropology will no longer have a terrifying sound when the knowledge becomes general that they can be studied in the intelligent perusal of fairy tales and inculcated through the agency of folk songs.

For this delightful method of study no field offers greater inducements than the Russian. This is indicated by the statements of Ralston which I have placed at the beginning of this note.[1] 114 It can not be said of any country that all its treasures of folk-song and folk-lore have been brought to light;—not even of Germany where the greatest labor has been expended. Least of all can it be said of Russia which, in its heart, may be said to be a sealed book not only to other nations but even to the majority of its own inhabitants. The explanation lies, I think, in two circumstances, *first*, the Russia which has been open to the inspection of the general reader hitherto is the Russia of imperial cities with its veneer and varnish of foreign culture; *second*, the political system of the Czar's mighty empire has not encouraged true national expression in art. So long as Russia failed in appreciation of her own possessions, it was not likely that the outside world should place a high value on them.

Of recent years, however, we have witnessed a mighty change in Russia's attitude toward her own people; and this has been followed, in a marvelously quick time by a change in the attitude of other people toward Russia's artistic products. In literature and painting and in music Russia now holds the

[1] [see cat. 116, p.5 -- Analyst]

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attention of the world as if through the magic of an irresitible charm. 114

We are, however, concerned directly with Russian art only in so far as it reflects those primitive impulses which give it character and individuality. These things are the very soul of the people's songs, and the customs of which those songs are an integral element. It was a happy idea to bring the marriage customs of these people on the stage and thus to give us a beautiful object lesson in the scientific study of which I have spoken. Books, paintings and musical performances have done much to make us understand Russian thought and feeling, but nothing could be devised to vitalize this understanding better than a dramatic representation of the chief incidents of the wooing and wedding as they have existed from time immemorial. The antiquity of the ceremonial observances is indicated in the relics of savagery which they contain—the obvious modification of marriage by theft or capture and marriage by purchase. The subservience of wife is characteristic of the patriarchal system still prevalent; but there are not wanting suggestions of a much earlier system when descent was traced in the female line and the husband became a member of the family, or gena, of his wife. 121

But it is not my purpose to dwell on this, to which reference will be found hereafter in the description of the wedding ceremony. I am more directly concerned with the music of the songs which occur in the course of the ceremony. The predominant note of Russian music is profound melancholy. This is true even of songs with which the maiden friends of the bride beguile their labors during the *devitchink* at which the wedding garments are prepared. As a rule climatic and geopraphical conditions explain the prevalence of the major or minor mode in folk-music. Thus the music of all Europe above the southern line of the North Sea is predominantly minor. South of that line it is major except in Russia. Even in the Oukraina the melancholy mode prevails. It is obvious, therefore, that the question is not distinctly one of latitude, but of the consequences of latitude. Suffering is a familiar idea to people living in the cold, gloomy and rugged northland; and the symbol of suffering in 533

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important minorities form autonomous oblasts within the krays, while lesser ethnic groups form national okrugs or even national rayons within oblasts or krays. At present the Russian SFSR includes 12 autonomous republics, 6 krays, and 50 oblasts.

In order to facilitate the study of the geography of the Russian SFSR, the republic has been divided into the following geographical regions on the basis of common physico-economic characteristics.

Central Industrial Region
- Moscow (Moskva) Oblast
- Vladimir Oblast
- Ivanovo Oblast
- Yaroslavl' Oblast
- Kostroma Oblast
- Ryazan' Oblast
- Tula Oblast

Central Black-Earth Region
- Orel Oblast
- Tambov Oblast
- Voronezh Oblast
- Kursk Oblast

European West
- Bryansk Oblast
- Kaluga Oblast
- Smolensk Oblast
- Velikiye Luki Oblast
- Kalinin Oblast

European Northwest
- Novgorod Oblast
- Pskov Oblast
- Leningrad Oblast

European North
- Murmansk Oblast
- Arkhangel'sk Oblast
- Komi Autonomous SSR
- Vologda Oblast

Volga Region

Forest section
- Gor'kiy Oblast
- Kirov Oblast
- Mari Autonomous SSR

Wooded-steppe section
- Tatar Autonomous SSR
- Chuvash Autonomous SSR
- Mordvinian Autonomous SSR
- Penza Oblast
- Ul'yanovsk Oblast
- Kuybyshev Oblast

Steppe section
- Saratov Oblast
- Stalingrad Oblast
- Astrakhan' Oblast

Crimean Oblast

Lower Don and Northern Caucasus
- Rostov Oblast
- Krasnodar Kray
- Stavropol' Kray
- Kabardinian Autonomous SSR
- North Ossetian Autonomous SSR
- Groznyy Oblast
- Dagestan Autonomous SSR

Urals
- Molotov Oblast
- Udmurt Autonomous SSR
- Bashkir Autonomous SSR
- Chkalov Oblast
- Chelyabinsk Oblast
- Sverdlovsk Oblast

Western Siberia
- Kurgan Oblast
- Tyumen' Oblast
- Omsk Oblast
- Novosibirsk Oblast
- Tomsk Oblast
- Kemerovo Oblast
- Altay Kray

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Eastern Siberia
- Krasnoyarsk Kray
- Tuva Autonomous Oblast
- Irkutsk Oblast
- Buryat-Mongol Autonomous SSR
- Chita Oblast
- Yakut Autonomous SSR

Soviet Far East
- Amur Oblast
- Khabarovsk Kray
- Maritime Kray
- Sakhalin Oblast

Kaliningrad Oblast, see Baltic Region, Chapter 26.

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I want to thank Professor H. H. Fisher, Mrs. Xenia Eudin, Bertram Wolfe, Dr. O. H. Radkey, Dr. Ellsworth Raymond, Mr. N. J. Rakitiansky and other members of the Seminar of Slavic Studies, Hoover Library, Stanford University; also Dr. S. Zenkovsky, Indiana University; Professor J. A. Lauwerys, London University; Dr. Morris Janowitz, University of Michigan; and Professor Angelo Tamborra, University of Rome, for stimulating discussions which helped me to clarify my views.

My gratitude goes also to Miss Carol Greening, Stanford University, Mrs. Helen Elizabeth Sherrill, Columbia University, and Mrs. Elizabeth Darragh, Indiana University, who edited the manuscript.

I owe a great debt to the American social sciences whose concepts and methods were very helpful in this attempt to offer some tentative propositions concerning the relationships of personality and social structure, the rise of total power and the functioning of Bolshevism. I am particularly indebted to the inspiring works and personal encouragement of the late Ruth Benedict and to Dr. H. D. Lasswell, Yale University, for his valuable ideas and for his constructive criticism of the manuscript.

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force behind the war expeditions of these predatory warriors might have been their need for self-assertion and dominance, as well as an urge for destruction. They were therefore likely to indulge in sadistic cruelty and in mass plunder, in lechery and debauchery.

It is important to notice, however, that in these conquests the mounted nomads would often invade and settle distant areas without their womenfolk. Therefore, when these womenless, predatory, patriarchal and polygynous horsemen invaded the plains and river valleys between the Ural mountains and the Carpathians, where the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators, Fino-Ugric hunters and other folks were settled, the newcomers not only imposed themselves as political rulers, but it became necessary for them to abduct native women *en masse*, to buy them, or to demand them as a tribute, and make them their wives, concubines, and slaves. Not only the historical records but the Great-Russian marriage customs, folk poetry and other oral literature testify to this trend of events. Marriage by capture, bride price and the use of women as slave laborers figure prominently in all these documents.

At first a great cultural diversity in the society at large resulted out of such a situation. Many early observers of the peoples of this area noticed this phenomenon. Often the customs of the peoples that went under the same name were very dissimilar. The same names covered a conglomeration of tillers of the soil, pastoral nomads, nomadic hunters, and warlike tribes. Some of these people were matriarchal, others patriarchal. Some of them lived in wagons and tents, others built houses. Some cremated their dead, others practiced inhumation. Some were cannibalistic, others vegetarians.[3]

It is for this reason that early observers when speaking of "Slavs" sometimes give contradictory data.[4] Such accounts are likely to confuse a student of early Slav society unless he keeps in mind the ethnical mixture and blending of cultures that was taking place in that area in the course of many centuries. Tacitus, for instance, noticed that "The Veneti [Slavs] have borrowed largely from Sarmatian character; in their plundering expeditions they roam over the whole extent of forests and mountains. . . ."[5]

[3] [i.e. of the Turko-Mongols — Analyst]

/For data on the physical geography, geology, climate, flora, fauna, and soil of the broad-leaved forests of the Far East, see 58: Berg, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, pp. 60-67. --Analyst/

/For data on the physical geography, geology, climate, flora, fauna, and soil of the semidesert zone of Great Russia, see 58: Berg, R 1 Soviet Union, cat. 116, pp. 111-124. --Analyst/

/For data on the physical geography, geology, climate, flora, fauna, and soil of the forest zone of Great Russia, see 58: Berg, Rl Soviet Union, cat. 116, pp. 22-59. --Analyst/

/For data on the physical geography, geology, climate, flora, fauna, and soil of the steppe of Great Russia, see 58: Berg, R1 Soviet Union, cat. 116, pp. 90-110. -- Analyst/

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/For data on the physical geography, geology, climate, flora, fauna, and soil of the forest steppe of Great Russia, see 58: Berg, R1 Soviet Union, cat. 116, pp. 68-89. --Analyst/

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Great Russia RFi

CHAPTER 4

Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (Russia)

Capital, Moscow (Moskva); area, 6,501,500, population, 111,000,000

SU 131 GR 131 THE RUSSIAN SFSR is the largest, most populous, and economically the most important union republic of the USSR, extending over nearly four fifths of the total area and including more than one half the total population of the Soviet Union. Its frontiers coincide with those of the USSR in the north and east, along the seas of the Arctic Ocean and the Pacific. Only in the southwest and west do the other union republics intervene between the territory of the Russian SFSR and the international border of the USSR. Since the acquisition of the northern half of East Prussia, the Russian SFSR extends over the vast distance of nearly 7,000 miles, from the area of Kaliningrad (20° E) to the tip of the Chukchi Peninsula (170° W). From north to south, the maximum extent varies from 1,500 miles in the east to 2,500 miles in the west.

SU 133* GR 133 The Russian SFSR has essentially a lowland relief, consisting of the East European plain and, beyond the Urals, of the West Siberian lowland and bordered by mountain systems in the east (Central Siberian plateau and peripheral ranges) and in the southeast (Altay and Sayan mountains). In the southwest, the Russian SFSR extends to the crest of the Greater Caucasus. The principal rivers of the USSR flow through this republic: the Volga and the Don rivers in the south of the European part, the Onega, Northern Dvina, and Pechora rivers in the north, and in Siberia the Ob' (with its chief affluent, the Irtysh), the Yenisey, the Lena, the Yana, the Indigirka, and the Kolyma rivers; all these streams flow north into the seas of the Arctic Ocean. Only the Amur River has an easterly course, emptying into the Sea of Okhotsk of the Pacific Ocean.

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23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 Rl Soviet Union Rl
Great Russia RFI

Su 131 137 GR 131 137

The Russian SFSR includes the entire polar belt of the USSR, with the Arctic islands of Franz-Josef Land, Novaya Zemlya, Severnaya Zemlya (North Land), the New Siberian and Vrangel' (Wrangel) islands, and so forth. Along the shores of the Arctic seas lies the tundra zone, which was settled by the Russians more than 700 years ago in its western (European) section, but only in recent years in its eastern (Asiatic) section. The taiga, in the south, occupies the major portion of the territory of the republic. Consisting largely of evergreens, the forest belt also has deciduous-tree zones, particularly in the European part. Farther south lies the black-earth belt, at first covered with a wooded steppe vegetation, but gradually changing into the steppe proper. The extreme south is a dry steppe, in which chestnut soils predominate; these are, however, only slightly inferior to the black earth with respect to fertility. Subtropical vegetation occurs only on the southern shore of the Crimea and along the Black Sea littoral of the Caucasus.

Su 135 GR 135

Because of its extensive coal and petroleum resources, the Russian SFSR is best supplied with power-producing minerals. Two of the largest coal basins of the world lie within the confines of the Asiatic portion of the republic: the Kuznetsk Basin, along the upper Tom' River, between the Salair Ridge and the Kuznetsk Ala-Tau, and the Tunguska Basin (as yet unexploited), along the lower Yenisey River, largely north of the Lower Tunguska, its right affluent. Lesser basins in Siberia are near Minusinsk and Cheremkhovo and along the Bureya River, while the Moscow and Vorkuta basins are most important in the European part. The Russian SFSR also includes the eastern section of the Donets Basin, the major portion of which lies within the Ukrainian SSR. An important petroleum zone extends throughout the European part of the Russian SFSR, beginning on the Arctic Circle in the Pechora River basin, along the western slopes of the Urals, past Molotov and Ufa, widening westward to the middle Volga in the area of Kuybyshev and Syzran', passing through the Gur'yev-Emba area of the Kazakh SSR, and reappearing north of the Greater Caucasus range at Makhachkala, Groznyy, and Maykop. In the very center of the European section of the Russian SFSR lies about one-half of the world's reserves of iron ore. Here more than 200 billion tons of low-grade ore lie buried in the Central Russian upland, east and southeast of Kursk, in the so-called Kursk magnetic anomaly. Other iron deposits occur in the Kola Peninsula, near Kerch' in the Crimea, in the Urals, and in Siberia.

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
White Russia RC1

CHAPTER 25

Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic

Capital, Minsk; area, 80,100, population, 7,220,000

THE BELORUSSIAN SSR is situated in the western section of the European USSR and is bordered by Poland in the west, the Ukraine in the south, and the Baltic republics in the north. It forms part of the East European plain and is separated by the Lithuanian-Belorussian upland into a small northern and a larger southern lowland.

GENERAL SURVEY

THE NORTHERN SECTION, in the vicinity of Polotsk, is an old moraine region drained by the Western Dvina. The upland, which extends in a broad chain of hills southwest-northeast across the republic, forms the main watershed between the Baltic and the Black Sea drainage areas. Of low average elevation and rising to more than 1,100 feet, it consists of a series of glacial end moraines and isolated groups of hills. The intervening depressions are the sites of river valleys (Western Dvina, Neman, upper Berezina, and their affluents) or are filled with sand and other quaternary deposits left by the retreating continental glaciers. Here and there appear remains of the primeval forest, of which the Belovezha Pushcha, on the Polish border, is the most important example. The entire region is a characteristic moraine land form, with lakes bounded by high rounded banks, remains of moraines blocking the original course of rivers, and by an abundance of pebbles and boulders throughout the fields. In the south, the relief gradually changes into a marshy depression along the Pripet River and its affluents. This is the Belorussian Poles'ye, also known as the Pripet Marshes, a swampy,

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 RJ Soviet Union RJ
Great Russia RF1

CHAPTER 4

Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (Russia)

Capital, Moscow (Moskva); area, 6,501,500, population, 111,000,000

SU 131 GR 131

THE RUSSIAN SFSR is the largest, most populous, and economically the most important union republic of the USSR, extending over nearly four fifths of the total area and including more than one half the total population of the Soviet Union. Its frontiers coincide with those of the USSR in the north and east, along the seas of the Arctic Ocean and the Pacific. Only in the southwest and west do the other union republics intervene between the territory of the Russian SFSR and the international border of the USSR. Since the acquisition of the northern half of East Prussia, the Russian SFSR extends over the vast distance of nearly 7,000 miles, from the area of Kaliningrad (20° E) to the tip of the Chukchi Peninsula (170° W). From north to south, the maximum extent varies from 1,500 miles in the east to 2,500 miles in the west.

SU 133* GR 133

The Russian SFSR has essentially a lowland relief, consisting of the East European plain and, beyond the Urals, of the West Siberian lowland and bordered by mountain systems in the east (Central Siberian plateau and peripheral ranges) and in the southeast (Altay and Sayan mountains). In the southwest, the Russian SFSR extends to the crest of the Greater Caucasus. The principal rivers of the USSR flow through this republic: the Volga and the Don rivers in the south of the European part, the Onega, Northern Dvina, and Pechora rivers in the north, and in Siberia the Ob' (with its chief affluent, the Irtysh), the Yenisey, the Lena, the Yana, the Indigirka, and the Kolyma rivers; all these streams flow north into the seas of the Arctic Ocean. Only the Amur River has an easterly course, emptying into the Sea of Okhotsk of the Pacific Ocean.

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23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
Great Russia RF1

The Russian SFSR includes the entire polar belt of the USSR, with the Arctic islands of Franz-Josef Land, Novaya Zemlya, Severnaya Zemlya (North Land), the New Siberian and Vrangel' (Wrangel) islands, and so forth. Along the shores of the Arctic seas lies the tundra zone, which was settled by the Russians more than 700 years ago in its western (European) section, but only in recent years in its eastern (Asiatic) section. The taiga, in the south, occupies the major portion of the territory of the republic. Consisting largely of evergreens, the forest belt also has deciduous-tree zones, particularly in the European part. Farther south lies the black-earth belt, at first covered with a wooded steppe vegetation, but gradually changing into the steppe proper. The extreme south is a dry steppe, in which chestnut soils predominate; these are, however, only slightly inferior to the black earth with respect to fertility. Subtropical vegetation occurs only on the southern shore of the Crimea and along the Black Sea littoral of the Caucasus.

Because of its extensive coal and petroleum resources, the Russian SFSR is best supplied with power-producing minerals. Two of the largest coal basins of the world lie within the confines of the Asiatic portion of the republic: the Kuznetsk Basin, along the upper Tom' River, between the Salair Ridge and the Kuznetsk Ala-Tau, and the Tunguska Basin (as yet unexploited), along the lower Yenisey River, largely north of the Lower Tunguska, its right affluent. Lesser basins in Siberia are near Minusinsk and Cheremkhovo and along the Bureya River, while the Moscow and Vorkuta basins are most important in the European part. The Russian SFSR also includes the eastern section of the Donets Basin, the major portion of which lies within the Ukrainian SSR. An important petroleum zone extends throughout the European part of the Russian SFSR, beginning on the Arctic Circle in the Pechora River basin, along the western slopes of the Urals, past Molotov and Ufa, widening westward to the middle Volga in the area of Kuybyshev and Syzran', passing through the Gur'yev-Emba area of the Kazakh SSR, and reappearing north of the Greater Caucasus range at Makhachkala, Groznyy, and Maykop. In the very center of the European section of the Russian SFSR lies about one-half of the world's reserves of iron ore. Here more than 200 billion tons of low-grade ore lie buried in the Central Russian upland, east and southeast of Kursk, in the so-called Kursk magnetic anomaly. Other iron deposits occur in the Kola Peninsula, near Kerch' in the Crimea, in the Urals, and in Siberia.

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Great Russia RFL

SU 135 GR 135

Other important mineral resources are phosphorite and apatite deposits in the Kola Peninsula and along the Vyatka-Kama divide, oil shale in the Volga Region and Leningrad Oblast, natural gas near Saratov, peat and building materials in many sections of the European part of the Russian SFSR. In the Urals, in addition to petroleum and coal, potash, salt, and copper are found on the western slopes, iron, nickel, chrome, and platinum in the central ranges, and magnetite iron ore, copper, zinc, bauxite, and precious stones on the eastern slopes. In addition to coal, gold abounds in the Asiatic portion, in the Lena River basin and along the Kolyma River, and there are important tin deposits in Eastern Siberia, as well as lead, silver, and graphite.

SU 161 GR 161

The population of the Russian SFSR amounts to about 111 millions. The greatest population density occurs in the black-earth belt of the European section and in the regions of century-old settlement, including the watershed between the upper Volga and the Oka, the cradle of the Muscovite state, and the districts adjoining the northwestern lakes, Il'men' and Peipus (Chudskoye), and the upper course and left affluents of the Dnieper River. In these areas the concentration reaches 125 to 150 per square mile and as much as 250 and higher in the Moscow area. In the black-earth region of Siberia the density decreases to 60–90 persons per square mile. North of this belt the population rapidly decreases to 10–25 per square mile in the European North and as little as one person for every 2 square miles in the taiga of Siberia. Only in the valleys of the northern rivers (Northern Dvina, Pechora, Ob', Yenisey, Lena, with the Aldan and the Vilyuy, Yana, Indigirka, and Kolyma) does the population density rise to about 25 per square mile. The urban population is distributed mainly throughout the European part of the Russian SFSR: between the Volga and the Oka rivers, on the Baltic Sea and the Volga, and in the industrial Urals. The Siberian cities extend along the Trans-Siberian Railroad and lie usually at its intersection with the principal Siberian rivers. A great urban concentration has taken place in connection with the industrial development of the Kuznetsk Basin.

SU 162 GR 162

The Russians are the basic national element of the Russian SFSR and number about three fourths of the total population. They live principally in the black-earth belt, mixed forest, and taiga of the European section. The great number of minorities are found mainly along the middle Volga, on the western slopes of the Urals, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus, and in the mountainous sections of Western

Su 131 137 GR 131 137

The Russian SFSR includes the entire polar belt of the USSR, with the Arctic islands of Franz-Josef Land, Novaya Zemlya, Severnaya Zemlya (North Land), the New Siberian and Vrangel' (Wrangel) islands, and so forth. Along the shores of the Arctic seas lies the tundra zone, which was settled by the Russians more than 700 years ago in its western (European) section, but only in recent years in its eastern (Asiatic) section. The taiga, in the south, occupies the major portion of the territory of the republic. Consisting largely of evergreens, the forest belt also has deciduous-tree zones, particularly in the European part. Farther south lies the black-earth belt, at first covered with a wooded steppe vegetation, but gradually changing into the steppe proper. The extreme south is a dry steppe, in which chestnut soils predominate; these are, however, only slightly inferior to the black earth with respect to fertility. Subtropical vegetation occurs only on the southern shore of the Crimea and along the Black Sea littoral of the Caucasus.

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Because of its extensive coal and petroleum resources, the Russian SFSR is best supplied with power-producing minerals. Two of the largest coal basins of the world lie within the confines of the Asiatic portion of the republic: the Kuznetsk Basin, along the upper Tom' River, between the Salair Ridge and the Kuznetsk Ala-Tau, and the Tunguska Basin (as yet unexploited), along the lower Yenisey River, largely north of the Lower Tunguska, its right affluent. Lesser basins in Siberia are near Minusinsk and Cheremkhovo and along the Bureya River, while the Moscow and Vorkuta basins are most important in the European part. The Russian SFSR also includes the eastern section of the Donets Basin, the major portion of which lies within the Ukrainian SSR. An important petroleum zone extends throughout the European part of the Russian SFSR, beginning on the Arctic Circle in the Pechora River basin, along the western slopes of the Urals, past Molotov and Ufa, widening westward to the middle Volga in the area of Kuybyshev and Syzran', passing through the Gur'yev-Emba area of the Kazakh SSR, and reappearing north of the Greater Caucasus range at Makhachkala, Groznyy, and Maykop. In the very center of the European section of the Russian SFSR lies about one-half of the world's reserves of iron ore. Here more than 200 billion tons of low-grade ore lie buried in the Central Russian upland, east and southeast of Kursk, in the so-called Kursk magnetic anomaly. Other iron deposits occur in the Kola Peninsula, near Kerch' in the Crimea, in the Urals, and in Siberia.

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a fiction. Lacking means of physical enforcement because of the lack of a centralized political system, common action could take place only among those who voluntarily agreed. But when small bands of mounted warriors imposed their rule over the multitudes of non-warlike peasantry, the power-oriented conquerors made use of the Old-Slavonic system of unanimity for purposes of regimentation and governmentalization from above. That is, they imposed a dictated consensus by means of force else the opposition of the peasant majority would soon have deprived the ruling minority of its power.

In this manner a number of band chieftains of nomadic origin ruled groupings of small peasant communities, in the form of manorial principalities. Each one of these local potentates, even though Slavicized in speech or born in mixed families, still exhibited extreme self-seeking characteristics and cherished personal power and aggrandizement above everything else, a tenet that had characterized his nomadic predecessors. Each, therefore, following steppe traditions, had a scheme of his own; each was interested primarily in accumulating riches for himself and his immediate family. In consequence, these local princes and their war bands constantly intrigued and fought among themselves. They also transferred their personal and factional strifes to the neighboring towns of burghers. In these squabbles and struggle for power and expansion, the feuding princes and fighting factions did not hesitate to call on the common enemies in their neighborhoods, such as the steppe marauders or the Viking pirates to come in and help them defeat their opponents.

It was in the course of such an internecine strife (*vsta rod na rod*) in Novgorod region in the middle of the ninth century that a band of Scandinavian merchant-pirates was called on to come and help one clique of native princes against the other.[18] These "Varangians" not only came in but stayed, founding later the Russian state in the Dnieper river basin, at that time the most important merchant thoroughfare in that part of the world. These Norse conquerors and state builders were soon assimilated by the natives. In the course of time a series of new principalities was formed and old factional bickerings and fratricidal warfare was renewed.[19]

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therefore were leaving the land to move to the cities or to join the bandits as traders and warriors.

These bandit-warriors are pictured in the Russian folk epic as ruling by such terrifying violence and dreadful terror and craft that all the living beings on the earth flee and hide, or lie prostrate, and even the earth itself shrinks and the sun sinks away at their appearance:

> The red sun was sinking
> Behind the dark woods, behind the broad sea,
> Multitudes of stars studded the clear sky
> When Lord Volga Buslavlevich was born
> In holy Russia.
> When Volga Buslavlevich was five years of age,[27]
> Lord Volga Buslavlevich went forth over the damp earth
> Damp mother earth was rent,
> The wild beasts fled away up to the clouds;
> And the fish scattered in the blue sea:
> And Lord Volga Buslavlevich went
> To learn all craft and wisdom,
> All the various languages;[28]
>
> Volga grew in strength and stature.
> He chose for himself a bold druzhina,
> Of thirty youths save one,
> He, Volga making the thirtieth.
> His dear 'uncle' bestowed upon him,
> Gracious Vladimir of Royal Kiev,
> Three cities with their peasants.[29]

The hero knights of these legendary *Byliny* (the events of the olden days) when they find themselves in circumstances which appear to be under their control, are likely to be boastful, quarrelsome, disrespectful, sensitive to rank and inclined to belittle the strength of their adversaries. In such circumstances they spend their time either in plundering, fighting, maiming and killing, or in feasting, debauchery, and drunkenness.[30]

The extreme power-compulsion and delusions of grandeur of these supermen, as well as their complete lack of self-control, are well symbolized in folk narratives about Svyatogor. This hero has an irresistible urge to bring the heaven and the earth to-

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gether and to subdue the whole of the universe to his personal control. But he is at the same time utterly incapable of controlling his own gigantic strength. Hence he provokes the whole earth against himself ("Mother Earth could not bear his weight"):

> He saddled his heroic steed
> And rode forth on his way.
> His young heart was throbbing,
> His strength vibrated in his sinews,
> His energy was like to overflow,
> And he was heavily burdened with his strength,
> Heavily burdened as with a grievous load;
> He could not control his heroic strength.
> And he threw away his steel club
> Which vanished out of sight about the clouds,
> And caught it again in his white hand;
> "If I should take to walking on the earth
> I would fasten a ring to heaven,
> I would bind an iron chain to the ring,
> I would drag the sky down to mother earth
> I would turn the earth on its end,
> And I would confound earth with heaven."[31]

There is no deed that these warriors and bandits would hesitate to commit in order to increase their personal power. The Great-Russian folk narratives agree with the early Russian chronicles and with later Russian historical documents that these men were ready to murder even their own closest kin in order to achieve their personal aims. In a folk epic this extreme bloodthirstiness and quest for power is symbolized by young Shchelkun, a hero of Tartar origin who murders his own son, and then, like the Scythians of old, drinks his blood. By this act of extreme cruelty he seeks his own self-aggrandizement:

> Stab your son
> Your beloved son,
> Fill a bowl of his blood,
> Drink up this blood,
> This warm blood,
> And then I will grant you

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Tver the ancient,
Tver the wealthy,
And the two brothers,
The two bold Borisovichi.
At once young Schelkun
Stabbed his son,
Filled a bowl of his blood,
His warm blood,
And drank up the bowl of that warm blood:
And straightway Tsar Azvych
Bestowed upon him
Tver the ancient,
Tver the wealthy,
And the two brothers,
The two bold Borisovichi.[34]

However, as soon as such "Good bold youths who have robbed and slain" find themselves in circumstances which appear to be unsurmountable, they are inclined to become cowardly, are overwhelmed with gloom and fear, and tend to rely on crouching servility and on guile and cunning as a means of self-preservation. When in such a mood they picture their enemies as superhuman, beastly beings possessing supernatural strength, thus justifying the lack of fair play in dealing with them.

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It is possible that this radical change of social structure was projected into the new folk concept of the supernatural world. The Old-Slavonic fairyland inhabited predominantly by benevolent spirits was apparently transformed under the new conditions into a demonland full of beings with terrifying and macabre qualities. Blood-sucking vampires, heart-devouring witches, fiends that feast on human flesh, and other murderous and rapacious beings similar to those found in the underworld of the steppe nomads replaced the Old-Slavonic helpful deities and moderately malignant spirits.

In the same manner the Old-Slavonic benevolent wizards apparently evolved into rapacious and slaughterous witches who specialize in child eating. The Old-Slavonic beautiful and benevolent water spirits developed into monsters who bewitch people, especially the youths, and then draw them down into the deep waters to put them to death. The Old-Slavonic friendly and

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God a wrathful, irate and revengeful Old Man, but the Church leaders themselves, affected by the conditions of their society, were inclined to emphasize the fear aspect of the Christian God rather than his love and compassion. They also tended to preoccupy themselves with death, describing it as a terror-striking event. In some early Church sermons even the messengers of God, the angels, were represented in a terrifying manner:

> Then, two angels appear, sent by God for the soul. As soon as the soul has seen them, it will be horrified; all its image and beauty and face will change; feet and hands will be torpid, and the hearing as with the tongue will be chained by silence; and man will be all sorrowful and invalid and woeful; and afterwards, appears death. And then, with a terrible pain the soul will issue from the body . . .[37]

These feelings of anxieties and fears, combined perhaps with a strong sense of guilt of the Church leaders, are manifested in the life histories of most Russian saints. These people, as portrayed in their hagiographies, were being constantly threatened by temptations and intimidations of dreadful demons. Hallucinations about demons became very frequent among the monks, and struggle against demons became one of the main aspects of ascetic life. Whole herds of these fiends were sometimes seen by the ascetics. The demons would disguise themselves as humans, as angels, and even as Christ, or they would appear in their true beastly form.[38]

Consistent with this gloomy and terrifying view of life and death was also an apocalyptic picture of the end of the world as pictured by Church leaders. According to the old Russian sermons the end of the world was very near and it was to ensue in fire and floods of blood brought about by a wrathful and revengeful God, (a picture that strongly reminds one of the vision of the end of the world found in the beliefs of the steppe nomads of Central Asia):

> Then undying fire will flow from the East to the West, devouring mountains, stones, trees, and the sea. The firmament will be dried up and turned like brick bats, and all existing things, except men, will melt in a like way by the rate of the fire. All the earth will be burned; and through this undying fire all mankind has to pass.

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562 369 middle and upper strata knew how to assert themselves and increase their role and influence, thus reviving the Old-Slavonic traditions.

III

593 152 Though the father was to be severe and strict, he was expected also to love his wife and his children. Just like God in Heaven, father's duty was to inflict harsh punishment, but he was also to show compassion, kindness, understanding and constant solicitude for the members of his household. He was responsible before God and men for the failings and misdeeds of his family members, and he was therefore to look after their well-being and salvation. Thus love and violence were often mingled in the Great-Russian family. A number of folk sayings express this ambivalent trait of attachment and hostility when referring to the attitudes and behavior of the father. "To love one's wife is to hold her in terror" (*Lyubit zhenu-derzhat grozu*); "Whom I love I thrash" (*Kovo lyublyu togo i biyu*).[24]

One of the basic underlying motives in the father's violence seems to have been his self-seeking and urge for dominance as well as a need for succor. "Beat your wife oftener, it will be useful for the future," the men would say. The Domostroy justifies child beating in a similar manner ". . . he will comfort you in your old age and will give beauty to your soul. . . . and he will make you happy when he grows up. . . . and your enemies will envy you. If you will be weak in his childhood, he will make you suffer when he grows up; will set your soul on edge."[25]

There is in some proverbs also an indication of an expectation of "masochistic" indulgence according to which violence and deprivation would arouse love. "Not to beat one's wife is not to be loved by her" (*zhenu ne bit i milu ne byt*),[26] the people would say. In a folk song, for instance, the husband buys gifts for his wife, but it is of no avail. When the husband buys a knut and gives his wife a beating with it, it is only then that she responds with love. In another folk song the wife boasts the knuting "is an honor to me and is not painful" (*Mne to za chest, ne bolno.*)[27]

Though the father felt dependent upon his wife and children

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and was expected to love his family, he was to remain detached and distant. Such paternal behavior was particularly noticeable in the urban strata where both the Turco-Mongol and the Church influences were stronger. "Do not smile at him, do not play with him" is the advice of the Domostroy concerning father-son relations.[28] The father was not supposed to show any outward signs of emotion, neither anger nor affection toward his wife, children, or his servants. Even during the beating the father was expected to remain cold and detached, according to the Domostroy. His love was to be of a charitable and compassionate character. Any kind of personal closeness and familiarity with his wife or children might have undermined an authority that was based on sternness, fear and awe.

A number of autobiographies and other writings of Russian men of letters, as well as the accounts given by foreign observers, stress this duality in the behavior of the father. He is pictured as compassionate, kind and goodhearted, but also as detached, harsh and abusive.[29] A number of these documents tell about the *groza* (terror) in which the father or the grandfather had held all his dependents; about his detachment even when playing with children, and about his inability to be with them on comradely terms or to laugh with them. They often tell about the difficulties the children experienced in attempting to approach their father on intimate and friendly terms, though they felt that he had a "good heart" and was "compassionate":

> My father, true to the family tradition, took up the profession of soldiering . . . To his children he was a comparative stranger but we were terrified of him. We only saw him at meals; he spent the rest of his time in his private rooms which none of us dared to enter save at his command. A masterful, violent nature, he either could not or would not control his temper, and was an object of terror to us and to his servants. However, he had a good heart. But at the period when he lived, harshness had become a moral principle. To show benevolence was to be weak, to be cruel was to be strong . . . and my father, like most men, was cast in the mould of his period. He carefully concealed his feelings under a mask of harshness. He was certainly brutal; he was also compassionate in his own way . . . At this period children, the poor and the weak, and still more the serfs, were scarcely considered to possess a soul. My father reigned, but did not govern.

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desire for his father's death.[17] Only then was there hope for freedom. A folk maxim, for instance, says: "When the earth takes the parents, the children get their freedom." Such an extreme form of revolt, however, was not so simple because it went counter to the accepted image of the father, his supernaturally sanctioned absolute power, his care and solicitude for the welfare of all the family, and the traditional obligation of love and gratitude towards him on the part of the family members. Hence antagonistic attitudes against the father were regularly mixed with strong feelings of guilt.

Both the feeling of guilt and the fear of being rejected by the father might have perhaps been manifested in those folk tales which tell gruesome and frightful stories about children who were abandoned by their parents[18] and left at the mercy of wild beasts, frost, open sea, and in those folk tales in which the children are dismembered by their own parents and thrown away in small pieces. That the father himself sensed a potential feeling of rebelliousness on the part of his son and that he himself might have had a feeling of guilt because of his treatment of his son is witnessed by folk sayings which express a dread of old age with its dependency upon one's own children: "To pay old debts and to feed old parents are the hardest things in the world"; "One father will feed nine children sooner than nine children will feed one father"; "God take away my life rather than let me be under my son's care."[19]

There were other tensions and conflicting situations in the Great-Russian patriarchal family, particularly in the urban strata. The principle of seniority, for instance, reserved disciplinary privileges and responsibilities for the brothers in relation to their sisters, and for the senior brothers and sisters in relation to their juniors. At the same time a father's absolute power often took the form of favoritism in respect to a younger son, or to a daughter, which was counter to the established principles of seniority and therefore considered unjust. There was therefore plenty of opportunity for resentments, rivalries, jealousies, hatreds, and fights among the siblings, or between the older and the younger family members:

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[Dobrolyubov]

humiliating treatment which Dobrolyubov experienced at the hands of his father. As a reaction to such a family situation, Dobrolyubov developed strong needs for emotional attachment and felt very disillusioned and deeply embittered when his need for dependency was frustrated. When he was sixteen years of age this "forerunner of Bolshevism" wrote in his diary:

> No matter how many attachments I had formed in the past, always the evil fate would whisk the beloved being far away from me; and in my soul remains only the sorrowful memory and bitter realization of my despair . . . I could never live without love, without attachment to someone. This has been so ever since I remember myself. But this constant irony of fate, which makes all my hopes and dreams usually crash into dirt, constantly hardens and chills my heart, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that soon it will be both hard and cold as stone.[5]

Later, apparently, Dobrolyubov found an outlet for his repressed hostilities, in his writings in which he tended to emphasize the dark sides of Russian society ("Realm of Darkness"). He joined that group of "Nihilists" who excelled in their philosophy of extreme individualism, who attacked the existing society and devised the ways to destroy "coldbloodedly" its very foundations, including the family. It was in this ideology of "Nihilism" that Russian Anarchism as well as Bolshevism have been rooted.

The demand for unlimited power as a means of compensation for humiliations and deprivations and as a means of satisfying craving for acceptance and support tends to perpetuate a political system which gives one a chance to indulge such needs through relationships of absolute dominance and unconditional submission and through destructive action. Such a social and political structure, in its own turn, tends to reinforce paternal despotism and absolute obedience in the family. In this manner, just as in the society of steppe marauders, power-seeking, mistrust and destructive aggression are perpetuated, become generalized and are manifested in many social relations.

On the folk level desire for power was manifested, for instance, in the customs connected with childbirth. On that occasion the midwife would place the child on a sheepskin coat or furcoat so

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that he might be rich and powerful in life.[6] For the same reason money was placed in the water when the child was bathed for the first time.[7]

In marriage customs the urge for power was expressed in certain activities performed during the marriage ritual and believed to contain magical properties that enabled either one or the other spouse to dominate. Also in the wedding party the bridegroom was called "knyaz" (prince) and his party "boyars"; an important part of the marriage ceremonies consisted in *velichat gostei*, that is in mutual glorification of the wedding guests.

The phrase *Kak vas velichat?*—how to glorify you?, which is employed when asking another person his name might indicate the same feelings. In early Russia personal names were formed by a combination of words which conveyed the image of rule, glory, power, holiness and destruction, such as Sviatoslav (the holy and glorious), Yaropolk (blazing power), Mstislav (the glory of revenge).

Another manifestation of power-seeking, mistrust and destructive aggression on the folk level is revealed, for instance, in attitudes toward women. The folk image of the woman is in remarkable contrast to the image of the mother. The derisive name for woman is *baba*, and baba is said "not to be a human being" (*Baba ne chelovek*), according to a proverb. Therefore mistreatment and abuse of women may be justified.[8] In the folk parlance distinction is made between *Krestyane* (Christians, peasants) and *zhenshchiny* (women). In the folk maxims women are pictured as immoral ("Three babas Sodom"), shameless ("A baba laughs where grandpa blushes"), more cunning than the devil ("Where the devil fails he sends a baba"), the cause of all man's troubles ("She was the cause of Adam's banishment"), and source of all evil ("We cannot expect any good from our rib").[9]

This folk concept of woman as an inferior being is found on all levels of Russian society. Comparatively few women have been admitted to the rank of saints in the Russian Church. Count Leo Tolstoy, a philosopher and novelist, who has been otherwise renowned for his ideas of Christian love, all-human brotherhood and an anarchic social and political equality, showed a great deal of misogynism. In his diary he pictures

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women as stupid and nasty, conceited and licentious, and as the mainspring of all calamities of the world.[10] But Tolstoy, too, like the Russian popular view of life, did make a distinction between the woman and the mother.[11]

Hostile drives, mistrust and destructive aggression might be revealed also in attitudes towards strangers. These are sometimes likened to animals, especially dogs. Comparing people with beasts indicates an inclination to abase them and to mistreat them. Such an attitude is shown especially toward those who are considered to be "enemies." When talking about the Tartars, the people would say "the dog of a Tartar." In a like way, xenophobia was manifested in the attitudes toward the "thrice accursed Latins," that is, the Western, non-Orthodox peoples.

Perhaps this need to abuse and to destroy in order to demonstrate one's power was manifested also in treatment of those who were abandoned and helpless, such as prisoners in foreign wars, as well as prisoners in rebellions and civil wars at home, or convicted criminals. In the rebellions and civil wars atrocities were committed by both sides, the government troops and the rebels, the Orthodox and the Dissenters, the Whites and the Reds. In a similar manner convicted criminals, domestic servants and serfs were often used as targets of destructive aggression.

Tendency to abuse was manifested also in the relations between merchants and customers, capital and labor. In the lowest strata ruthless self-seeking took also the form of begging. There was a great number of beggars; begging became a widely spread business. Some of the beggars became people of considerable means. Leaders among the beggars would mutilate, deprive of eyesight, and deform healthy men and boys to use them as their instruments in begging. Entire villages, and even some regions were said to have made begging their regular profession.[12]

II

In circumstances where power-seeking, destructive aggression and mistrust prevail any accident may be interpreted as a sign of another person's hostile intentions. The other person tends to be looked upon as a potential enemy. "You mustn't stroke anyone's head—you might get your hand bitten off," said Lenin.[13] And as

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000 a self-protection on any sign of hostility a preventive war or feud must be initiated.[14] Hence also craftiness and cunning, readiness to lie and to commit perjury[15] and a general wiliness and wariness might easily develop.[16] When a society is to a large extent governmentalized and regimented, such traits are reinforced because in such conditions the feeling of insecurity and lack of trust favor ruthless domineering and coercive submission on all levels of social organization.

In circumstances where power-seeking, extreme self-concern and lack of mutual trust prevail there is a readiness of many people to spy on one another and to inform. There is also an inclination to caluminate[1] as a means of revenge and personal malice.

● 152 154 Destructive aggressiveness and feeling of insecurity, as well as need for succor, may explain the passion for hazardous games and intoxicating drink, and the inclination toward lechery. That [273] liquor is used as a compensatory device which provides a feeling of power and security as contrasted to a reality in which one is cowed into submission is well expressed in folk philosophy. According to a proverb, "When the peasant is drunk, he feels equal to a nobleman; when he is sober he is afraid even of a pig."[17] Hence, in a society in which people find themselves subdued, degraded, and oppressed and where their needs for attachment and acceptance are thwarted, a safe way to rebel against such conditions or to find a convenient substitute may be in drunkenness and debauchery. The early Church documents, as well as the recent evidence, point to the perseverance of such practices:

[786] Numerous are the sermons devoted to invectives against drunkenness and the pagan character of banquets . . . This wild debauch of popular feasts was preserved until the twentieth century, with the same scenes of drunken fighting and killing as are depicted in this document of the thirteenth century. Orgiasm . . . unrestrained emotional [781] outbursts, stimulated by alcohol, dancing, fighting, or sex, always has been an outstanding feature of Russian temperament.[18]

1 [Sic -- Analyst]

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[Saint Theodosius]

593 159 792 rified by such behavior. After his father's death, Theodosius used "to go to the fields with the slaves and work humbly."[13] Later when Theodosius finally escaped from his mother's tyranny by entering a monastery, he became the founder of that school of Russian monastic philosophy which emphasizes self-abnegation and meekness, as well as charitable love and compassion for those who suffer. In that manner Theodosius identified himself and his Church with all those who were tyrannized. But he was also active in protecting those to whom injustice was done. He became "intercessor for many before judges and princes, rescuing people."[14]

152 695 Deep sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them might explain why the Russian juries and the peasant courts were so ready to acquit the repentants. Juries and courts would often set free criminals who were found guilty by well established evidence. The verdict in such a case might be "not guilty" because of "commiseration for the poor murderer." A jury sitting through Holy Week would tend to acquit everybody, because "at the time of our Lord's Passion, it does not become Christians to condemn their brethren."[15]

152 538 Sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them is an outstanding trait of Russian literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Russian writings of those days exhibit a preoccupation with great social, political, religious and psychological problems of mankind. They picture a gloomy, painful, and tragic world, full of misery, injustice, blood and death. In the same manner the school textbooks of those days contained many heartbreaking stories full of compassion and commiseration for the suffering, unprotected, weak.

152 783 538 668 When identification with suffering is a manifestation of revolt or is combined with the urge for revolt, strong feelings of guilt might develop. On such grounds compulsion to suffer and to be persecuted might thrive. This "Russian Kenotism" is found among the early Russian monastics[16] as well as among the Russian nineteenth century revolutionaries and men of letters. Some Russian revolutionary factions, for instance, emphasized sacrifice and martyrdom to the point of self-destruction.[17] In the like manner Count Leo Tolstoy claims in his diary that he, "often

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wanted to suffer, wanted persecution."[18] A number of heroes in Dostoyevsky's novels show the same urge.

Undoubtedly such feelings contributed to that tone of fanaticism and that readiness for self-sacrifice which was characteristic of many Russian revolutionaries and conspirators of pre-Soviet days and which gave a special vigor and intensity to their activities. Such extremes in emotional reactions were supported also by another trait in these people, that of emotional instability.

13
EMOTIONAL INSTABILITY

I

FEAR and awe (*strakh*), submission (*povinovenie*), and sense of guilt (*sovest*) are rooted in the structure of the Great-Russian society and are supported by its traditions. But so is compassion (*zhalost*), humility (*smirenie*), demand for truth and justice (*pravda*) and for egalitarian acceptance, as well as revolt and terror (*ustrashenie*), lack of trust and urge to destroy (*unichtozhenie*). It is the propensity to experience such contrasting sentiments that causes behavior which is alternatively bent in opposite directions. A person's behavior which has been conditioned by an environment which fosters such feelings and attitudes might show a lack of sense of moderation and a tendency toward extremes in responses to his social milieu.

It is such unbalanced peculiarities of behavior that have drawn the attention of many students and observers of Russian society.[1] A tendency toward diametrically opposite extremes, and frequent alternation between these poles has been often noticed. Kindliness and gentleness have alternated with lack of consideration, excessive severity, brutality and cruelty. Rebelliousness has been followed by resignation. Periods of feverish energy and confidence have been superseded by spells of inertia, languor and despair. Extremes in feasting have alternated with extremes in fasting. Tyrannical rule had its counterpart in demands for

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absolute and unconditional liberty and denial of any laws, conventions or obligations.[2] Ideologies which sought universal salvation and identification with Christ's teaching (Dissent, Slavophilism) had their counterparts in the ideologies which demanded universal destruction and identification with anti-Christ (Nihilism, Terrorism).[3]

Among the intelligentsia a lack of a sense for methodical work, and lack of initiative were combined with preoccupation concerning grandiose and utopian plans on a world scale. There was a noticeable lack of preparation for these programs and a tendency to consider that having made plans was equal to their fulfillment. Such traits were so striking among some intelligentsia that they were given a special name (*Oblomovshtina*).[4]

It is known that a number of outstanding Russian intellectuals have shown a remarkable lack of emotional balance in their behavior. These would often move from one ideological camp into that of their bitter opponents. In ideological controversies no tolerance was shown for the opposite point of view. There was a tendency to treat all in the opposite camp as enemies. "Who is not with us is against us," was the principle applied in theory and practice. Some outstanding Russian intellectuals themselves admitted such traits in their character. Dostoyevsky, for instance, analyzing his own feelings stated: "In all things I go to the uttermost extremes; my life long I have never been acquainted with moderation." Not unlike this self-analysis of Dostoyevsky was that of Bakunin. In his "Confession to the Czar" he said: "There was in my character a radical defect: love for the fantastic, for out-of-the-way, unheard of adventures, for undertakings which open up an infinite horizon and whose end no man can foresee."[5]

According to General Golovine among the army officers there was a "tendency to drunkenness, churlishness and tyranny toward their subordinates," but there were also "many heroes among these negative types," and often a "regular officer showed such readiness to sacrifice himself that his superiors were forced to restrain his excessive ardor."[6] Lack of balance and stability was also reflected in the differences between military units. Often "next to a first class regiment there was another completely worthless."[7]

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157 538 his power over others, so unshakable is his belief in his own sovereignty. . . . There is tremendous strength in *Boris Godunov*, the part I would sooner play than any of the others of my repertory. Here again the Russian temperament is overwhelmingly manifest in the seditious license of the boyars, as it is in the boundless autocracy of Ivan the Terrible. It appears also in the lawlessness and drunkenness of Prince Galitski, one of the chief characters of Borodin's admirable opera *Prince Igor*. Galitski's excesses are as extreme as his cynicism.[9]

157 533 Some observers of Great-Russian music find in it traits similar to those of Great-Russian belles-lettres. According to Leroy-Beaulieu the Great-Russian music shows an "alternation between extreme emotionality and extreme peacefulness."[10] And according to General Golovine this music is a "combination of the vague and salient softness and harshness of sound, deep sorrow and uncontrolled gaiety, dreams and drama, restlessness and calm . . ."[11] Golovine specifically referred to the music of Glinka, Chaikovsky, Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakoff, and Rachmaninoff.

● 152 538 Extremes of self-aggrandizement followed by self-maceration, murder followed by tears, is noticeable also in the Russian folk psychology. The Great-Russian folk songs, for instance, are often full of cruelty, but are also heart-breaking and plaintive, full of sadness, melancholy and tragedy, sung in minor key. In folk tales and folk songs about Stenka Razin, this robber-bandit is represented both as magnanimous and cruel, as savage and pitiful. He revolted against those in authority, but rallied the poor and rebellious beneath his banner. At the same time he himself showed traits of barbarism and of self-laceration. One of the popular Russian folk songs, tells us, for instance, how once Stenka, "drunk with wine and mirth together," lifted the Persian Princess, his beloved "new-vow bride," over the side of his barque and flung her "forth into the hungry deep" of the Volga, as "a gift from a Cossack of the Don." Stenka acted in such a violent manner because some of his comrades had scornfully reproached him that in his affection to his bride he behaved like a *baba* (woman).

II

152 154 A number of interpretations are offered for such behavior.[12] Most of these explanations are either "geografic" or "cultural-

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diffusionist" in their general approach. Thus a number of writers attribute the ambivalent traits in Russian behavior to the influence of climate. The struggle with hostile forces of nature, say these people, has developed in the Russian man qualities of tenacity, energy, and strength; but at the same time the insuperable forces of nature have developed qualities of patience, resignation, and meekness. The former has developed hardness of character by the very bitterness of the struggle; the latter has taught him to sympathize with the afflicted and desolate.[13]

Other geographic theories point out not only the extremes in climate, but the contrasting nature of the soil as well, as a means to explain Russian behavior and Russia's life and history which are full of contrasts and contradictions. Russia's forest and marshy area is contrasted to the steppe regions as the basic foundations on which Russian society has grown.[14]

There are other students of Russia who tend to explain unbalanced traits in the Russian man on the ground of conflicting Asiatic and European cultural influences, to which Russia has been subjected throughout many centuries of its formation. This view is still shared by many. It had been advanced by a number of Russian intellectuals, among them Leo Tolstoy:

> One *Rus* has its roots in a universal, or at least in European culture. In this *Rus* the ideas of goodness, honor and freedom are understood as in the West. But there is another *Rus:* the *Rus* of the dark forests, the *Rus* of the Taiga, the animal Russia, the fanatic Russia, the Mongol-Tartar Russia. This last Russia made despotism and fanaticism its ideal. . . . Kiev *Rus* was a part of Europe, Moscow long remained negation of Europe.[15]

It would be difficult however to explain ambivalence in the behavior of individuals and peoples exclusively on the basis of such generalized influences of East and West, extremes in climate, and contrasts between forests and steppes. The circumstances which become significant as agents in personality formation have to be felt directly or indirectly on a number of levels of interpersonal and institutional relationships. Among these one of the more effective influences which shape and mold the personality of man seems to be the family environment.

Some Russian intellectual leaders and men of letters, such as

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large part of them were disfranchised as well, because in municipal self-government and in district and provincial assemblies even persons holding university degrees, if they did not own a sufficient amount of property, were devoid of the right of suffrage.[4] And it was this underprivileged group of declassee nobility, of priests' sons, of former clerics, of sons and daughters of lower government employees, of unemployed professionals, of students and of former students who never had a chance to finish their studies, that became known as the *raznochintsy*.

The raznochintsy intelligentsia tended to lead a bohemian life and to engage in literary activities and journalism. But these vocations were greatly limited because of strict censorship laws. When the bar was established some raznochintsy practiced law as barristers, though they were very restricted in their activities because of traditional extra legal practices of the police. When under local self-administration (*Zemstvo*), a health, educational, and economic program for the improvement of rural areas was developed, a number of raznochintsy were employed by the Zemstvo as physicians, veterinarians, agronomists, teachers and bookkeepers. At the same time, their traditions and training, and especially their ambitions and expectations had conditioned the raznochintsy for intellectual pursuits and political leadership, not for routine administrative work or for business promotion and enterprise.

In such a situation the deeply rooted feeling of rejection which had been developed on the family level was greatly magnified.[5] Accordingly, self-centeredness, power-seeking, lack of trust, destructive aggression, as well as identification with suffering which were developed on the family level were heightened in these circumstances and found expression in ideologies which manifested extreme hostility and an urge for universal destruction. Many of these young rebels, for instance, denied all existing social institutions, conventions and restrictions, and demanded their total obliteration.

This ideology of extreme negation and destruction ("Nihilism") manifested, perhaps, the feelings of utter despair of the ambitious and self-seeking raznochintsy who felt impotent before the God-like power of the Czar and his omnipotent police.

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Thwarted in their drive for power and political leadership, these young men and women gave vent to their feelings of deprivation in phantasies and plans of destruction and death.

Much of the sadness, tragic sarcasm, morbidity and preoccupation with death and suffering which dominated Russian literature in the second part of the nineteenth century reflects such moods of despair. The predominance of social and political themes in the literary creations of these people and the insistence of literary critics of those days on literary "realism," that is, that a work of art should be judged not by artistic and esthetic criteria but by its portrayal of existing life and its faithfulness to reality, especially the brutal and dark reality, manifested the same feelings.

Pisarev, describing this psychological reaction of impotence and the urge for destruction before seemingly uncontrollable forces, stated that when men "find it impossible to transform life, their anger at their own impotence makes itself felt in the sphere of thought, where the destructive work of criticism proceeds unceasingly."[6] That the basic drive behind this urge for negation and destruction was extreme self-seeking is witnessed by some other ideas of the same writer. "Every living being," said Pisarev, "is for himself the center and the meaning of the universe . . . his personal joys, vexations, aspirations, and cares, are more important than universal revolutions. . . ."

Starting with such premises, some of the Nihilists refused to recognize any regulation, any moral law, any principle, whether above, external, or within a person as being "absolute." The result was preaching of extreme materialism and individualism, and denial of all "absolute" ethics, of duty and of responsibility, of ideals and of social values.

II

In the meantime, however, the effects of European revolutions of 1848 and the defeats of the Russian armies in the Crimean War (1854–1856) led some of the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia to the belief that the Czarist system was not as invulnerable as generally accepted. These people proposed direct and organized action against the Czarist regime in order to raze it to

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the ground together with all its fundamental institutions. Such plans for direct action aimed at total destruction of the existing order were developed by the Anarchists ("Our task is terrible, total, inexorable, and universal destruction".)[7]

Not unlike the Slavophils and the Nihilists, the Anarchists revolted against the existing formal law which was abused for personal gains of those in power. Just as the Nihilists, the Anarchists revolted against the family institution whose sacredness in Russian society often veiled arbitrariness, cruelty, injustices, and humiliations imposed by the elders upon the weak and unprotected. Like the Slavophils and the Nihilists, the Anarchists revolted against private property, the official Church, and the state because these institutions in the Czardom joined hands in supporting the system of serfdom and bureaucratic regimentation. "The only revolution which can do any good to the people is that which destroys, from top to bottom, every idea of the state, overthrowing all traditions, social orders, and classes. . . ."[8]

The Anarchists demanded a return to an anarchic and equalitarian brotherhood that strongly reminds one of the Old-Slavonic world. But following the patriarchal and Czarist traditions of unconditional power and dominance, the Anarchists, just as the Nihilists, usurped for themselves the right to cheat, to steal, to lie, to destroy, and to kill, as a means to do away with "deceit, cunning, exploitation, depravity, vice," of the ruling classes. Said Kropotkin:

> I will be immoral to snap a weapon abused by religion; I will do it, were it only to protest against the hypocrisy imposed on us in the name of a word to which the name morality was given.[9]

"The revolutionary defines as moral only that which assists the revolution, and defines as immoral and criminal that which stands in his way," says the *Catechism of Revolution*. In the same manner, Kropotkin, speaking of the Russian terrorists who assassinated Czar Alexander II, said that "these men and women . . . had conquered the right to kill. . . . 'They have the right to steal' . . ."[10]

In order to be able to destroy, to cheat, and to kill the exploiters and the representatives of the government, it was neces-

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sary to know how to hate them. The Anarchists therefore undertook to find ways by which extreme hatred could best be promoted. This, they said, should be done first by arousing passionate and uncompromising love for equality and freedom and becoming ready to suffer and to sacrifice oneself for these ideas; then by instilling burning hatred and urge of destruction of those who stand in the path of these objectives. "The terrorist," said Stepniak, "is noble, terrible, irresistibly fascinating for he combines in himself two sublimities of human grandeur: the martyr and the hero."[11] Such a revolutionary will "not hesitate to destroy any position, any place, or any man in this world. He must hate everyone and everything with an equal hatred."[12]

Ambivalence of hatred and love and justification of violence for the sake of salvation of others had their roots in the family and were reinforced by conditions in the society at large. Identification with suffering, guilt feelings, desire for martyrdom and self destruction had the same roots and reinforcements. On the ideological level of Anarchism these feelings and attitudes were formulated into principles of thought and action:

> . . . we do not forego our own capacity to love what seems to us good and to hate what seems to us bad. Love and hate, for only those who know how to hate know how to love . . . We only ask one thing, e.c. to eliminate all that impedes the free development of those two feelings in the present society, all that perverts our judgment: the state, the church, exploitation; judges, priests, government, exploiters . . .[13]

But since the primary sources of this ideology and conduct were feelings of rejection, hate and killing took the upper hand over love. Accordingly the Anarchists demanded severance of the relations with the rest of the society and complete dedication to destruction. "The revolutionary has broken all ties with society." He "should have no . . . attachments, no property and no name. All these must be wholly absorbed in the single thought and the single passion for revolution."[14]

Detachment from the rest of the society promoted self-pity and therefore reinforced destructive aggressiveness both against the others and against the self. Renouncement of all ethical, moral or other consideration in dealing with adversaries, pitiless-

565 demand for the witches (*vedma*) and wizards (*znakhar*), persons
754 who dealt in black magic. One bought their services both as protection from his enemies and as a means of attack on them. In this manner the dealers in black magic who were a means of protection and attack were also an added threat in life. Some knowledge of defensive and offensive magic became therefore indispensable for everybody.

[152] Destructive urges which developed in such conditions were manifested also in the idea that it was possible for one, if he so wished, to turn into vampire in order to bring evil upon his enemies or to suck their blood. Any wizard or witch by using a spell (*zagovor*) was able to transform a man into a vampire. Such men, transformed into ghost-beasts, would then deal their terrible blows on their enemies, slaking on their victims their thirst for blood.[16]

674 These same conditions[1] fostered crime, particularly theft, robbery and murder. Some of the sayings, for instance, condone theft and even robbery, particularly if they were done cleverly and the perpetrators escaped being caught. That crime was not only a means of personal gain but also a means of protest against existing conditions is witnessed by those folk proverbs which rationalize or justify theft on the ground that those from whom it was stolen were likely to be much more guilty than the thieves themselves. "He who stole sinned once; those from whom it was stolen sinned ten times." The same motivation might be seen in the inclination to put the blame on the informers more than on the thieves. "Not he who steals, but he who leads is a thief," they would say.[17] Backed by such philosophy of life and favored by existing conditions, crime became widespread. And since in that society force was identified with law, violence was often justified as a means to secure the property of others, especially in times of war. "What is taken by force is sacred," the people would say.

565 Since the conditions in the patriarchal family and in the
152 stratified local community fostered destructive aggression, and since violence was widely used by all the authorities, the peasant manifested a strong inclination toward violence, whenever this expression of his protest could go unpunished. On the family

[1] [i.e. among the peasants of] Tsarist days. (Cf. cat. 116, pp. 140-150.. Analyst]

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level violence was manifested in frequent beatings of wife and children, and on the rural community level in habitual drunkenness that often ended in brawls and even murder.[18] In conditions which foster human degradation and lack of trust, both self-seeking and vindictiveness flourish. Hence the Great-Russian peasant was inclined to commit atrocious acts of revenge against people whom he considered as his persecutors or who caused him any harm. When threatening with revenge the Great-Russian peasant was likely to say: "You will pay me with your own blood" (*Ty u menya kroviyu svoey umoeshsya*). Killing as a revenge, burning hay-ricks, barns and homes was a common occurrence. The peasants were likely to organize a collective hunt against real or fancied malefactors and mutilate them or put them to death by means of torture:

> For murder and robbery, death of the culprit—sometimes with mutilation by cutting and tearing off of various parts of his body. For horse-theft and grand larceny they practice sometimes hammering of iron nails into the head and forcing of wooden pins under the nails and also merciless beating even onto death; . . . in some instances the case ends by maiming the thief and letting him go.[19]

At the same time the frontiersmen and professional warriors, such as the Cossacks, became renowned and widely admired because of their deeds of vindictiveness and violence. War was a great opportunity for people with such inclinations. As Gogol has put it, the Cossacks found a great delight in "accumulating booty from raided towns, putting the villages and the fields on fire, and spreading their glories by far and wide throughout the steppe" in order "to revenge themselves for all evil and humiliation."[20] There were numerous robber and Cossack songs which told about such exploits, and expressed desire for vindictiveness and destructive aggression.

Destructive aggression was nursed on the patriarchal family level and reinforced by conditions in the local community. Thus as soon as the controls of the authorities would weaken, mass revolts would come into the open. Such a behavior in turn was used by the local authorities as a justification for their strictness in dealing with the peasants:

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III

Just as in the ideology of Nihilism and Anarchism, revolt against degrading submission and rejection and demand for acceptance in some sects took the form of extreme power-seeking and self-deification. In the sect *Lyudi Bozhii* (people of God), for instance, the craving to become God incarnate or to have a live incarnation of Deity actually present in their midst was so strong that since the time of the sect's founder who claimed to be God Zebaoth (Sabaoth) a whole series of Christs came into being, succeeding one another by a sort of filiation or adoption. Finally each religious community of this sect boasted of having a flesh-and-blood Christ in its midst. They claimed that it was in each man's own power to unite himself to the Deity and to incarnate it in his own body. A woman had the faculty to become *Boginya* (the Goddess) or *Bogoroditsa* (Mother of God) and many women did achieve such self-apotheosis, adding to the number of divinities of each community.[19]

It was by means of suffering and mortification of flesh that candidates for Messiahship competed among themselves for this supreme achievement. These exploits were accompanied with self-glorification. In this way both power-seeking and identification with suffering were realized. The followers would watch for years to see which of the rival pretenders to Christhood underwent the greatest sufferings. The rivals for Godship, on the other hand, often resorted to trickery to prove their claims.[20] But once the issue was settled and a God-incarnate was recognized, the whole congregation owed Him supreme reverence and unconditional obedience which satisfied the contender's craving for power: "I am God, foretold of the prophets. There is no other God than I. Seek ye none other. Where unto ye are appointed, abide therein."[21] On the part of the congregation the desire for Christ-incarnate in their midst manifested a strong need for protective dependence and acceptance.

Hence longing for a world in which truth and justice, kindness and love would reign, in which there would be no abusive serfdom, no subservience, tortures and sufferings, but happi-

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This is great fortune
For all the servants of the world,
Sharers in honesty and trust,
Executors of the Covenant of Christ.[22]

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Longing for acceptance was not only manifested in the worship of living "Christ," but also in carnal communion with the "Christs" and "Madonnas," in ecstatic trances and mass religious hallucinations, and apparently even in some cannibalistic practices.[23] Thus when in consequence of sacred rites a Bogorodica would bear a child, if a boy, he was known as *Khristosik* (the little Christ). According to some students of Russia's religious life the Khristosik was immolated on the eighth day after his birth. His heart and blood, mixed with flour and honey, were served to make the cakes for the Eucharist. This practice was called "Taking Communion in the blood of the Lamb."[24] At other times, according to the same sources, it was a young virgin, chosen as Mother of God who willingly gave her left breast to be cut out amidst ritual dancing and singing. The breast was then partaken of as the "true Eucharistic food."[25]

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Great emotional insecurity and extreme fear of rejection might explain why elements of power-seeking were present in all sects, even in those which professed complete repudiation of power in any form whatsoever. For instance, Popov, the founder of the Molokane sect which originally professed complete freedom of conscience and complete equality, eventually entirely suppressed liberty of discussion and interpretation. Unconditional submission to the authorities he declared to be the first duty, insubordination the greatest sin.[26] Andrey Selivanov, the founder of the Skoptsy sect, had himself designated in the prayers which were addressed to him in his lifetime, as "God of Gods and King of Kings," even though the Skoptsy sect professed complete freedom from any form of coercion.[27]

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Also early in the history of the Dukhobortsy we find that their communistic practices finally led to dictatorship and despotism.[28] The leaders of this sect knew how to take personal advantage of the longing of the sect members for protective dependence and acceptance. One of the leaders of this sect, Kapustin, in the beginning of the nineteenth century expounded

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ended in a violent and mysterious way and a number of pretenders arose to take its place. It was in this interval between the fall of the former authority and the relative consolidation of a new one that the oppressed strata of the Czardom saw an opportunity to rebel against a state of humiliating bondage and economic misery. Seeking relief from their burdens and yearning for social acceptance in a system of equalitarian relationships, the poorer burghers, homeless Cossacks and runaway peasants and slaves flocked into the camp of Bolotnikov, himself an ex-slave and adventurer who marched at the head of this strange army upon Moscow. From his camp near Moscow he distributed proclamations inviting slaves and serfs to slay their masters, commanding all of his followers to rise against the voevodas and others in authority, and exciting them to rob and beat traders. In return he promised the slaves and serfs the wives and the property of the serf-owners. To all his followers he pledged honors, riches and the status of boyars.[2]

Search for security in a system of protection-dependence relationships manifested itself in a need for pretenders. If only a rumor started about the appearance of a pretender, whole provinces would rise to greet him. Sometimes a pretender had to be subsequently found to lead these masses of discontents who rose to follow a fancied liberator and benefactor. Such conditions only contributed to the prolongation of the troubled times and prevented an early establishment and consolidation of a new authority. It was in such a way that most of the seventeenth century became a century of riotings and rebellions which climaxed in the great rising under Stanka Razin in 1670–1671. Originating among the Don Cossacks, this movement soon spread to the Volga regions and developed into a general war of the lower strata against the upper classes. In this, as in the other uprisings of that century, many excesses were committed by both the rebels and the government forces. The same features of social struggle were repeated in the eighteenth century, in the great peasant rebellion that was led by Pugachev, another Cossack chieftain.

Also the nineteenth century witnessed a number of peasant rebellions. In the beginning of that century the peasants of the

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is "perfected until there are no shortcomings." Then on members of such a group one can make great demands.[33] They will be disciplined, enduring, courageous and faithful. Work will become "second nature" to them; they will not abhor hard effort, nor be afraid of "healthy sweat."[34] They will be industrious and efficient and will develop the "best and most worthy feelings of man," that is, devotion to labor, heroism in the struggle against the forces of reaction, untiring, ruthless and unwavering vigilance against the survivals of capitalism, and an irreconcilable attitude toward the slightest manifestations of deviationism.[35]

III

In the days of Czardom the system of economic and political regimentation found its support in religious sanction and in nationalism. In a like manner the Bolsheviks had early realized that great privations which their regime demands could be best elicited from their subjects with the help of an identification with the great, the absolute, the sublime. It is by such means that traditional cravings for attachment and acceptance could be satisfied. In such a manner also a sense of guilt and urge for self-sacrifice could be reinforced and employed for political purposes.

It is along such efforts that the Bolsheviks have revived and strengthened the traditional Russian images of God, Czar, Father and Mother and have projected these images to the Leader and to the Party. The likeness to God and religion is manifested in the Bolshevik claim of infallibility of their leaders, universality, eternity, and sanctity of their doctrines. Lenin's teachings, for instance, are extolled by the Bolsheviks as being "superior" to any other ideology, as embracing the whole of humanity, and as living forever:

> Lenin's thoughts represent a superior achievement of the Russian and of the world culture; an eternally living and eternally developing science of society—a fighting banner of the working class—living soul of the Bolshevik Party which led our Fatherland to the avant-garde of the whole human kind.
>
> The books of the vozhd and teacher are immortal. They live and

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208 186 therefore imperative from the point of view of the survival of the Soviet power and self-perpetuation of the ruling faction to find new mass identifications and symbols. These were readily found in ideas of grandeur and perfection, and in ethnocentrism, rooted in Czarist traditions, in Slavophilism and in the Third [152] Rome ideology. These feelings and attitudes were reinforced in the structure of Soviet society in which, just as in the Czardom, dependency and subservience are likely to foster in the higher strata compensatory feelings of superiority and desire to dominate.

In Bolshevik ideology, however, self-apotheosis expressed in ideas of grandeur and in myths of social and national superiority, and in plans of conquest reached much higher proportions than in the Czardom. Thus the language of Bolshevism became saturated with words and phrases which convey the image of grandeur, perfection, holiness and eternity. Words and phrases, such as grandiose (*velichayshy*), life-giving (*zhivotvoryashchy*), invincible (*nepobedimy*), the most perfect (*naybolie soversheny*), limitless (*bezgranichny*), legendary (*bogatyrsky*), epoch-making, holy (*sviatoy*), miraculous (*chudotvorny*), immortal (*bessmertny*) and eternal (*vechny*) are regularly used to depict the achievements of the Soviet state. The Soviet state is referred to as the "magnificent Soviet State," as "the most perfect political form of power" which has already achieved "world-wide historical victories," and still contains "inexhaustible possibilities." There is today no such force "which could surpass its might."[44] Such a mighty and powerful Socialist state "shows a profound influence on the whole international life, on the hearts and minds of all liberty loving people," thus initiating a "new era in the history of human kind."[45]

The Soviet people themselves are said to be unique and to excel in their personal qualities. The Soviet man, as pictured by the Communist press has in every respect attributes superior to the man of any other society. Having "unheard-of opportunities for education," he is said to be at the head of all "progressive humanity." It is pointed out that he is the one who possesses "the only correct orientation" and absolute knowledge of the past, present and future given him by the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

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pected to help the Party "at all times," there is always a possibility of conflict between the demands of the Party and those of the family. Also, owing to a great shortage of manpower and a very low standard of living, most women, with the exception of those from the upper ruling strata, are forced to work long hours outside the home. Many of them have to engage in heavy physical labor. Such mothers are not only physically exhausted at the end of the day, but are often disillusioned, bitter, as well as critical of the system, a fact which is confirmed by a rather high percentage of women in convict labor camps. Such mothers cannot pay sufficient attention to their children.

At the same time great demands and responsibilities placed on parents in regard to the discipline of their children and the interference of the Party and the government in family affairs often causes harshness in treatment of children. Hence overstrictness as well as negligence of children is the result.[24] Such a situation favors both feelings of rejection and revolt, as well as extreme self-concern and destructive aggressiveness on a larger scale and in a more intense way than in the days of Czardom. And since the Soviet system of vigilance encourages family members to inform on one another, mutual suspicions, fears, and hostilities rooted in patriarchal traditions are greatly magnified. Training in self-confidence and trust, and in group attachment cannot thrive in such circumstances. But it is exactly self-concern, mistrust, and destructive aggression that are so instrumental in the perpetuation of the Bolshevik rule.

Unstable political and economic conditions, together with consequences of wars, depletion of rural areas of adult men, famines, convict labor camps to which millions of parents have been confined, have resulted in an unprecedented number of broken families and a growing number of neglected, illegitimate and delinquent children. A number of such children, especially orphans of war heroes, at the age of nine are sent to military schools. Many neglected and delinquent children at the age of 3 to 13 are sent to special homes for children which are in charge of the secret political police.[25] The increasing stress on internal vigilance, together with the pressing need of the political police to feed their vast economic enterprises with cheap

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one's helplessness, feeling of rejection, and dependence upon the controlling power is especially keenly felt. In such conditions even a slight deviation might provoke a feeling of guilt, need for self-punishment and suffering; it might call for public self-humiliation, confession of errors and pledges to repent and to correct the wrong done, especially when such practices are supported by the inherited traditions. There is therefore a certain degree of truth in the assertion of the Bolsheviks, that "Criticism and self-criticism is a great driving force in the development of Soviet society."[10]

II

In a "prison and barracks" society privileges of power and ideas of grandeur do not sufficiently compensate for lack of acceptance, isolation, humiliations, feelings of insecurity, and sense of inferiority and rejection. In an atmosphere of suspicion, intrigue, degradation, and lack of intimate personal and intellectual contact and of social support, anxieties, fears, extreme self-concern, and deep antagonisms easily flourish. Such a situation tends to magnify feelings of destructive aggression developed on the family level and is therefore likely to become overcharged with extreme hostilities and hatreds; it is likely to become full of potential explosiveness which may be directed against the ruling class itself unless convenient channels for discharge of aggressiveness are found.

In a society in which overt expressions of emotional behavior are under the control of a ruling clique, accumulating aggressions are readily directed against internal and external "enemies" of the regime, be they real or invented for the occasion. In this manner the feeling of hostility against the regime might be redirected against its opponents. It is therefore in the interest of survival of the ruling faction in such a society to cultivate hatred and destruction of the "enemy" by all means of public pressure, propaganda, agitation, education, as well as lawmaking.

These are the reasons why attitudes of extreme animosity against the "enemies of the Soviet Motherland" are propagated in the Soviet daily press and in the school textbooks. Stirring hatreds is one of the main tasks of Party agitators.[11] Accordingly

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in the political philosophy expressed in Soviet writings and in the speeches of outstanding Party members, extreme hatred of the internal and external adversaries is considered as a precondition of Bolshevik victory and of survival of Soviet society. Thus, for instance, in a May Day Order of the Day, Stalin, as People's Commissar of Defense declared: "You cannot defeat any enemy without having learned to hate him with all the power of your soul." In Soviet writings Lenin is hailed as a man who had "a holy hatred of the oppressors of the people . . . "[12]

Just like the Anarchists before them, the Bolsheviks claim that a deliberate cult of hatred is a precondition for the development of a "revolutionary passion." They justify hatred as a means to achieve their revolutionary goals. Following the same traditions the Bolsheviks insist that fanatical devotion should be instilled in people as a means to arouse passionate hatred. Therefore deliberate cultivation of hate together with the training in extreme identification with the Leader, the Party, the Motherland, and the Communist cause must start with kindergarten and with school training of Soviet children. Passionate hatred and passionate love are expected to mutually strengthen each other. According to pedagogical teachings, the Soviet children should be "saturated with irreconcilable hatred toward the enemies of socialist society," as well as with "passionate love of the Motherland." But here too just as in the Anarchist precepts, hatred appears to take the first place and love the second:

> Hatred gives birth to class revolutionary vigilance and creates a feeling of irreconcilability toward the class enemy; the weakening of such vigilance undermines the cause of the socialist revolution. It is necessary to learn, not only to hate the enemy, but also to struggle with him, in time to unmask him and finally, if he does not surrender, to destroy him . . . to vanquish the enemy is impossible without the most burning hatred of him . . . Passionate love of the motherlands breeds inevitably strong hatred of the enemy.[13]

Many outstanding Soviet novelists in their writings emphasize this cult of destructive aggression. Maxim Gorki, for instance, wrote an essay entitled "If the enemy does not surrender, he must be destroyed." Konstantin Simonov, another outstanding Soviet

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author, wrote a well known poem under the title *"Ubey ego"*—kill him.[14] In a similar manner Alexey Tolstoy, a well-known Soviet novelist, has published an essay entitled *Ubey Zverya*—Kill the Beast. "Kill him," writes Alexey Tolstoy, "that is your sacred command."[15] Mikhail Sholokhov, another prominent Soviet writer, wrote a pamphlet entitled *Nauka Nenavisti*—The Science of Hatred—in which he stressed, in a like way as the early Russian Anarchists and contemporary Soviet pedagogists, the necessity of ardent love for the Cause as a source of passionate hatred of all the opponents. To him, too, love seems to be necessary primarily as a means of hate.[16] "Hatred for enemies of the land of socialism is an inseparable feature of socialist ideology and the ideology of Leninism," the Bolsheviks repeatedly say.

Under the label "enemies" are classed not only the foreign "capitalists, imperialists, and reactionaries," and internal non-Party oppositionists, but also Party members who deviate from Party ideology, and "all sceptics, opportunists, capitulators, scabs, and traitors." Hatred and struggle against these "enemies" within the Party must be as merciless and ruthless as against external adversaries. This is considered to be imperative in a mortal struggle against the capitalist world:

> The history of the Party . . . teaches us that unless the Party of the working class wages an uncompromising struggle against the opportunists within its own ranks, unless it smashes the capitulators in its own midst . . . it cannot perform its role of organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution . . . If, while it is carrying on a life and death fight against the bourgeoisie, there are capitulators and traitors on its own staff, within its own fortress, the working class will be caught between two fires, from the front and the rear. Clearly such a struggle can only end in defeat.[17]

This conscious fomenting of intense hostility and animosity against internal, as well as external "enemies" as a means of survival in a "mortal struggle" is manifested in the language of Bolshevism. The words "liquidation" and "purge" which are often synonomous with killing and extermination of opponents became outstanding in Soviet vocabulary. There is an increasing use of words which convey ideas of hatred and violence and stimulate such feelings and practices. In Bolshevik stereotyped termi-

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nology opponents are referred to as the "enemies of the people." They are said to be "groups of spies," "traitors to the country," "dregs of humanity," "fiendish criminals," "pigmies," "useless rubbish," "hordes of barbarians," "hangmen," "cannibals," "enemies of humankind."[18] These "instruments of oppression of the proletariat," full of "falsehoods and perverse lies," "narrow-minded petty-bourgeois with sickly mentality," have to be mercilessly "smashed," "annihilated," "crushed," "destroyed" with an "ever greater frenzy and ferocity."[19] They have to be "cleansed" from the Soviet society in order to ensure the consolidation of the rule of the Bolsheviks.

It was in order to justify ruthlessness in dealing with the opposition that labelling, denouncing and name-calling has become prominent in Bolshevik practices. Any softness toward the "enemies" is denounced as bourgeois "sentimentalism."[20] Instead, *besposhchadnost* (mercilessness), *surovost* (ruthlessness), *besstrashie* (fearlessness), and *zheleznaya volia* (iron will) are said to be the "Lenin ways" by which the political workers are to deal with all the "opponents, slackers, and deviants."

If in this "life and death fight," ruthlessness, pitilessness, and mercilessness have to be applied then also cunning, guile, craft, ruse and deceit are equally welcome as useful means. Lenin is often quoted as saying that the Communists, when necessary, must "resort to strategy and adroitness, illegal proceedings, reticence and subterfuge,"[21] that they must use any trick and veiling of truth; that they must dodge and maneuver. They must be ready in the interest of final success to suffer humiliation and self-abasement. In the interest of the cause and of final victory, they must know how to retreat and how to "crawl in the mud on their bellies."[22] According to the Bolshevik teaching, there is not an "absolute ethic." Every act is measured by how it corresponds to the interests of the group.[23]

III

Emphasis on extreme hatred, on ruse, and on mercilessness against those who do not conform is not new in the history of Russian society. Destructive aggression formed an aspect of the Czarist rule; it was manifested in the persecution of religious

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dissenters, in the civil wars as well as in the struggle between the Czarist police and the revolutionary intelligentsia; it was even formulated as an ideology and became a credo of Anarchism.

In the Bolshevik ideology this anti-humanism is justified by representing the "enemies" as not being human beings. Just as in the folk attitudes toward enemy aliens, the oppositionists and the adversaries, actual and potential, real and imaginary, are identified in Bolshevik writings with "gnats," "insects," "reptiles," "dogs," "wild beasts," and "beasts of prey." It is by such ways of reasoning that the Soviet pedagogists have come to the assertion that indoctrination of the people with "burning hatred" of the enemy does not contradict the ideas of humanism, because, they claim, the ideas of humanism and humane feelings do not apply to beasts. In this manner even acts of cruelty toward the "enemies" are condoned and encouraged:

> Hatred of the enemies of the socialist Motherland by no means contradicts the principles of humanism, since it is devoted to the protection of the rights and liberty of the worker from the designs of beasts of prey.[24]

The need for such an appeal to extreme animosities against the adversaries is in itself an indication of instability of the Bolshevik system. The ruling faction had to resort to such a means in order to promote complete identification with and fanatical devotion to the Cause and to the Leader. Here, however, we see a noticeable difference between the Czardom and the Soviet Russia. Though the Czarist system often exhibited aspects of extreme ruthlessness, the whole ideological and intellectual development of the Czarist Russia, especially in the last century of its existence, was in the direction of increasing Westernization and humanization. This trend coincided with certain gains in the field of personal, economic, and cultural freedoms in the Czardom.

As a result terrorism and acts of violence, though widely practiced, were not openly advocated as official Czarist policy. Many moderate and conservative factions of the intelligentsia strongly denounced all acts of terror performed either by the government or under the auspices of the revolutionary intelligentsia. One

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of human lives. Soviet military policies are little concerned about systematic rotation of units, facilities for recreation, short leaves and furloughs, regular correspondence with home folks, or with the development of techniques to avoid exposure of men to unnecessary risks.[27] As a result of such attitudes the toll of a Soviet division in war time might come up to 90 percent of its men.[28] Even more indifference is shown toward men who were made prisoners, since "they had surrendered and could not fight any more."[29]

IV

Destructive aggressiveness might become self-destructive unless turned outward. Hence constant internal pressure, intrinsic to Soviet power structure, for aggression against the outside world. A policy of external aggressiveness is likely to provoke external threats against which the accumulating hostilities of the subjects can be mobilized. Successful external aggression is also a convenient way to bolster the prestige of the ruling class and to solidify its rule. The policy of aggression against the outside world implies also the urgency to enhance external security should the policy of expansion provoke international complications.

Early in the development of Bolshevik rule the Communist International and the Communist parties throughout the world have been regimented and employed as instruments of this policy of external expansion, as well as a means of defense against external pressures. It was in accordance with such a trend of events that the Program of the Communist International of 1928, as well as the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International of 1935,[30] emphasized complete identification of the world proletariat with the Soviet power:

> Our road is the road of revolution of the peoples against the oppressors and exploiters. Our will is the will of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Our goal is socialism for the whole of humanity. Our main slogan is the establishment of Soviet power.[31]

In accordance with such need for outward aggression as a relief of internal destructive tensions an ideological distinction

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establish the strictest military discipline within its own ranks. The experience of the Russian Communist Party . . . has proved that the victory of the worker is impossible without a severe discipline . . . and unconditional subordination of subordinate units to the decision of those above them, and a strong Party central organ, whose decrees are binding upon all the leaders of Party life . . .[36]

In this manner, the principles of absolute dominance, unconditional obedience and ruthless discipline rooted in the political traditions of Russian society and reinforced by the structure of Bolshevik power were extended to all the parties on which the Bolsheviks imposed their control. In the same manner, also, the traditional filial attitudes of reverence, gratitude, love and humility have been established in relations of these parties to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Accordingly also, destructive aggression became one of the fundamental orientations of these parties. The Communist parties have been encouraged to use all means at their disposal, "including force of arms" in order "to overthrow the international bourgeoisie,"[37] and to "lay low the exploiters . . . completely defeat them . . . crush their resistance. . . ."[38]

As a result, the language of these parties, like that of Bolshevism, stresses hatred, destruction and war. For instance, in the Theses and Statutes and in the Program the emphasis is on extreme hostility expressed in many stereotyped phrases, such as "hatred and relentless aggression," "pitiless struggle," "persistent and merciless denunciation," "merciless contempt," "stubborn, armed and ruthless fight," "fierce and decisive battles," "ruthless war." These means against the "mortal enemy" are said to be necessary in order "to destroy the apparatus of the bourgeoisie," and to bring about the "violent overthrow" of bourgeois power, "at whatever cost." Each Communist party is expected to foster hatred and destructive aggression by all means of propaganda and agitation. The Communist press in all countries and popular Communist songs are especially significant in this respect.

Since the Communist parties outside the Soviet Union, just as the Bolshevik Party itself, stress hatred, pitilessness and destruction, they tend to attract into their ranks people who for one

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reason or another feel rejected, non-accepted, humiliated, oppressed or ostracized in their own society and who find in these parties an opportunity to vent their accumulated grievances and pent-up hostilities. But they also tend to attract people who for idealistic and humanistic reasons seek Utopias of all-human brotherhood. They attract ambitious and talented intellectuals and semi-educated people who have been thwarted in their professional and political expectations; also intellectuals and semi-intelligentsia with mediocre abilities but strong urges for self-assertion and desire for leadership and domination. They also attract many patriots belonging to oppressed nationalities or races, who have identified themselves with their nation, race or ethnic and cultural minority and seek acceptance of their group in a Communistic millenium. In times of social upheavals these parties attract also many adventurers, criminals, vagabonds, and other deviants and offenders.

It is, however, people overcharged with destructive aggression who in these parties tend to climb toward the top levels of Party leadership, because it is such people to whom the Party offers great opportunities for their destructive urges and who therefore tend to be unconditionally loyal to Moscow as contrasted to the more moderate and more humane and patriotic elements, who for one reason or another might not want always to accept Moscow's dictate. As a result of such internal conditions the history of all Communist parties has been a history of internal intrigues, splits, purges, and frequent bloodshed which in turn made it easier to completely subdue these organizations to the will of the Kremlin:

> . . . those who disorganize the Party are to be flayed without mercy. Championing as we do working class unity, we shall with so much more energy and irreconcilability fight for unity within our Parties. There can be no room in our Parties for factions, or for attempts at factionalism. Whoever will try to break up the iron unity of our ranks by any kind of factionalism will get to feel what is meant by the Bolshevik discipline that Lenin and Stalin have always taught us (applause) . . . *The Party is above everything else!* (Loud applause) To guard the Bolshevik unity of the Party as the apple of one's eye is the first and highest law of Bolshevism![88]

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829 It may be said without fear of exaggeration that since the death of Engels, the master theoretician Lenin, and after Lenin, Stalin and other disciples of Lenin, have been the only Marxists who have advanced the Marxist theory and who have enriched it with new experience in the new conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat.[4]

This trend of thought, dictated by the determination to perpetuate themselves in power, led the Bolsheviks to reinterpret the philosophy of dialectical materialism and determinism. Con-
828 trary to early Socialistic doctrines the ruling Bolshevik faction
● 153 put forward the claim that by a correct manipulation of man's environment, his behavior and nature can be easily changed to suit predetermined objectives. The "unity of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice," the Bolsheviks say, enables them to know how and in what direction the events "ought to develop."

The Bolshevik design is, therefore, to develop a "new type of man" more amenable to submission and control. "We make tractors, but also want to make new men," they say, "since man can consciously change nature in the direction needed by him."[5]
827 Therefore the chromosome theory of heredity according to which heredity depends upon the genes which cannot be controlled, had to be denounced as heresy from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism.[6] Instead, the Michurin-Lysenko theory according to which environment determines heredity ("hereditary transmission of individual characteristics acquired by the organism under the conditions of its life") was proclaimed as "the only scientific principles."[7] Thus since the physical environment becomes amenable to control, the hereditary characteristics of man could be planned in advance, according to these ideas.

Supported by such theories and encouraged by Party policies, some Soviet scientists advanced the claim to have been able to "conquer nature." They stated that they have shown the way how it is possible to produce "new species" under a planned change of environmental conditions.[8] Other Soviet scientists have initiated studies which are expected to lead to the "transformation of dead matter into living cells."[9] In like manner, the official endorsement of Pavlov's school in physiology has been prompted by the hope that studies of the functioning of the

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animal brain might lead to the knowledge of how to control the human brain.[10]

Thus Marxian theory of dialectical materialism and determinism has been revised to allow the Bolshevik ruling hierarchy to control "matter" so as to affect events in a direction which seems to be most desirable from the point of view of the perpetuation of their regime. In the same manner the Marxian theory of "ideological superstructure" has been revised to suit Bolshevik needs. Morals and ethics, esthetics, character, thought and feelings are now to be planned in advance by an appropriate control of social surroundings and environmental influences in accordance with the decrees of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow. The Bolsheviks now say that "the best qualities in man are those that are planned beforehand and are inculcated into him."[11]

Contrary to earlier Marxian doctrines the Bolsheviks now state that even when social roots of certain habits or ideas are eliminated "men's minds lay behind social actuality."[12] They claim now that "Subjective factors play a decisive role in turning possibility into reality." It is therefore necessary to influence human minds and eradicate "tenacious survivals of the past,"[13] by a planned and deliberate action even in a Socialistic society which is already transforming itself into a Communistic society.

The basic principle in this planned shaping of human thought and feeling is that human personality should be molded in a way which best suits the political needs of the Bolshevik hierarchy. Hence morals and ethics, literature and art, economic activities as well as private lives must be politicized. Just as earlier the Anarchists had subordinated ethics and morals to the need of the revolution, so now, according to Bolshevik philosophy, "that is moral which causes the Communist system to triumph."[14] Morals and ethics depend upon the question of "our political needs"; they stem "from our requirements in the building of socialism."[15] In the same manner the fundamental task of art and literature is said to consist in propagating "supreme devotion to the Soviet regime":

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group which claims perfection and monopoly on Truth cannot afford to lay itself open to any fundamental criticism of its accomplishments. Figures are therefore manipulated so as to achieve the desired effect.[22] "In the land of the Soviets statistics have become a weapon for Socialism and Communism," the Bolsheviks say.

II

Shaping of the "new man" must begin early in his childhood. To answer to this need, the schools have become in the Soviet system one of the fundamental instruments of character molding in the hands of the ruling faction. Special measures must be applied by educators to fashion character since "the life itself would not do it," the Bolsheviks say. The schools in the Soviet society have therefore a twofold objective. The first is to develop in each and every child psychological traits which are considered most desirable from the point of view of the perpetuation of the Soviet system and Bolshevik rule. The other is to develop needed skills and to train specialists which are of fundamental importance in a system of total control, such as experts in conspiracy, political organization and agitation, in overseeing, in vigilance and violence.

In a thoroughly regimented society training in unconditional obedience and in identification with and dependence upon the leader is of paramount importance. Such personality traits, already rooted in the Russian social and political structure, are being reinforced by the system of training in the Soviet schools whose pedagogical principles in their essentials do not differ from the precepts of the Domostroy. "From early years we must educate children so that a state of discipline will remain as their permanent possession," says a textbook on Soviet pedagogy.[23] "This discipline must be *firm*, that is, unquestioned obedience and submission to the leader, the teacher, or the organizer . . . " Submission to the will of the leader "is a necessary and essential mark of discipline."[24]

According to these pedagogical ideas the teacher does not coax pupils, he *demands* obedience.[25] The teacher is expected to be "authoritative and strict." Whenever necessary he must give

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establish the strictest military discipline within its own ranks. The experience of the Russian Communist Party . . . has proved that the victory of the worker is impossible without a severe discipline . . . and unconditional subordination of subordinate units to the decision of those above them, and a strong Party central organ, whose decrees are binding upon all the leaders of Party life . . .[36]

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of rule. The defeat or death of the ruler, as much as lack of constant external pressures, are likely to bring about a sudden disintegration of a political structure based on such foundations. 121 181

Want of human attachments in the society of these steppe marauders might have been brought about by a strong feeling of insecurity which seems to be rooted in the physical as well as in the social environment of these people. Nomadic horse-breeding in the steppes and deserts, abusive dominance and humiliating submission in a despotic family organization, autocratic political system, sharply stratified social structure, and predatory warfare of enemy tribes present constant physical and emotional threats which breed deep fears, anxieties, lack of trust and violent hostilities. These conditions are harmful to the growth of social intimacy and to the development of group identifications and solidarities; they are likely to favor formation of a self-centered personality and to foster an urge for extreme power-seeking and destructive action as a means of personal survival. [154]

Contrasted to the society of these power-oriented and predatory warriors of the steppes, was the group-oriented and anarchic culture of the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators, spreading since remote times over the forest plains and along the river valleys between the upper Volga and the Carpathians. This society represented a stable system of self-contained and autonomous small agricultural communities with equalitarian social and family organization, diffused social power, lack of central political authority, lack of sharp economic or social stratification and lack of coerciveness. Interpersonal and institutional relationships in these communities promoted group intimacy and social cohesion; they discouraged self-seeking, destructive aggressiveness and warlike qualities. But as the nomadic warriors, in the course of their centuries-old invasions, were imposing their rule over this egalitarian and stateless social system, significant changes were taking place in the Old-Slavonic world; these have formed the basis for the formation and the growth of Russian society. [156]

One of the most important innovations consisted of the formation of a ruling class of conquerors whose whole view of life was in complete contrast to the social and political philosophy of the

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ment of moderation and emotional integration. In the early Slav society, mother's role in all family affairs was very significant. With the growth of the patriarchal family, one of her important duties came to be that of intercessor and of protector against the wrath of the father. In the patriarchal family the mother was not the chief disciplinarian; therefore she did not have to resort to threat, violence, privations, and humiliation as a means of discipline. Her punishments were mild and her main means of control were those of love and reasoning. Her authority and self-respect were therefore not endangered by being close to children and by being on familiar terms with them. She was always available and approachable. The children, therefore, felt much more at ease and free in the presence of their mother than in that of their father.[1]

The mother, if feeling neglected, abused or degraded by a remote and harsh husband, was likely to seek compensation for the lack of love and for wounded self-esteem by being over-protective and over-affectionate in relation to her children, expecting indulgent response from them. The son, if barred in his desire for attachment to his father or if abused and humiliated by him, might feel the more attracted to his mother as a means of emotional outlet and as compensation for feelings of rejection and humiliation.

It is this role of the mother as warm protector and close friend that has been expressed in folk sayings and other products of folk philosophy and imagination. "Fear your father, and respect your mother" says a Russian folk proverb pointing out the sharp contrast in the attitude of a child toward his father and his mother. The folk sayings emphasize also the intimate and tender bond that exists between mother and child and the importance of such close ties for the child. "Without a father the child is half orphan, without a mother a child is a complete orphan"; "Mother's beating does not hurt"; "Mother raises her hand high, but does not strike hard." Because of such close mother-child relationship, it was considered in the popular view of life that mother's influence on the child was in the long run deeper than that of the father. "What mother puts into the child's head, the father will not knock out," the people would say.

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[Ivan the Terrible]

In this manner popular religious ideas and practices which might have developed as a response to the interpersonal relations in the family and in the Czardom in their own turn tended to perpetuate the existing social and political order, its institutions and practices. There were, however, other aspects of interpersonal relations intrinsic to that social organization which provoked responses that tended not to perpetuate it, but to undermine it and to destroy its very foundations. These important agents of structural change in Russian society will be discussed on the following pages.

11
POWER-SEEKING, MISTRUST, AND DESTRUCTIVE AGGRESSION

I

A CHILD who has been rejected and humiliated by a stern and scornful father, but who has been spoiled by an overindulgent mother might respond to such a situation by developing an exaggerated concern for his own ego, and an extreme intolerance for privations and denials. And in case the mother cannot serve as a satisfactory substitute for rejection by the father, complete detachment from the group, and pity for an abandoned, degraded and suffering self might develop. In such circumstances also a deeply rooted suspicion of others, an unbridled desire for power, and an overwhelming hate and urge for destruction of all those who stand in one's path might take place.

The life histories of a number of Russian rulers and intelligentsia apparently show such an effect of their family environment.[1] Childhood experiences and character traits of Ivan the Terrible, for instance, provide an outstanding example. There is sufficient evidence for the contention that the strange behavior of this Czar was rooted in rejection and in alternating mistreat-

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[Ivan the Terrible]

[Dobrolyubov]

593 ment and indulgence to which Ivan was exposed as a child. Early
● 154 in his life Ivan was left an orphan. His father died when he was
159 four and he lost his mother four years later. As a child Ivan was reared among crouching servility as well as among arrogance, violence, and contempt. He was greatly pampered on the part of some of his tutors and courtiers, but also often deeply wounded on the part of others. Some of the boyars at the court would annoy him and insult him. They would arrest and threaten with death persons to whom Ivan was attached.

In his own writings, Ivan tells us how much he suffered because he was deprived of his attachments and frustrated in his expectations. It is possible, that it was as a result of such experiences that Ivan developed ideas of rejection, persecution and self-pity, as well as an urge for self-assertion by means of destructive aggression. He sought for himself power which was as overwhelming as that of omnipotent God and asserted himself by means of ruthless violence. "My parents never had a care for me," he claimed. He also said: "In vain I have looked for some man to have pity upon me, but have found no one. Yea, no comforter have I found, but only such as have rewarded me evil for good and hatred for love."[2] He felt emotionally very dependent upon his wife and blamed the courtiers for her early death. He himself explained his assassinations of the boyars on that ground. "Why divided ye me from my wife? Had ye not taken from me my *unitza* (heifer—young wife), never had there been the slayings of the boyars."[3] The old documents say about Ivan
[159] that "He pitieth not men, nor yet yieldeth. Likewise, he loveth not contrary speech, but doth conceive anger against them who do speak it."[4] He is described by his biographers as "self-seeking, opinionated, ferocious and self-willed."

More recent evidence of the effect of rejection-indulgence is given by Dobrolyubov, one of the outstanding Russian intellectual rebels of the second part of the nineteenth century. According to his biographers and according to his own diary, Dobrolyubov was thwarted in his attachment to his father, a clergyman, who was detached, harsh and even brutal in dealings with his son. Dobrolyubov was very close to his mother, but this relation apparently did not compensate for the thwarting and

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[Dobrolyubov]

humiliating treatment which Dobrolyubov experienced at the hands of his father. As a reaction to such a family situation, Dobrolyubov developed strong needs for emotional attachment and felt very disillusioned and deeply embittered when his need for dependency was frustrated. When he was sixteen years of age this "forerunner of Bolshevism" wrote in his diary:

> No matter how many attachments I had formed in the past, always the evil fate would whisk the beloved being far away from me; and in my soul remains only the sorrowful memory and bitter realization of my despair . . . I could never live without love, without attachment to someone. This has been so ever since I remember myself. But this constant irony of fate, which makes all my hopes and dreams usually crash into dirt, constantly hardens and chills my heart, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that soon it will be both hard and cold as stone.[5]

Later, apparently, Dobrolyubov found an outlet for his repressed hostilities, in his writings in which he tended to emphasize the dark sides of Russian society ("Realm of Darkness"). He joined that group of "Nihilists" who excelled in their philosophy of extreme individualism, who attacked the existing society and devised the ways to destroy "coldbloodedly" its very foundations, including the family. It was in this ideology of "Nihilism" that Russian Anarchism as well as Bolshevism have been rooted.

The demand for unlimited power as a means of compensation for humiliations and deprivations and as a means of satisfying craving for acceptance and support tends to perpetuate a political system which gives one a chance to indulge such needs through relationships of absolute dominance and unconditional submission and through destructive action. Such a social and political structure, in its own turn, tends to reinforce paternal despotism and absolute obedience in the family. In this manner, just as in the society of steppe marauders, power-seeking, mistrust and destructive aggression are perpetuated, become generalized and are manifested in many social relations.

On the folk level desire for power was manifested, for instance, in the customs connected with childbirth. On that occasion the midwife would place the child on a sheepskin coat or furcoat so

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a self-protection on any sign of hostility a preventive war or feud must be initiated.[14] Hence also craftiness and cunning, readiness to lie and to commit perjury[15] and a general wiliness and wariness might easily develop.[16] When a society is to a large extent governmentalized and regimented, such traits are reinforced because in such conditions the feeling of insecurity and lack of trust favor ruthless domineering and coercive submission on all levels of social organization.

In circumstances where power-seeking, extreme self-concern and lack of mutual trust prevail there is a readiness of many people to spy on one another and to inform. There is also an inclination to calumniate[1] as a means of revenge and personal malice.

Destructive aggressiveness and feeling of insecurity, as well as need for succor, may explain the passion for hazardous games and intoxicating drink, and the inclination toward lechery. That liquor is used as a compensatory device which provides a feeling of power and security as contrasted to a reality in which one is cowed into submission is well expressed in folk philosophy. According to a proverb, "When the peasant is drunk, he feels equal to a nobleman; when he is sober he is afraid even of a pig."[17] Hence, in a society in which people find themselves subdued, degraded, and oppressed and where their needs for attachment and acceptance are thwarted, a safe way to rebel against such conditions or to find a convenient substitute may be in drunkenness and debauchery. The early Church documents, as well as the recent evidence, point to the perseverance of such practices:

> Numerous are the sermons devoted to invectives against drunkenness and the pagan character of banquets . . . This wild debauch of popular feasts was preserved until the twentieth century, with the same scenes of drunken fighting and killing as are depicted in this document of the thirteenth century. Orgiasm . . . unrestrained emotional outbursts, stimulated by alcohol, dancing, fighting, or sex, always has been an outstanding feature of Russian temperament.[18]

[1] [Sic -- Analyst]

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[Herzen]
[Sophia Perovskaya]

with all his fellow creatures . . . I felt intense pity for the old man, but I could do nothing—he was inaccessible.[2]

The liberalizing influences which were penetrating Russia from the West reinforced urges of revolt against despotism as well as feelings of identification with suffering masses. By the second part of the nineteenth century the reaction against the tyrannical family environment and oppressing political system took often an extreme form. It is common knowledge that many Russian terrorists and assassins of the second part of the nineteenth century grew up exposed to constant family tensions and personal humiliations, and sought total destruction of society. Others were inclined to identify themselves with all who were abused. Thus we find the urge for destruction and identification with suffering as fundamental aspects of the ideology of Russian revolutionary movements. For instance, Kropotkin, the outstanding Russian Anarchist directly related his revolutionary activities to his identification with all those who were persecuted. He appealed to all who were exposed to maltreatment to rise against their oppressors:

Ay, all of us together, we who suffer and are insulted daily, we are a multitude whom no man can number. We are the ocean that can embrace and swallow up all else. When we have but the will to do it, that very moment will justice be done; that very instant the tyrants of the earth shall bite the dust.[3]

Or take, for instance, Sophia Perovskaya, one of the plotters in the assassination of Czar Alexander II. According to her biographers her father was a willful despot "such as the patriarchal system alone could have produced," and her mother, "constantly humiliated and insulted," remained at home to protect the children. Thus, in her own family Perovskaya learned to hate oppression and developed her love for the oppressed and weak. For her mother, one of the down-trodden, she had a love "bordering upon adoration."[4] Catherine Breshkovskaya, another outstanding Russian revolutionary, who became known as the "little grandmother of the Russian revolution," tells us in her reminiscences and letters how her childhood experiences affected her feelings, thoughts, and actions throughout her life:

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[Catherine Breshkovskaya]
[Bakunin]

154 159 668 How many times, stupefied and shocked, I have been the witness of such humiliating, degrading, excruciating things! How many times I have thrown myself at my father's feet to implore pardon for a so-called culprit, whose only fault, perhaps, was to have fallen asleep while herding the sheep! How many times I have been indignant to see how hundreds of peasants would be kept waiting in the courtyard, bare-headed and shivering with cold, waiting for the master to appear, after making them wait all day, would send them off without a word, so taken up was he with gambling at cards with other lords, who in their turn were making their coachmen wait on the carriage box till their hands were frozen! These things tormented my childish mind, and pursued me even into my bed, where I would lie awake for hours, unable to sleep for thinking of all the horrors about me. Child as I was, I could not understand why these honest folk should bear the entire burden of work and of taxes. I saw that my father, good though he was, put much more heart into looking after his own interests than the interests of his serfs, and I was shocked at the inequality between the rich and the poor. From the age of eight, how to find justice was the question that troubled me.[5]

538 771 Identification with suffering is outstanding in the literary works of Dostoyevsky. Influenced by religious feelings, he considered his own sufferings as a blessing. He identified Russia with crucified Christ and regarded the sufferings of the Russian people as a means by which the wrongs of all mankind will be expiated so that a new and better order will prevail on the earth: "All men will be holy and love one another, and there will be no more rich nor poor, no exulted nor humbled, but all will be as the children of God, and the true Kingdom of Christ will come."[6]

II

593 159 668 Not in all families of Russian intelligentsia was the situation alike. There were families in which harmonious relations prevailed. There were also families in which reaction developed not against the despotism of the father but against the tyranny of the mother. Bakunin, for instance, describes his mother as "a vain, egotistical woman and none of her children loved her."[7] According to Carr, Bakunin "attributed his passion for destruction to the influence of his mother, whose despotic character

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wanted to suffer, wanted persecution."[18] A number of heroes in Dostoyevsky's novels show the same urge.

Undoubtedly such feelings contributed to that tone of fanaticism and that readiness for self-sacrifice which was characteristic of many Russian revolutionaries and conspirators of pre-Soviet days and which gave a special vigor and intensity to their activities. Such extremes in emotional reactions were supported also by another trait in these people, that of emotional instability.

13
EMOTIONAL INSTABILITY

I

FEAR and awe (*strakh*), submission (*povinovenie*), and sense of guilt (*sovest*) are rooted in the structure of the Great-Russian society and are supported by its traditions. But so is compassion (*zhalost*), humility (*smirenie*), demand for truth and justice (*pravda*) and for egalitarian acceptance, as well as revolt and terror (*ustrashenie*), lack of trust and urge to destroy (*unichtozhenie*). It is the propensity to experience such contrasting sentiments that causes behavior which is alternatively bent in opposite directions. A person's behavior which has been conditioned by an environment which fosters such feelings and attitudes might show a lack of sense of moderation and a tendency toward extremes in responses to his social milieu.

It is such unbalanced peculiarities of behavior that have drawn the attention of many students and observers of Russian society.[1] A tendency toward diametrically opposite extremes, and frequent alternation between these poles has been often noticed. Kindliness and gentleness have alternated with lack of consideration, excessive severity, brutality and cruelty. Rebelliousness has been followed by resignation. Periods of feverish energy and confidence have been superseded by spells of inertia, languor and despair. Extremes in feasting have alternated with extremes in fasting. Tyrannical rule had its counterpart in demands for

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absolute and unconditional liberty and denial of any laws, conventions or obligations.[2] Ideologies which sought universal salvation and identification with Christ's teaching (Dissent, Slavophilism) had their counterparts in the ideologies which demanded universal destruction and identification with anti-Christ (Nihilism, Terrorism).[3]

Among the intelligentsia a lack of a sense for methodical work, and lack of initiative were combined with preoccupation concerning grandiose and utopian plans on a world scale. There was a noticeable lack of preparation for these programs and a tendency to consider that having made plans was equal to their fulfillment. Such traits were so striking among some intelligentsia that they were given a special name (*Oblomovshtina*).[4]

It is known that a number of outstanding Russian intellectuals have shown a remarkable lack of emotional balance in their behavior. These would often move from one ideological camp into that of their bitter opponents. In ideological controversies no tolerance was shown for the opposite point of view. There was a tendency to treat all in the opposite camp as enemies. "Who is not with us is against us," was the principle applied in theory and practice. Some outstanding Russian intellectuals themselves admitted such traits in their character. Dostoyevsky, for instance, analyzing his own feelings stated: "In all things I go to the uttermost extremes; my life long I have never been acquainted with moderation." Not unlike this self-analysis of Dostoyevsky was that of Bakunin. In his "Confession to the Czar" he said: "There was in my character a radical defect: love for the fantastic, for out-of-the-way, unheard of adventures, for undertakings which open up an infinite horizon and whose end no man can foresee."[5]

According to General Golovine among the army officers there was a "tendency to drunkenness, churlishness and tyranny toward their subordinates," but there were also "many heroes among these negative types," and often a "regular officer showed such readiness to sacrifice himself that his superiors were forced to restrain his excessive ardor."[6] Lack of balance and stability was also reflected in the differences between military units. Often "next to a first class regiment there was another completely worthless."[7]

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his power over others, so unshakable is his belief in his own sovereignty.... There is tremendous strength in *Boris Godunov*, the part I would sooner play than any of the others of my repertory. Here again the Russian temperament is overwhelmingly manifest in the seditious license of the boyars, as it is in the boundless autocracy of Ivan the Terrible. It appears also in the lawlessness and drunkenness of Prince Galitski, one of the chief characters of Borodin's admirable opera *Prince Igor*. Galitski's excesses are as extreme as his cynicism.[9]

Some observers of Great-Russian music find in it traits similar to those of Great-Russian belles-lettres. According to Leroy-Beaulieu the Great-Russian music shows an "alternation between extreme emotionality and extreme peacefulness."[10] And according to General Golovine this music is a "combination of the vague and salient softness and harshness of sound, deep sorrow and uncontrolled gaiety, dreams and drama, restlessness and calm ..."[11] Golovine specifically referred to the music of Glinka, Chaikovsky, Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakoff, and Rachmaninoff.

Extremes of self-aggrandizement followed by self-maceration, murder followed by tears, is noticeable also in the Russian folk psychology. The Great-Russian folk songs, for instance, are often full of cruelty, but are also heart-breaking and plaintive, full of sadness, melancholy and tragedy, sung in minor key. In folk tales and folk songs about Stenka Razin, this robber-bandit is represented both as magnanimous and cruel, as savage and pitiful. He revolted against those in authority, but rallied the poor and rebellious beneath his banner. At the same time he himself showed traits of barbarism and of self-laceration. One of the popular Russian folk songs, tells us, for instance, how once Stenka, "drunk with wine and mirth together," lifted the Persian Princess, his beloved "new-vow bride," over the side of his barque and flung her "forth into the hungry deep" of the Volga, as "a gift from a Cossack of the Don." Stenka acted in such a violent manner because some of his comrades had scornfully reproached him that in his affection to his bride he behaved like a *baba* (woman).

II

A number of interpretations are offered for such behavior.[12] Most of these explanations are either "geografic" or "cultural-

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diffusionist" in their general approach. Thus a number of writers attribute the ambivalent traits in Russian behavior to the influence of climate. The struggle with hostile forces of nature, say these people, has developed in the Russian man qualities of tenacity, energy, and strength; but at the same time the insuperable forces of nature have developed qualities of patience, resignation, and meekness. The former has developed hardness of character by the very bitterness of the struggle; the latter has taught him to sympathize with the afflicted and desolate.[13]

Other geographic theories point out not only the extremes in climate, but the contrasting nature of the soil as well, as a means to explain Russian behavior and Russia's life and history which are full of contrasts and contradictions. Russia's forest and marshy area is contrasted to the steppe regions as the basic foundations on which Russian society has grown.[14]

There are other students of Russia who tend to explain unbalanced traits in the Russian man on the ground of conflicting Asiatic and European cultural influences, to which Russia has been subjected throughout many centuries of its formation. This view is still shared by many. It had been advanced by a number of Russian intellectuals, among them Leo Tolstoy:

> One *Rus* has its roots in a universal, or at least in European culture. In this *Rus* the ideas of goodness, honor and freedom are understood as in the West. But there is another *Rus:* the *Rus* of the dark forests, the *Rus* of the Taiga, the animal Russia, the fanatic Russia, the Mongol-Tartar Russia. This last Russia made despotism and fanaticism its ideal. . . . Kiev *Rus* was a part of Europe, Moscow long remained negation of Europe.[15]

It would be difficult however to explain ambivalence in the behavior of individuals and peoples exclusively on the basis of such generalized influences of East and West, extremes in climate, and contrasts between forests and steppes. The circumstances which become significant as agents in personality formation have to be felt directly or indirectly on a number of levels of interpersonal and institutional relationships. Among these one of the more effective influences which shape and mold the personality of man seems to be the family environment.

Some Russian intellectual leaders and men of letters, such as

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Some Russian intellectual leaders and men of letters, such as Dobrolyubov, Ostrovsky, Herzen and Kropotkin were very much impressed by the effect which Russian family atmosphere had in shaping the personality of the Russian people, especially the intelligentsia. Herzen pointed out that in a family in which there was "much to hate and despise, and almost nothing to love and to respect," the psychological development was not full, but warped. In a similar manner Kropotkin explains that people who are brought up in families in which the personal relationships between children and their parents are based not on love and mutual respect but on fear and unconditional submission become both domineering and servile, as well as rebellious:

> A child's spirit is weak. It is so easy to coerce it by fear . . . They make the child timid, and they talk to him of the torments of hell. They conjur up before him the sufferings of the condemned, and vengeance of an implacable God . . . and by that habit of submission the thought of the next generation attains this religious twist, which is at once servile and authoritative; for authority and servility walk ever hand in hand. . . . Then the degradation of the ruler and of the judges, of the clergy and of the more or less comfortable classes becomes so revolting that the pendulum begins to swing the other way.[16]

The family environment, however, is itself an integral part of the society to which it belongs and is therefore interacting with it. Hence an understanding of the structure of the whole society, of the view of life, traditional culture and general orientation of its various strata, of the configuration of its interpersonal, institutional and power relationships is necessary in order to explain personality formation and peculiarities of behavior of a people.[17] It is in such a total context that also the direct and the indirect influences of physical environment or of any other "external" pressures might be correctly appraised.

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large part of them were disfranchised as well, because in municipal self-government and in district and provincial assemblies even persons holding university degrees, if they did not own a sufficient amount of property, were devoid of the right of suffrage.[4] And it was this underprivileged group of declassee nobility, of priests' sons, of former clerics, of sons and daughters of lower government employees, of unemployed professionals, of students and of former students who never had a chance to finish their studies, that became known as the *raznochintsy*.

The raznochintsy intelligentsia tended to lead a bohemian life and to engage in literary activities and journalism. But these vocations were greatly limited because of strict censorship laws. When the bar was established some raznochintsy practiced law as barristers, though they were very restricted in their activities because of traditional extra legal practices of the police. When under local self-administration (*Zemstvo*), a health, educational, and economic program for the improvement of rural areas was developed, a number of raznochintsy were employed by the Zemstvo as physicians, veterinarians, agronomists, teachers and bookkeepers. At the same time, their traditions and training, and especially their ambitions and expectations had conditioned the raznochintsy for intellectual pursuits and political leadership, not for routine administrative work or for business promotion and enterprise.

In such a situation the deeply rooted feeling of rejection which had been developed on the family level was greatly magnified.[5] Accordingly, self-centeredness, power-seeking, lack of trust, destructive aggression, as well as identification with suffering which were developed on the family level were heightened in these circumstances and found expression in ideologies which manifested extreme hostility and an urge for universal destruction. Many of these young rebels, for instance, denied all existing social institutions, conventions and restrictions, and demanded their total obliteration.

This ideology of extreme negation and destruction ("Nihilism") manifested, perhaps, the feelings of utter despair of the ambitious and self-seeking raznochintsy who felt impotent before the God-like power of the Czar and his omnipotent police.

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Thwarted in their drive for power and political leadership, these young men and women gave vent to their feelings of deprivation in phantasies and plans of destruction and death.

Much of the sadness, tragic sarcasm, morbidity and preoccupation with death and suffering which dominated Russian literature in the second part of the nineteenth century reflects such moods of despair. The predominance of social and political themes in the literary creations of these people and the insistence of literary critics of those days on literary "realism," that is, that a work of art should be judged not by artistic and esthetic criteria but by its portrayal of existing life and its faithfulness to reality, especially the brutal and dark reality, manifested the same feelings.

Pisarev, describing this psychological reaction of impotence and the urge for destruction before seemingly uncontrollable forces, stated that when men "find it impossible to transform life, their anger at their own impotence makes itself felt in the sphere of thought, where the destructive work of criticism proceeds unceasingly."[6] That the basic drive behind this urge for negation and destruction was extreme self-seeking is witnessed by some other ideas of the same writer. "Every living being," said Pisarev, "is for himself the center and the meaning of the universe . . . his personal joys, vexations, aspirations, and cares, are more important than universal revolutions. . . ."

Starting with such premises, some of the Nihilists refused to recognize any regulation, any moral law, any principle, whether above, external, or within a person as being "absolute." The result was preaching of extreme materialism and individualism, and denial of all "absolute" ethics, of duty and of responsibility, of ideals and of social values.

II

In the meantime, however, the effects of European revolutions of 1848 and the defeats of the Russian armies in the Crimean War (1854–1856) led some of the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia to the belief that the Czarist system was not as invulnerable as generally accepted. These people proposed direct and organized action against the Czarist regime in order to raze it to

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sary to know how to hate them. The Anarchists therefore undertook to find ways by which extreme hatred could best be promoted. This, they said, should be done first by arousing passionate and uncompromising love for equality and freedom and becoming ready to suffer and to sacrifice oneself for these ideas; then by instilling burning hatred and urge of destruction of those who stand in the path of these objectives. "The terrorist," said Stepniak, "is noble, terrible, irresistibly fascinating for he combines in himself two sublimities of human grandeur: the martyr and the hero."[11] Such a revolutionary will "not hesitate to destroy any position, any place, or any man in this world. He must hate everyone and everything with an equal hatred."[12]

Ambivalence of hatred and love and justification of violence for the sake of salvation of others had their roots in the family and were reinforced by conditions in the society at large. Identification with suffering, guilt feelings, desire for martyrdom and self destruction had the same roots and reinforcements. On the ideological level of Anarchism these feelings and attitudes were formulated into principles of thought and action:

> . . . we do not forego our own capacity to love what seems to us good and to hate what seems to us bad. Love and hate, for only those who know how to hate know how to love . . . We only ask one thing, e.c. to eliminate all that impedes the free development of those two feelings in the present society, all that perverts our judgment: the state, the church, exploitation; judges, priests, government, exploiters . . .[13]

But since the primary sources of this ideology and conduct were feelings of rejection, hate and killing took the upper hand over love. Accordingly the Anarchists demanded severance of the relations with the rest of the society and complete dedication to destruction. "The revolutionary has broken all ties with society." He "should have no . . . attachments, no property and no name. All these must be wholly absorbed in the single thought and the single passion for revolution."[14]

Detachment from the rest of the society promoted self-pity and therefore reinforced destructive aggressiveness both against the others and against the self. Renouncement of all ethical, moral or other consideration in dealing with adversaries, pitiless-

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ness and ruthlessness both toward themselves and toward those who were not with them became in this manner an integral part of the revolutionary movement in Russia.[15] On such foundations a "science of merciless destruction" was developed:

> The revolutionary is wholly dedicated. He must show no mercy to the State or towards the civilized classes of society; nor does he ask for mercy for himself. Between him and society there is waged a mortal war declared or concealed, a relentless and irreconcilable fight to the death. He must accustom himself to torture.
>
> Tyrannical towards himself, the revolutionary must be tyrannical towards others. All the emotions that move human beings, all the soft and enervating feelings of kinship, love, friendship, gratitude and honor, must give way to a cold and single-minded passion for revolution. For him there exists only one pleasure, one consolation, one reward, one satisfaction—the success of the revolution. Night and day he must have but one thought, but one aim—merciless destruction. Coldly, relentlessly, he pursues his aim, and he must be prepared to perish himself, as he must be prepared to destroy with his own hands those who stand in his way.[16]

A revolutionary organization engaged in a life and death struggle with the rest of society precluded any internal disagreement. Bakunin, for instance, conceived a secret organization with a disciplined membership, a system of strict control of its members, and a rigidly centralized authority vested in one man only. Bakunin's secret society was to consist of three separate and independent groups which would function under different names and would be unacquainted with one another. Each one of these three groups was to operate in a different stratum of society. But each group was to be subject to a rigid hierarchy of power and each member of the group subjected to unconditional obedience to his superiors.

These secret societies were to be limited to a small number of people and were to include, as far as possible, only able, experienced, energetic, and influential men, professional conspirators, who, in strict obedience to a central control would lead the masses. All three secret societies were to be coordinated by a central committee which would have consisted of Bakunin and of three or four other members selected by him. Bakunin wanted

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623 a few kulaks were often able to force the commune members into unanimous decision by means of threats or bribing. And there was no appeal against such decisions.

565 621 154 In such circumstances many land communes tended to lose their former equalitarian and protective aspects and the peasants came to fear the mir and to feel an awe before it as much as they had a fear and awe before God and the Czar or before a stern and distant father. They feared the overwhelming power of the mir, the finality of its decision, and the lack of redress against its will They tended to identify the mir's final power with that of Almighty God. "There is no court for the mir, one God is its judge," they would say. Feeling helpless in the front of such an [156] uncontrollable power, there seemed to be nothing else for the peasants to do but to submit to its will. "One cannot argue with the mir"; "Mir will stand for itself, you cannot go against it" they would say. And since there was no other way out for one but to be a part of such an overwhelming and capricious institution the most expedient way of behavior for him was to accept it and to do as the others do. "Although bad, you cannot do without it"; "If you have to live with wolves you might as well howl as they do."[11]

621 625 156 The mir and police were empowered to interfere not only in the system of planting, sowing, and harvesting, but in family and personal affairs as well. The problems of paternal authority and filial duties, the relations between husband and wife, and between in-laws, the questions of inheritance, military conscription, and general behavior, all were within the grasp of these village authorities.[12] Just as in his own family, the rank-and-file individual was completely lost in his village commune. A rank-and-file man had the right to participate in the debates and was expected to vote unanimously for the regulations which restricted his personal and his economic freedom. He who dared to object was unprotected against the despotism and arbitrariness either of the ruling minority or of an incited mob. Thus the feelings of complete dependence upon superior powers prevailed in the community.

241 In addition, poor quality of land, lack of sufficient moisture, long and hard winters, many years of military service, low

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standards of formal education, low level of agricultural technology, undeveloped means of transportation and too many idle days handicapped the advance of agriculture. In such circumstances the peasants did not even produce sufficient food to nourish themselves, much less a surplus to exchange for manufactured products. As a consequence the peasants were exposed to periodical famines during which many died of starvation.

Periodical epidemics of cholera, typhus, small pox, and other diseases took a toll as high as famines. A low degree of personal hygiene in crowded living conditions also increased the death rate. In addition there was a great dearth of doctors, nurses and hospitals, and no measures of preventive medicine. Equally ruinous were the periodical cattle epidemics due to primitive techniques of cattle raising. One should add to these misfortunes the figure of more than one hundred thousand peasant homes destroyed each summer by fires, many of them the result of arson. And if one considers the widely spread robbery, theft and murder that went undetected and unpunished, one gets an idea of the distressing personal and social conditions in which the Russian peasant lived. It was in such circumstances, left entirely to his own resources, that he developed an ideological, emotional and symbolical world of his own.

17
THE ATTITUDES OF THE PEASANTRY

I

STUNNED by the magnitude of the inimical and arbitrary social and physical forces which surrounded him and completely controlled his life, the Great-Russian peasant felt impotent and helpless. In the family circle if he had to be submissive and he was exposed to arbitrariness of the elder, he also might have enjoyed a certain degree of protection and succor.

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Outside the family, however, this system of social relationships tended to lose its protection-dependence character and to emphasize domineering-subservience attitudes in complete contrast to the traditions of and his yearning for an equalitarian and protective folk community that had existed in the past.

In such circumstances his sense of rejection and his demand for acceptance which he might have experienced in the family were reinforced and magnified, affecting his whole view of life, his attitudes toward the world around him and his image of the universe. He was convinced that there was no justice in the world and that there was nobody to whom he could appeal for redress. "Injustice and untruth rule the world"; "Injustice and untruth started with the world and will end with the world," he would say.[1]

In such circumstances the peasant was inclined to see the wrathful, the revengeful, and the implacable aspect of God, especially since such image of a Christian God had support in the teachings of the Russian Orthodoxy. Accordingly the peasant visioned the saints who surrounded the Old Man as quarrelling among themselves and bragging about their strength and achievements and as being vindictive, cheating, and playing tricks on one another.[2] Since the peasant pictured Christ as being only the son of a wrathful Father, he could not depend upon him according to the Russian view of patriarchal family relationships. The Russian peasant therefore had a "sympathetic but detached view of Christ."[3]

The peasant's feeling of rejection in regard to God was manifested in his lack of assurance as to the help he could expect from Him. God, to whom he prayed, seldom interfered on his behalf against earthly authorities. And though "All power was from God," the peasant knew that "God gives power to whom he wants to." The peasant was therefore at times openly resentful of God's neglect. "God neither lets you live nor die," he would say. In his despair he was inclined to believe that there were other forces, beside God, which ruled the universe, such as the Devil who was looked upon as "the junior brother of God and his carpenter in the creation of the universe."[4] And, not unlike Asiatic steppe herders who lived in similar circumstances, the

1 [i.e. the peasant family of Tsarist days -- Analyst]

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that "If all laws perished the people would live in truth and justice."[7]

The peasant realized that there was sharp differentiation in economic status in his society as well as in his own local community. But what he especially resented was that the men of wealth took advantage of their position to oppress the weak; and that the poor had to be utterly submissive and subservient to the well-to-do. "The one who is better off has long hands," the peasants would say, meaning that the men of wealth had control over others. And he would compare the arbitrariness of the man of power with the craftsman who handles his material according to his will. "The master is like the carpenter: he cuts the way it pleases him." He would also say that the rich man has all the space he wants "as much as the pike in the water," but as "for the poor there is nowhere any room." He resented the fact that though "Poverty was not sin, yet the people laughed at it." He also objected that the poor were forced to repress their real feelings and cringe before the rich. "The poor are angry at the rich, yet they find themselves in their trail with cap in hand," he would complain.[8]

The peasant therefore grew distrustful and resentful of everyone who was in one way or other above him. He could not depend much upon God and Czar, and he mistrusted the bureaucrats, the landlords, the priests, the judges, the police, and even the better-off people of his own strata. He was particularly distrustful of cities and city folk, of Moscow and Moscovites especially. From ancient times he looked upon Moscow, the seat of the Czar's government, as heartless and deceitful, and as the source of most of his troubles. "In Moscow," he thought, "you find everything except own father and mother." He also considered that his capital city was so corrupted that, "If you go to Moscow you must take there your last penny."

The peasant therefore lived in an environment in which he felt deserted by the powers of heaven and oppressed by their representatives on earth. He therefore felt unprotected, isolated, friendless, lonely, and insecure. His idea was that both God and man were against him. "If God attacks you, good people will attack you too," he would complain.

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The peasant therefore appraised the social environment in which he lived as dominated by powerful destructive forces which were capricious, neglectful and inimical but upon which he was completely dependent for his life and livelihood. He strongly resented these powers and wished he could destroy them, but felt helpless before them. He therefore projected his feelings of helplessness as well as his destructive urges into the supernatural world and proceeded to inhabit that world with all-powerful, arbitrary, and vicious beings which sought the annihilation of man, and of the earth.

II

On the family level in similar circumstances, two contrasting tendencies, that of complete submission to the parental power and that of rebellion against it are likely to be formed. In a like manner submission and rebellion characterized the behavior of the Russian peasantry on the local community level. The peasant was inclined to appear servile and docile toward all authorities. He would address every one of his superiors as "Father" (*batyushka*). He would bow low (*klanyatsya v poyas*) or in twain (*klanyatsya v nogi*) before them. Before the Czar he would prostrate himself (*chelobitye*) and if the Czar was passing by he would fall on his knees and cross himself. All he could hope for was that by offering unconditional obedience or by propitiating the powers that be, he would be spared. And if all this appeasing of the authorities were in vain he would refrain from revolt as long as he realized that he was utterly helpless and without support in the front of overwhelming powers. In such circumstances he tended to become completely resigned and fatalistic. He might arrive at the conclusion that "You cannot run away from fate, not even on horse-back," and that "Unto each man happens what was decreed at his birth."[9]

With such a frame of mind the Russian peasant was ready to accept great suffering without much complaint. "Misfortune is like the ocean: neither you can swim across it nor can you draw it out," he would say. "And who is it that was not visited by misfortune and misery?" he would ask. Therefore since "You cannot escape misery," "Do not struggle with misery, but suffer"

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(*S bedoyu ne perekoryaisya, terpi!*). And then if life is all suffering, why be afraid of death, he would ask himself. "Be afraid to live, do not be afraid to die! To live is more terrible than to die"; "We do not rejoice in life, but in death."[10]

Identification with suffering and preoccupation with death which has been conditioned by family experiences and reinforced on the community level led the Russian peasants to practice long and hard fasts, and to undertake difficult pilgrimages to far off places of worship. "There is only one salvation, fast and prayer"; "We don't live on bread, but on prayer" they would say. Long and hard fasting and prayer of the Great-Russian peasants were not only manifestations of his identification with suffering and his feeling of helplessness and complete dependency upon superior forces, but were perhaps also expressions of his tendency to completely retire from an unsatisfactory and an unhappy world.

The extremes of this suffering and withdrawal from the world were reached by anchorites who sought complete solitude in wild deserts "far away from men," and by those hermits who lived self-buried in the catacombs, away not only from man, but also from the light of day. Such people enjoyed among the peasants the fame of saints and were believed to possess miraculous powers. Many peasants would make vows of pilgrimage to places where such people lived self-buried, isolated and withdrawn from all human contact.

III

The peasant's complete submission to unpredictable and arbitrary forces was enhanced because of the lack of solidarity among the peasants themselves. After the peasant had been subjected to arbitrary regimentation and to permanent policing on the part of the authorities, he began to lose faith not only in the authorities but in his fellow peasants as well. Thus mistrust and suspiciousness rooted in patriarchal relations were heightened. In such circumstances the peasant became increasingly distrustful of his neighbors, tended to withdraw within his own family and to become himself ready to spy on others.[11]

In such conditions when isolated, helpless and self-oriented,

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Building on the traditional role of the Father in the Russian family the Party portrays the Party Leader as a strict and distant but also watchful and solicitous man who takes good care of his family. Following the traditional image of God and of the Father, the Party Leader is pictured as being benevolent toward those who submit to him unconditionally, but as being wrathful and merciless toward his foes and all those who disobey. And just like the members of the Great-Russian family, the Soviet people are expected to show "filial gratitude" to their Elder for his care and vigilance. Hence the supreme Party Leader is addressed as "our own father" (*rodnoy otets*), teacher (*uchitel*), leader (*vozhd*), friend (*drug*), and feeder (*kormilets*). Articles and letters of gratitude published daily in the Soviet press invariably mention his fatherly solicitude (*otecheskaya zabota*), his wise (*mudry*) plan and his genius (*geny*). Without fail they thank him ardently (*goryachee spasibo*) for what he has done for the well-being (*blago*), happiness (*schastie*), and world mightiness of the Soviet state (*velichaishaya derzhava mira*). On the occasion of the Leader's birthday numerous songs and musical compositions include titles which convey the idea of dependence upon and filial gratitude to an All-Powerful and All-Wise Vozhd.

It is expected that such identifications will reinforce in the Soviet people the feeling of guilt and make them redouble their efforts in building and supporting the Soviet system. Thus in the letters which various institutions, organizations and associations write to Vozhd, pledges are given to fulfill and overfulfill their quotas and to improve quality of products in gratitude for his unceasing "paternal care" and solicitude. And if they have failed, stayed behind, or have not come up to the expectations of their "father and teacher," they admit their guilt and promise to spare no efforts to improve, and thus arrest his wrath and rejection.[39] Not only lowly and humble folk from the bottom of the Soviet social pyramid, but men and women on the lofty peaks of Soviet arts and sciences, write such letters to Stalin in the same tone of religious reverence and humility, that strongly remind one both of the servility of Czarist official classes and of the prayers to an All-Mighty and wrathful God in the Russian Orthodox Church.

The ruling hierarchy realizes, however, that deification of the

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Many observers of Soviet society have noticed that in this constant struggle for power, and sometimes in order to save their very lives, Soviet officials and intellectuals must be ready not only to inform on each other, but also to "throw mud" at the closest associates and friends as soon as these happen to fall in disgrace.[1] Denunciation of a friend is often "the best way out of a hole," they say. Many "pretend to deny and to disown those who fall in disgrace" or, frightened, "join in verbal lynching to protect themselves." There is a "malignant joy regarding a comrade's mistakes . . . exaggeration of mistakes."[2] They "rush to kick a man who is already down, to push him over the precipice." In such conditions "Friendship is strained with blood and betrayal; it is an object of fear and suspicion."[3] Even members of one's own family might be repudiated under such pressure.[4] At the same time the need for cringing before one's superiors is often compensated by arrogance, capriciousness, arbitrariness, insulting and humiliating treatment of his subordinates or of all unprotected.[5]

The sense of guilt, insecurity, and feelings of humiliation which develop in such circumstances are magnified by means of social isolation. This isolation is manifold in the Soviet society, especially in the upper ruling strata. Intimate personal contact and unfettered social and intellectual intercourse is officially frowned upon and is therefore very limited among the Party, Army, government and managerial hierarchies. Intimate fraternization with associates is looked upon with great suspicion in a society whose ruling minority maintains itself in power by means of planned social divisions and mistrusts. Said Stalin: ". . . such family conditions create a favorable environment for the nurture of reptiles, not Bolsheviks."[6]

Real risks are involved in any free discourse in a society which is infested with watchdogs and informers and in which many are inclined to seek self-advance in the ruin of others. In the upper strata besides fear, suspicion and need for extreme caution, there is lack of intimate contact also because of sharp differentiation in rank. For the same reasons intercourse between the educated and non-educated strata has to be kept to a minimum.

There is also a deliberate policy on the part of the ruling class

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newspapers, books, and pamphlets, some of which were printed abroad and circulated freely though often clandestinely among the leading circles of the Empire.

The ruling circles of the Bolshevik Party themselves were always aware that without criticism intellectual stagnation, lack of creative initiative, and bureaucratism would set in. But they could not afford to allow complete freedom of thought and of expression which might eventually undermine their own power. As a result the Bolsheviks introduced a system of "criticism and self-criticism," known as *samokritika*.

According to this practice it is the duty of every Soviet subject to criticize his own work and the work of others in his shop or office as a means of stimulating alertness, initiative, and hard work, and as a way to correct errors. But among the officials who closely watch each other's activities, each hoping to rise on the cadaver of the other, samokritika is often used as a means of intrigue and ruin in jockeying and struggling for ranks, positions, and power. Samokritika therefore has developed into a weapon employed to detect the ideological deviations and diversions and to criticize any lack of sufficiently positive attitude toward the "Party line." In this manner "self-criticism" in the Soviet Union has become another instrument of regimentation and means to increase conformity.

Samokritika is also employed by the ruling circles to manipulate hostilities generated by the Soviet system and to direct them away from themselves and against the managers and bureaucrats located mostly on the lower levels of the Soviet social pyramid. These people conveniently function as scapegoats. It is such people who, together with a sprinkling from the higher echelons, are periodically offered as sacrifice and "purged" or "liquidated." Samokritika is therefore employed also as a check against abuses of power, though mostly on the local level.

In an atmosphere of complete dependence upon and subordination to an overwhelming and infallible power which instils fear and awe, the slightest deviation from the line of thought and emotions as laid down by that distant and inscrutable force might easily provoke anxieties, and a strong sense of guilt. In circumstances in which one feels isolated and without support,

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one's helplessness, feeling of rejection, and dependence upon the controlling power is especially keenly felt. In such conditions even a slight deviation might provoke a feeling of guilt, need for self-punishment and suffering; it might call for public self-humiliation, confession of errors and pledges to repent and to correct the wrong done, especially when such practices are supported by the inherited traditions. There is therefore a certain degree of truth in the assertion of the Bolsheviks, that "Criticism and self-criticism is a great driving force in the development of Soviet society."[10]

II

In a "prison and barracks" society privileges of power and ideas of grandeur do not sufficiently compensate for lack of acceptance, isolation, humiliations, feelings of insecurity, and sense of inferiority and rejection. In an atmosphere of suspicion, intrigue, degradation, and lack of intimate personal and intellectual contact and of social support, anxieties, fears, extreme self-concern, and deep antagonisms easily flourish. Such a situation tends to magnify feelings of destructive aggression developed on the family level and is therefore likely to become overcharged with extreme hostilities and hatreds; it is likely to become full of potential explosiveness which may be directed against the ruling class itself unless convenient channels for discharge of aggressiveness are found.

In a society in which overt expressions of emotional behavior are under the control of a ruling clique, accumulating aggressions are readily directed against internal and external "enemies" of the regime, be they real or invented for the occasion. In this manner the feeling of hostility against the regime might be redirected against its opponents. It is therefore in the interest of survival of the ruling faction in such a society to cultivate hatred and destruction of the "enemy" by all means of public pressure, propaganda, agitation, education, as well as lawmaking.

These are the reasons why attitudes of extreme animosity against the "enemies of the Soviet Motherland" are propagated in the Soviet daily press and in the school textbooks. Stirring hatreds is one of the main tasks of Party agitators.[11] Accordingly

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subjected agricultural population. In the ruling class of conquerors—who were marrying the native women—the steppe traditions of an unlimited paternal power, centered in a God-like, distant and strict father, tended to prevail. The principles of seniority, of priority of the male sex and of super-ordination and subordination among brothers and sisters favored sibling rivalry in this family system. At the same time, the mother, following her native traditions, tended to assert her marital equality, to maintain separate property rights, to teach her children the native speech and customs, and to protect them against the caprice and wrath of a domineering and warlike father.

• [155] It is likely that children in such families of clashing marital and social philosophies might be exposed to alternating experiences of rejection and over-protection; they might develop an exaggerated self-concern and power-orientation, as well as feelings of inadequacy and dependence. Extremes in emotional reactions ranging from blind submission to destructive aggression and violent revolt tend to develop in such circumstances.

Such traits which contain a core of emotional instability and perpetual strife did not seem to be favorable for the growth and consolidation of State. Instead, a number of small principalities were formed, whose ruling strata were torn by internal rivalries and splits, and by never-ending parricidal and fratricidal feuds. Moreover, these petty princes and war chieftains, following steppe tradition, were interested in waging warfare more than in promoting agriculture or industry—which was contrary to the view of life and the social philosophy of the subjected population. There was, therefore, a lack of common culture, lack of common interests and want of social solidarity between the subjects and their warlike lords. Such a situation fomented social unrest; local riots and mass uprisings, which in turn promoted increasing rigidity of controls, centralization of power, never-ending internal splits and never-ending warfare.

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By the ninth century A.D., these turbulent warriors came into conflict with the Byzantine Empire which had a political interest in the same area. This contact with Byzantium was of far-reaching consequence, because it introduced the Eastern Church into the social and political structure of Russian society. This institu-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1
[Ivan the Terrible]

convict labor, indicate that the number of such children will not decrease in the foreseeable future.[26]

Such children are considered to have an ideal background for their training as future specialists in conspiracy, vigilance, and violence. Therefore the children who have been raised in a tense family atmosphere or who have been rejected and neglected by their families form a fertile ground from which the Bolshevik rulers recruit a significant part of their future followers and leaders. But what is the future of a society whose ruling classes are being formed out of persons who have been raised in the midst of harshness, brutality and lack of human warmth or whose desire for emotional attachment has been thwarted?

By the middle of the sixteenth century Ivan the Terrible, who himself was left motherless early in his childhood and was exposed to great instability in his emotional attachments, became a victim of ideas of persecution and of boundless and insatiable thirst for power and self aggrandizement. Driven by such compulsions he undertook to organize a body of fanatical devotees who were bound by oath to forswear association not only with "friends and brethren" but even with their own parents, and to serve the Czar blindly and unconditionally. These *Oprichniki* became renowned in history as a brotherhood of brigands who lived separated and isolated from the rest of society—"men vile and filled with every sort of cruelty."[27] Throughout the day they indulged in savage torturing and killing of suspects after they had attended the morning liturgy. In their wild outrages they terrorized peaceful citizens immediately after their brow-beating prostrations before the Altar.

In the same manner in the Ottoman Empire, the elite militia of the Sultans, known as the Janizaries, were recruited from among the children who were often early in their childhood or boyhood taken away from their parents to be raised and trained in loyalty to the Sultan only. Still earlier in the society of Eurasian steppe warriors want of bonds of human attachment brought about instability and explosiveness of Asiatic empires. Both the Asiatic conquerors and the Janizaries became renowned in history for their recklessness and barbarism. They also rebelled and excelled in insubordination to established

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in that family, the new circumstances call for more leniency and more intimacy on his part toward his wife and his children. The mother at the same time, because now closer to her husband, is in no need to become over-attached to her children. Such well-balanced family relations come to closely resemble those in the Old-Slavonic family.

It is the children with such close family ties in an emotionally balanced family atmosphere that develop traits of moderation, self-control, responsibility, group orientation and humane feelings. It is in such families that patriotism, idealization of the past and longing for a more humane and more equalitarian political system are nursed.[28] In such families skepticism concerning Bolshevik mythology and opposition to Soviet system may be safely expressed. In such families also religion is cultivated or secretly practiced.[29] In such families apparently numerous anecdotes which ridicule Soviet regime circulate and are spread throughout the Soviet Union.[30] It is to break such family intimacy and solidarity which breed opposition to their regime that the Bolsheviks have shown increasing concern for the control of family relations.

But if the opposition to the Bolshevik regime centers in such families of patriots and humanists, the fate of the Soviet system might rest upon them, in the final analysis. These people might be reluctant to support a Soviet war of aggression led by careerists and fanatics, but ready to defend their Mother Country in the event of hostile aggression from the outside. However, in a war against the Soviet Union which the patriots and the humanists would interpret as a war of liberation from the oppressive, inhuman and destructive policies of Soviet rulers, they might be inclined to take the side of the invading liberators. Inasmuch as such people already find themselves at the fringes of Soviet power structure as specialists and experts in economic management and government administration, in times of crisis the shift of power to these people could easily take place.

Such a trend of development will be even more emphasized among the oppressed, but nationally-conscious minorities, than among the dominant Great-Russians. Millions of Soviet subjects who willingly gave themselves up to the German invaders and

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welcomed them as liberators in World War II, indicate such possibilities.

III

In studying personality growth in the Soviet society, one should take into account also the differences between the urban and the rural environments and the influences of those environments on interpersonal relations within the family circle. Owing to the very rapid pace of urbanization and low rate of production of consumption goods, most of the families located in the urban areas are exposed to the housing shortage and lack of home privacy. Many of these families live in community apartments in which there is only one room per family and in which a number of unrelated families share a common kitchen and toilet facilities. Family conflicts and tensions tend to be intensified in such circumstances. Lack of privacy, noisiness, and lack of sleep in crowded quarters, together with the lack of sufficient food, long hours of work and unsatisfactory conditions of work increase dissatisfactions and magnify existing family conflicts. An outlet for dissatisfactions is found then in trivial scandals and bickering, in petty squabbles, but also in violent emotional outbursts.[31]

Conditions in rural areas are somewhat different. Though virtually all peasant families live in one or at most two-room cottages, which they often share with a few heads of livestock, yet the rural family does have its own privacy. Most peasant families possess a small lot of land around the cottage, on which they raise some poultry or a pig; some might even own a cow. Though this is all very modest, yet with some labor, after the work for the kolhoz has been done, the peasant family has been able to raise some food on its own property and perhaps to sell it on the open market and then buy some clothing and other bare necessities.[32]

Compared to the situation of the city worker, the peasant, though receiving lower wages for his work, and often going in rags, perhaps does feel relatively more independent. If he is an adult with a family he is much less likely to be pushed around, though he is constantly exhorted by kolhoz officials to work more

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of rule. The defeat or death of the ruler, as much as lack of constant external pressures, are likely to bring about a sudden disintegration of a political structure based on such foundations. 121 181

Want of human attachments in the society of these steppe marauders might have been brought about by a strong feeling of insecurity which seems to be rooted in the physical as well as in the social environment of these people. Nomadic horse-breeding in the steppes and deserts, abusive dominance and humiliating submission in a despotic family organization, autocratic political system, sharply stratified social structure, and predatory warfare of enemy tribes present constant physical and emotional threats which breed deep fears, anxieties, lack of trust and violent hostilities. These conditions are harmful to the growth of social intimacy and to the development of group identifications and solidarities; they are likely to favor formation of a self-centered personality and to foster an urge for extreme power-seeking and destructive action as a means of personal survival. [154]

Contrasted to the society of these power-oriented and predatory warriors of the steppes, was the group-oriented and anarchic culture of the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators, spreading since remote times over the forest plains and along the river valleys between the upper Volga and the Carpathians. This society represented a stable system of self-contained and autonomous small agricultural communities with equalitarian social and family organization, diffused social power, lack of central political authority, lack of sharp economic or social stratification and lack of coerciveness. Interpersonal and institutional relationships in these communities promoted group intimacy and social cohesion; they discouraged self-seeking, destructive aggressiveness and warlike qualities. But as the nomadic warriors, in the course of their centuries-old invasions, were imposing their rule over this egalitarian and stateless social system, significant changes were taking place in the Old-Slavonic world; these have formed the basis for the formation and the growth of Russian society. [156]

One of the most important innovations consisted of the formation of a ruling class of conquerors whose whole view of life was in complete contrast to the social and political philosophy of the

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These feuds did not affect only the relations between local lords; intense strifes and vendettas were flourishing within the family of each one of the princes. Struggle for power and expansion often caused fratricidal warfare among the brothers after the death of their father. The old chronicles and other historical documents are full of examples of such family feuds. Murder, torture and blinding among the brothers and even between fathers and sons apparently were frequent.[20] The life of each one of these local potentates was spent in perpetual warfare, in feuding, and in plundering adventures.[21]

Power-thirstiness, factionalism, and rule of crude force prevailed among these petty rulers in no lesser way than among their nomadic predecessors and overlords. The internal system of rule on the domains of each prince was not more advanced. As the Russian written laws of that period testify, the killing of prince's representatives on the part of the peasants must have been frequent. City populace often rose in riots and revolutionary outbursts against the oppressive conditions imposed by these lords.[22] It was such conditions of physical, social and emotional insecurity that favored perpetuation of the institutions, practices, and other behavior traits which were introduced by the nomadic invaders and conquerors.

III

The changes that in the course of several centuries were taking place in social and psychological structure of the Old-Slavonic world as a result of the imposition of the rule of the nomadic warriors seem to have been well reflected in the Great-Russian folklore, especially in its epic legends. The military, the peasants, the burghers, their conflicts and their character traits are personified in these narratives by a number of popular heroes.[23]

The general picture which these folk documents present shows that the social stability which existed in the Old-Slavonic society was completely shattered as a result of nomadic invasions and conquests. The invading warriors not only caused great havoc but they provoked rapid and fundamental changes in the structure of the old society. Moreover the social disorganization and the political and economic instability that resulted out of these

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events were apparently manifested in a widespread sense of emotional and physical insecurity which fostered destructive aggression and mass violence. In such circumstances extreme self-seeking and dominance-submission relationships tended to substitute the Old-Slavonic egalitarian and anarchic system.

The plight of the Slavonic peasant strata has been symbolized in these products of folk imagination in the person of Mikula Selyaninovich ("the Villager's son") and in that of Ilya of Murom, who is often referred to as "the peasant's son," and as "the old Cossak." Mikula is pictured as a superb plowman and field laborer. He has a keen knowledge of husbandry and possesses the best mares and the best farming equipment.[24] He is endowed with such tremendous strength and is entrusted with such heavy responsibility that he carries "the weight of the whole world" in a little shoulder bag. This villager, however, comes into conflict with the city people over the custom duties and over the haughty manner of the urbanites. The tolls imposed by the city are too high. Moreover, the burghers treat Mikula in a despicable and undignified way. So he is enraged and loses his self-control:

> I was in the city no longer ago than the day before yesterday,
> On my light bay mare,
> I carried thence two whole bags of salt,
> Two bags of salt of forty pud each.
> The folk there are no better than robbers.
> They demand two kopecks toll;
> But I had a leaded whip for toll
> I paid their two kopecks toll.
> Whoever was upright I left seated
> And whoever was seated I left prostrate,
> And whoever lay prostrate would never rise again.[25]

As a result of such conflicts, Mikula finally came to the conclusion that tilling was not profitable any more. He found that there were other and better ways which would guarantee to one safety, economic gain, and self-respect. So he gave up husbandry and joined Volga Buslavlevich, the bandit-warrior. In his new role in which he uses great physical power not as a productive force, but as a means of coercion, he makes a strong imprint on

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attractive forest fairies who used to help travelers changed into beastly demons who trick wayfarers into making them lose their way and then cause them to perish.

The imposition of the rule of nomadic warriors over the soil cultivators brought about not only insecurity of life and property, but disintegration of the old ways of life and of the old morals. Social disintegration favored detachment from the group, caused decline in group identification and solidarity, tended to increase self-concern, fostered destructive aggressiveness and anti-social behavior. Hence, drunkenness, debauchery, orgiastic practices, together with robbing and killing, became prominent. According to Fedotov, the old Christian sermons are so full of invectives against such behavior that some studies of Russia's religious life consider that these themes formed the main content of anti-pagan literature of those days.[53]

Perhaps as a result of such social disorganization the Old-Slavonic Goddess of Love (Lada) was relegated into the background and obscurity. Instead, male gods of bacchanalian passion and Dionysiac orgy (Iarilo, Pereplut) became outstanding in folk imagination.[54] A phallic rite was observed at wedding banquets and sexual promiscuity during the feast gathering of young people became prominent, according to the old sermons.[55]

It was under these conditions of social disorganization and insecurity, and ascendency of power-oriented patriarchal system over the old stateless, semi-matriarchal and equalitarian order that the attitudes toward women changed radically. Mounting hostilities generated by conditions of strife and insecurity can be vented not only through inordinate sex life, alcoholism and delinquency, but also by aggressive behavior against all the unprotected and the weak. And just as sex life tended to take the form of lechery, and love that of uncontrolled passion, the attitudes toward the women changed from respect and reserve to that of scorn and contempt. They came to be looked upon as impure and unclean physically and morally.[56]

It is possible that the new unsatisfactory social conditions might have also affected the concept of the Christian God and attitude toward death. Not only did popular imagination in conditions of disorganization and insecurity tend to see in this

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of the Czar, they became increasingly rank-conscious, domineering and abusive toward all lower in rank or under their power.[12]

Such a ruling class, with its open misrule and arbitrariness, could not inspire the subjected classes with confidence and respect. The lack of social and political security was manifested in want of initiative, in disinterest in productive activities, in loose morals, in hazard games, in a low value of human life, and in a general lack of trust.[13]

On the other hand, perhaps as a reaction to these conditions of insecurity and of social disorganization, there was an urge of complete renunciation of the world and its strife, an urge to detach oneself from the group, a tendency to isolate oneself completely from human society and seek personal consolation and personal salvation in religion. This trend of social withdrawal and self-oriented feelings brought about a great development of hermitism and of monastic life. Many of these people, completely detached from human society and preoccupied exclusively with their own self, sought peace and communion with God in lonely, remote depths of forests, in the solitude of the wilds and deserts. Here "far removed from men" they spent their lives in prayer, fasting and self-maceration.

At the same time the masses of the people who lived in great misery and who were exposed to arbitrariness, exploitation, and other forms of oppression on the part of the mighty, sought consolation and hope in supernatural forces. Beliefs in miraculous powers of wonder-working icons and in life-giving properties of the Cross were taking deep roots. On all sides sprang up prophecies and apparitions. Saint men and prophets, often mentally unbalanced, would appear in the streets and openly voice their protest against the Czar and his government.[14]

These were the only signs of an open opposition to the existing system that was becoming increasingly unbearable. Such "idiots" were considered saintly by the people not only because of their strange behavior and their ability to endure extremes of hardship, but also for their unheard of courage to speak openly against the Czar:

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the favors of one's superiors that one hoped to exercise more power and to achieve a higher degree of security.

Such a situation often demanded self-abasing and cringing humility toward superiors in the hierarchy as an adjustment to a situation of permanent insecurity and threat. ". . . those employed believe that they can never do enough to show their zeal."[9] "Without being base, it is impossible to get on," the officials themselves would say.[9] At the same time, perhaps as a compensation for degradation and loss of self-respect, there developed the propensity of the officials to show haughtiness and arrogance to those below them in rank and status. "A man, as soon as he rises a grade above the common level, acquires the right . . . to maltreat his inferiors to whom it is his duty to transmit the blows that he receives from those above him."[10]

In such conditions preoccupation with one's self rather than interest in group ideals and objectives thrived. There was therefore a tendency for selfish and petty concerns, greediness, venality, and corruption. Careerism prevailed over loyalty. Fortunes were made by many in public service as a security for the uncertain future.[11] The public opinion itself supported such behavior because it was expected that people who acquire office or any other positions of trust would take personal advantage of the situation. In some departments because of the inadequacy of the salaries and in order to meet the expected high standards of living the officials were considered to have tacit permission to have recourse to illicit perquisites. Administration, justice, police, the army and the navy, and even the clergy, all had their acknowledged perquisites, which often included bribes.[12]

In such conditions in which extreme self-concern thrived, the Czar himself did not feel safe and secure. This sense of insecurity on the very peak of power was reflected, for instance, in the tendency of the Czars not to tolerate any outstanding personalities in their midst.[13] The same feeling was reflected in the idea that any concession on the part of the Czar would be considered as a sign of weakness. The result was that the Czar was often surrounded by sycophants and careerists and had no close friends whom he could trust and on whom he could rely for support at all times. In such circumstances the Czar might feel isolated,

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was invested with the most extensive powers and was given as its special mission the task of looking after the safety of the state and overseeing the doings of all departments, of all public functionaries, and of all people. The security police was an omnipotent and all-powerful body before whom all subjects were considered guilty unless they proved the contrary. This institution—developed in the course of centuries—became of paramount importance to its rulers. It became one of the most essential wheels of the government and one of the chief cares of the ruling class.[16]

III

Hierarchical relations of strict superordination and subordination in the military and bureaucratic ranks might foster feelings of identification with the mighty and the powerful. It is on such grounds that imperialistic nationalism and ideas of national superiority and grandeur thrive. And when state is fused with the Church in a system of theocratic militarism then nationalism might acquire also the aspects of religious fanaticism.

Expansion, greatness of the state, ideas of grandeur and Messianic ideas of world redemption or world domination might provide also compensation for humiliations, self-abasement, feelings of inferiority and unworthiness and other frustrations which are fostered in a system of abusive domineering-subservience relationships. As a result love of show, display of military might and need for conquests preoccupied the ruling strata of post-Petrine Russia as much as those of the Muscovite state. The Czar's court, the nobility, the military, the bureaucracy, the Church, the cities and the villages tended to display a grandeur that was in sharp contrast with the poverty of the country.[17]

This tendency toward exhibitionism and ideas of greatness was manifested also in the glorification of Russia, and the belief in the sacredness of its exalted mission in the world. Such attitudes and feelings which were rooted in the rigidly hierarchical military and bureaucratic structure were supported also by the Third Rome traditions of the Russian Church according to which Providence itself had bestowed upon Russia's rulers the role of the redeemers of mankind. According to these traditions and teachings Russia was a God-chosen country, the only country

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

failures and their sins would fall upon him. He was emotionally and socially dependent upon the members of his family, yet he had to be stern and distant to maintain his authority.

At the same time, the family members were expected to completely identify themselves with the family as a whole. This submerging of the individual in the family collective was manifested, for instance, in the ideas of common family good, rooted in the Old-Slavonic principles of mutual reponsibility and mutual aid of all community members ("all for one, one for all"). The elder brothers were expected to take care of their minor brothers and of their unmarried sisters; the aged or disabled parents were in the care of their children; the father was expected to maintain his daughter-in-law if she lost her husband or if her husband were away.[1]

Earlier, following Mongol traditions, the family was collectively responsible for the misdeeds or crimes of any one of its members.[2] In early Russia, according to the Expanded Version of the *Pravda,* "if anyone attacks and kills another without the slightest provocation, the inhabitants of the district do not make payment for this kind of a murderer, but they shall surrender him, with his wife and children, for sentencing to banishment or imprisonment, and his home shall be given up for plundering."[3] Also later in Muscovite Russia all members of a family were considered involved in the offense of a member.

This complete identification with one's family and this penal philosophy of collective responsibility, of implied collective culpability and family hostages (retained in Russian police practices until nowadays) favored family self-centeredness and self-concern. There was therefore a tendency to draw a curtain of secrecy around the family in order not to expose it to accusations and to protect it from defamation. In the urban strata the master of the household was very much preoccupied with this problem. "Your neighbors will reproach you, and your enemies will rejoice at your misfortune," warns Domostroy. Such family centeredness, which was a result of the ascendency of an autocratic state, favored social isolation and lack of intimate contact with neighbors; hence, it fostered also lack of social trust.

Family centrism, family isolation, and lack of trust in one's

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

592 Family centrism, family isolation, and lack of trust in one's
771 neighbor were apparently projected into the supernatural world
776 where one's own Domovoy, though at times arbitrary, ill-tempered and spiteful, was generally considered to be benevolent—bringing good luck to the household which was under his care and solicitude. The neighbor's Domovoy, on the other hand, was always a malevolent and wicked being who could never be propitiated and who was likely to steal your hay or drive away your cattle for the benefit of the home which was under his protection.
[789] The Russian peasants, therefore, developed means of defense against the neighbor's Domovoy in the form of spells and exorcisms.

● 156 Lack of social trust is not favorable to the development of
621 solidarity within a community. Therefore lack of group identi-
578 fication among the peasants and burghers, the same as the lack of the *esprit de corps* among the nobility, contributed to the perpetuation of the autocratic rule. Lack of communal identifications was an obstacle to the turning of group hostilities against the ruling classes. In such circumstances a great deal of personal aggressiveness had to find outlets and targets within the local community and within the family circle itself. Only when the authorities suffered crushing defeat and loss of prestige the hostilities would turn against them and mass uprisings would take place, demanding re-establishment of old communal values.

With the ascendancy of the otsovskaya system, family relations came to be organized in a hierarchical system along the lines of paternity, marriage status, seniority and sex. At one time, only married male members formed the family council (soviet). The males had priority over the females. Within each sex category the elder had priority rights over the younger. When the family was partitioned, custom demanded that the older brothers leave
[428] the ancestral home while the youngest, following Mongol tradi-
[582] tions, remained on the paternal *koren* (root).[4] In marrying the daughters it was the eldest who had to be married first.

593 In the patriarchal family, in their relations to the father, all family members were expected to accept his rule with fear and awe (*strakh*) and with humility (*smirenie*). They had to show absolute submission and blind obedience (*besprekoslovnoe povinovenie*),[5] as well as love and gratitude (*blagodarnost*).[6]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[Dobrolyubov]

humiliating treatment which Dobrolyubov experienced at the hands of his father. As a reaction to such a family situation, Dobrolyubov developed strong needs for emotional attachment and felt very disillusioned and deeply embittered when his need for dependency was frustrated. When he was sixteen years of age this "forerunner of Bolshevism" wrote in his diary:

> No matter how many attachments I had formed in the past, always the evil fate would whisk the beloved being far away from me; and in my soul remains only the sorrowful memory and bitter realization of my despair . . . I could never live without love, without attachment to someone. This has been so ever since I remember myself. But this constant irony of fate, which makes all my hopes and dreams usually crash into dirt, constantly hardens and chills my heart, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that soon it will be both hard and cold as stone.[5]

Later, apparently, Dobrolyubov found an outlet for his repressed hostilities, in his writings in which he tended to emphasize the dark sides of Russian society ("Realm of Darkness"). He joined that group of "Nihilists" who excelled in their philosophy of extreme individualism, who attacked the existing society and devised the ways to destroy "coldbloodedly" its very foundations, including the family. It was in this ideology of "Nihilism" that Russian Anarchism as well as Bolshevism have been rooted.

The demand for unlimited power as a means of compensation for humiliations and deprivations and as a means of satisfying craving for acceptance and support tends to perpetuate a political system which gives one a chance to indulge such needs through relationships of absolute dominance and unconditional submission and through destructive action. Such a social and political structure, in its own turn, tends to reinforce paternal despotism and absolute obedience in the family. In this manner, just as in the society of steppe marauders, power-seeking, mistrust and destructive aggression are perpetuated, become generalized and are manifested in many social relations.

On the folk level desire for power was manifested, for instance, in the customs connected with childbirth. On that occasion the midwife would place the child on a sheepskin coat or furcoat so

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

ness and ruthlessness both toward themselves and toward those who were not with them became in this manner an integral part of the revolutionary movement in Russia.[15] On such foundations a "science of merciless destruction" was developed:

> The revolutionary is wholly dedicated. He must show no mercy to the State or towards the civilized classes of society; nor does he ask for mercy for himself. Between him and society there is waged a mortal war declared or concealed, a relentless and irreconcilable fight to the death. He must accustom himself to torture.
>
> Tyrannical towards himself, the revolutionary must be tyrannical towards others. All the emotions that move human beings, all the soft and enervating feelings of kinship, love, friendship, gratitude and honor, must give way to a cold and single-minded passion for revolution. For him there exists only one pleasure, one consolation, one reward, one satisfaction—the success of the revolution. Night and day he must have but one thought, but one aim—merciless destruction. Coldly, relentlessly, he pursues his aim, and he must be prepared to perish himself, as he must be prepared to destroy with his own hands those who stand in his way.[16]

A revolutionary organization engaged in a life and death struggle with the rest of society precluded any internal disagreement. Bakunin, for instance, conceived a secret organization with a disciplined membership, a system of strict control of its members, and a rigidly centralized authority vested in one man only. Bakunin's secret society was to consist of three separate and independent groups which would function under different names and would be unacquainted with one another. Each one of these three groups was to operate in a different stratum of society. But each group was to be subject to a rigid hierarchy of power and each member of the group subjected to unconditional obedience to his superiors.

These secret societies were to be limited to a small number of people and were to include, as far as possible, only able, experienced, energetic, and influential men, professional conspirators, who, in strict obedience to a central control would lead the masses. All three secret societies were to be coordinated by a central committee which would have consisted of Bakunin and of three or four other members selected by him. Bakunin wanted

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623 a few kulaks were often able to force the commune members into unanimous decision by means of threats or bribing. And there was no appeal against such decisions.

565 621 154 In such circumstances many land communes tended to lose their former equalitarian and protective aspects and the peasants came to fear the mir and to feel an awe before it as much as they had a fear and awe before God and the Czar or before a stern and distant father. They feared the overwhelming power of the mir, the finality of its decision, and the lack of redress against its will They tended to identify the mir's final power with that of Almighty God. "There is no court for the mir, one God is its judge," they would say. Feeling helpless in the front of such an [156] uncontrollable power, there seemed to be nothing else for the peasants to do but to submit to its will. "One cannot argue with the mir"; "Mir will stand for itself, you cannot go against it" they would say. And since there was no other way out for one but to be a part of such an overwhelming and capricious institution the most expedient way of behavior for him was to accept it and to do as the others do. "Although bad, you cannot do without it"; "If you have to live with wolves you might as well howl as they do."[11]

621 625 156 The mir and police were empowered to interfere not only in the system of planting, sowing, and harvesting, but in family and personal affairs as well. The problems of paternal authority and filial duties, the relations between husband and wife, and between in-laws, the questions of inheritance, military conscription, and general behavior, all were within the grasp of these village authorities.[12] Just as in his own family, the rank-and-file individual was completely lost in his village commune. A rank-and-file man had the right to participate in the debates and was expected to vote unanimously for the regulations which restricted his personal and his economic freedom. He who dared to object was unprotected against the despotism and arbitrariness either of the ruling minority or of an incited mob. Thus the feelings of complete dependence upon superior powers prevailed in the community.

241 In addition, poor quality of land, lack of sufficient moisture, long and hard winters, many years of military service, low

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Outside the family, however, this system of social relationships tended to lose its protection-dependence character and to emphasize domineering-subservience attitudes in complete contrast to the traditions of and his yearning for an equalitarian and protective folk community that had existed in the past.

In such circumstances his sense of rejection and his demand for acceptance which he might have experienced in the family were reinforced and magnified, affecting his whole view of life, his attitudes toward the world around him and his image of the universe. He was convinced that there was no justice in the world and that there was nobody to whom he could appeal for redress. "Injustice and untruth rule the world"; "Injustice and untruth started with the world and will end with the world," he would say.[1]

In such circumstances the peasant was inclined to see the wrathful, the revengeful, and the implacable aspect of God, especially since such image of a Christian God had support in the teachings of the Russian Orthodoxy. Accordingly the peasant visioned the saints who surrounded the Old Man as quarrelling among themselves and bragging about their strength and achievements and as being vindictive, cheating, and playing tricks on one another.[2] Since the peasant pictured Christ as being only the son of a wrathful Father, he could not depend upon him according to the Russian view of patriarchal family relationships. The Russian peasant therefore had a "sympathetic but detached view of Christ."[3]

The peasant's feeling of rejection in regard to God was manifested in his lack of assurance as to the help he could expect from Him. God, to whom he prayed, seldom interfered on his behalf against earthly authorities. And though "All power was from God," the peasant knew that "God gives power to whom he wants to." The peasant was therefore at times openly resentful of God's neglect. "God neither lets you live nor die," he would say. In his despair he was inclined to believe that there were other forces, beside God, which ruled the universe, such as the Devil who was looked upon as "the junior brother of God and his carpenter in the creation of the universe."[4] And, not unlike Asiatic steppe herders who lived in similar circumstances, the

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The peasant therefore appraised the social environment in which he lived as dominated by powerful destructive forces which were capricious, neglectful and inimical but upon which he was completely dependent for his life and livelihood. He strongly resented these powers and wished he could destroy them, but felt helpless before them. He therefore projected his feelings of helplessness as well as his destructive urges into the supernatural world and proceeded to inhabit that world with all-powerful, arbitrary, and vicious beings which sought the annihilation of man, and of the earth.

II

On the family level in similar circumstances, two contrasting tendencies, that of complete submission to the parental power and that of rebellion against it are likely to be formed. In a like manner submission and rebellion characterized the behavior of the Russian peasantry on the local community level. The peasant was inclined to appear servile and docile toward all authorities. He would address every one of his superiors as "Father" (*batyushka*). He would bow low (*klanyatsya v poyas*) or in twain (*klanyatsya v nogi*) before them. Before the Czar he would prostrate himself (*chelobitye*) and if the Czar was passing by he would fall on his knees and cross himself. All he could hope for was that by offering unconditional obedience or by propitiating the powers that be, he would be spared. And if all this appeasing of the authorities were in vain he would refrain from revolt as long as he realized that he was utterly helpless and without support in the front of overwhelming powers. In such circumstances he tended to become completely resigned and fatalistic. He might arrive at the conclusion that "You cannot run away from fate, not even on horse-back," and that "Unto each man happens what was decreed at his birth."[9]

With such a frame of mind the Russian peasant was ready to accept great suffering without much complaint. "Misfortune is like the ocean: neither you can swim across it nor can you draw it out," he would say. "And who is it that was not visited by misfortune and misery?" he would ask. Therefore since "You cannot escape misery," "Do not struggle with misery, but suffer"

6. Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

(*S bedoyu ne perekoryaisya, terpi!*). And then if life is all suffering, why be afraid of death, he would ask himself. "Be afraid to live, do not be afraid to die! To live is more terrible than to die"; "We do not rejoice in life, but in death."[10]

Identification with suffering and preoccupation with death which has been conditioned by family experiences and reinforced on the community level led the Russian peasants to practice long and hard fasts, and to undertake difficult pilgrimages to far off places of worship. "There is only one salvation, fast and prayer"; "We don't live on bread, but on prayer" they would say. Long and hard fasting and prayer of the Great-Russian peasants were not only manifestations of his identification with suffering and his feeling of helplessness and complete dependency upon superior forces, but were perhaps also expressions of his tendency to completely retire from an unsatisfactory and an unhappy world.

The extremes of this suffering and withdrawal from the world were reached by anchorites who sought complete solitude in wild deserts "far away from men," and by those hermits who lived self-buried in the catacombs, away not only from man, but also from the light of day. Such people enjoyed among the peasants the fame of saints and were believed to possess miraculous powers. Many peasants would make vows of pilgrimage to places where such people lived self-buried, isolated and withdrawn from all human contact.

III

The peasant's complete submission to unpredictable and arbitrary forces was enhanced because of the lack of solidarity among the peasants themselves. After the peasant had been subjected to arbitrary regimentation and to permanent policing on the part of the authorities, he began to lose faith not only in the authorities but in his fellow peasants as well. Thus mistrust and suspiciousness rooted in patriarchal relations were heightened. In such circumstances the peasant became increasingly distrustful of his neighbors, tended to withdraw within his own family and to become himself ready to spy on others.[11]

In such conditions when isolated, helpless and self-oriented,

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

the peasant tended to conceive of every man as a dangerous fellow. "Ruddy or red, the man is dangerous" (*Ryzhyi da krasnyi chelovek opasnyi*), he would say. He did not think he could expect any help from man. "Do not expect any good from a human being," he would advise. And between a living man and a dead one, he thought that the latter was preferred. "No evil comes from a dead man, and no good comes from a living one," he would assert. Many Great-Russian folk sayings emphasize the need for silence, or the necessity to spare words, so that one may not betray himself and let the others take advantage of him. "Do not say every word! Do not reveal every little thought when people are near!" these maxims caution. They also warn: "Do not believe every talk, do not tell every truth!"[12]

But such a lack of faith in human beings might lead to the resolution that one is quite justified to take advantage of everyone else, since all others would do the same to him. Thus social isolation and mistrust tended to reinforce self-seeking and encourage the use of all means to achieve one's personal ends: "Lie began with the world and with the world it will die," the peasants would say. They concluded that since "Man lives by falsehood, we too should not remain behind." Their advice therefore was: "Do not mourn for truth, make terms with falsehood"; "It is by falsehood that men live."[13]

The Great-Russian peasant was accordingly often forced to rely on deliberate deceit as a means of survival in a hostile, distrustful, and unreliable world. He did not consider it necessary to have any respect for agreements, contract obligations or given pledges. He tended to be crafty even in his dealings with God and saints. When committing sinful acts at home he would cover his icons. A number of Russian folk tales are concerned with cunning and show how profitable it might be for one to resort to such means.[14] Heroes in folk epics are addicted to deceit and are condoned for their deeds of guile. Merchants in peasant villages almost invariably used false weights and measures. Perjury was so frequent that there were people whose sole profession it was to swear falsely.[15]

While in such an aggressive mood the peasant was inclined to evoke to his help the dark forces. As a result there was a great

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Why then in deeds of faith
Measures of compulsion
And all kinds of constraint?

• • •

Why then is this?[5]

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Protest against the existing conditions of abusive dominance and subservient submission and longing for acceptance on terms of anarchic equality seems to have been the driving power behind the ideologies of a number of Great-Russian religious sects, such as the *Dukhobortsy* (the spirit-wrestlers), and the *Molokane* (the milk-drinkers). Not unlike the Nihilists and the Anarchists (whose reaction was also rooted in feelings of rejection), all these sects showed a strong resentment against abusive and distant authorities. At first the religious dissenters attacked the Church authorities but then this anti-authority attitude was generalized and extended to all the authorities, including the family, the landlords, the state and the Czar.

As a result all the authorities were blamed for the existing social ills and their removal was considered necessary in order to achieve a better life. There was no need for official clergy, courts, churches, sacraments, fasts, confession, communion, or any Church rituals except simple hymn singing, these sects said. There was no need for the Czar either, they claimed. Anything that smacked of authority and power was rejected. "We behold what a spirit of impiety works and shall work to the end of the world in all holders of power," they stated.[6] In 1868, a sect decreed that anyone who prays for the existing authorities shall be excommunicated. Now all the authorities, not just the priests, were identified with the beasts! "How will you ever find grace at the hands of the Beast?" A number of these sects identified the Czar with the Anti-Christ.

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In their reaction against the suppression of the individual in the interest of those who hold power and in their strongly felt need for acceptance on terms of complete equality, the Dukhobortsy—not unlike the Nihilists—proclaimed the supremacy and the sanctity of the individual. Their demand for an anarchic acceptance was manifested in the emphasis of the

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

worth and dignity of the individual above all other values; the Dukhobortsy claimed that every human being was a god. "God is spirit; he is in us; then we are gods."[7]

Disapproval of oppressive authority on the family level led the Dukhobortsy to repudiate even the names of "father" and "mother." They therefore did not call their parents "father" and "mother," but only "old man" and "old woman." In the same way a father would not say of his children "mine," but "ours."[8] Proscribing the existing degrading subjection of the wife to her husband the Dukhobortsy—not unlike the early Slavs—stressed the complete equality of men and women, husbands and wives. "Among us a woman is not a beast of burden, but a helpmate and standby, a friend and companion in this vale of misery," the Molokane would say.[9] The men called their wives "sisters."

To satisfy their demands for complete acceptance and anarchic relations the Molokane attempted to build a society in which all things were to be possessed in common, and in which the evangelic principles of charity and equality, and the gospel of peace, truth and justice would reign supreme and forever.[10] They felt that it was only in such a communistic society that complete acceptance of all on equal terms could be achieved.

II

Just as in the ideology and practices of Russian monasticism, in some sects of the Dissenters reaction against the oppressive conditions and feeling of utter rejection took the form of extreme social withdrawal. For instance, the *Straniki* (wanderers) proscribed marriage and all family ties, and sought salvation in isolation and flight as the only way to avoid any contact with "Satan's representatives," that is, with the authorities. They would destroy and reject passports and all papers of identification, admit of no social distinction or ties, renounce private property and tramp from village to village, living by theft or by the hospitality of their sympathizers who provided food and secret shelter for them. "Have no city, no village, no home," they would advise.[11]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

795 Another manifestation of withdrawal from degrading oppression was expressed by the *Molchalniki* (speechless) or *Bezslovestnye* (mutes), the sect whose members refused to speak. The moment one would join this sect he would suddenly become dumb and nothing could force even a syllable from his lips. The government was unable to obtain any information from such voluntary martyrs,[12] even under extreme torture.[13] The Theodosians and the Denisovtsy manifested feelings of dejection and withdrawal by means of complete asceticism. These sects demanded celibacy and abstinence not only from bachelors, but from married people as well. ("Let the unwedded wed not, the wedded separate"). The members of these sects therefore founded settlements which were organized along monastic lines, where they attempted to live a solitary life of complete seclusion in the wilderness, and far away from worldly authorities.[14]

On the other hand, some sects apparently reacted to the existing unsatisfactory conditions by various forms of destructive aggressiveness, including self-destruction. The *Skoptsy* (castrated), for instance, practiced castration and mutilation of sex organs.[15] Other sects preached and practiced mass assassination and mass immolation. The *Detoubiytsy* (infant-killers), preached and practiced infanticide. The *Dushilshchiki* (stranglers) or *Tyukalshchiki* (clubbers) preached and practiced killing of adults.[16] Other sects, such as the *Samoszhigateli* (self-cremators) of *Morelshchiki* (self-immolators), organized mass immolation. Cases of such acts of extreme destructiveness have occurred until the end of the nineteenth century, and in the most different and distant parts of the Empire where the Great-Russians are settled.[17] As among the Anarchists, there was among these people an urge for pan-destruction:

> I wish that all Romanov, every man, wife, and child, would come to the banks of the Volga, throw themselves into the waters, and sink to the bottom so that the temptations of the world should not attract them. And what is even better: that I might set fire to and burn down the entire city;—what joy if it were to burn from end to end destroying all the aged and infants, so that none could receive the stamp of Antichrist.[18]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

commands and impose punishments. "If an order is given it must be carried out absolutely."[26] In order to achieve such absolute, unconditional and unquestioning obedience, the training of the young must be not only strict and firm but also consistent, so that their "habit of obedience" once formed is not easily broken.[27] Training in blind obedience is justified by the need to avoid conflicts and discord which a Soviet society cannot tolerate.[28] In such a society all available human energy must be employed exclusively in building socialism.

In order to develop the habit of unconditional obedience it is necessary to prevent any reflection upon given orders. Therefore the school training must stamp out "indecision" in the Soviet children. "We must create in Soviet children a state of mind which causes them to consider indecision in necessary actions as unworthy of their honor."[29] Obedience and submission demand traits of self-abnegation and self-denial; " . . . to bear pain patiently, to maintain self-control on hearing unpleasant news, and to endure unavoidable privations without complaint . . . all of this means to children a manifestation of courage."[30]

It is recognized that children have to be trained also in leadership, and that initiative is necessary in that respect. The Party, however, cannot allow any such initiative which might go counter to the Party's will. It is emphasized therefore that the initiative, too, must be "disciplined," because it is needed only for purposes of organization, vigilance and struggle along the lines put forward by those who possess the Truth. Hence according to Soviet principles of education it is "important that initiative not be exhibited impulsively, but that it be directed into organized channels . . . out of children of initiative good organizers must come."[31]

This complete submerging of the individual into his group, rooted in the social and political traditions of Russian society, is being reinforced by Soviet school training which strives to "educate people for whom the pronoun *I* could not . . . become more important than *we*, for whom thought for themselves always yields to thought for their comrades, for the group and for the country."[32] In this manner "clash between social demands and personal inclinations" is surmounted and the group

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

is "perfected until there are no shortcomings." Then on members of such a group one can make great demands.[83] They will be disciplined, enduring, courageous and faithful. Work will become "second nature" to them; they will not abhor hard effort, nor be afraid of "healthy sweat."[84] They will be industrious and efficient and will develop the "best and most worthy feelings of man," that is, devotion to labor, heroism in the struggle against the forces of reaction, untiring, ruthless and unwavering vigilance against the survivals of capitalism, and an irreconcilable attitude toward the slightest manifestations of deviationism.[85]

III

In the days of Czardom the system of economic and political regimentation found its support in religious sanction and in nationalism. In a like manner the Bolsheviks had early realized that great privations which their regime demands could be best elicited from their subjects with the help of an identification with the great, the absolute, the sublime. It is by such means that traditional cravings for attachment and acceptance could be satisfied. In such a manner also a sense of guilt and urge for self-sacrifice could be reinforced and employed for political purposes.

It is along such efforts that the Bolsheviks have revived and strengthened the traditional Russian images of God, Czar, Father and Mother and have projected these images to the Leader and to the Party. The likeness to God and religion is manifested in the Bolshevik claim of infallibility of their leaders, universality, eternity, and sanctity of their doctrines. Lenin's teachings, for instance, are extolled by the Bolsheviks as being "superior" to any other ideology, as embracing the whole of humanity, and as living forever:

> Lenin's thoughts represent a superior achievement of the Russian and of the world culture; an eternally living and eternally developing science of society—a fighting banner of the working class—living soul of the Bolshevik Party which led our Fatherland to the avant-garde of the whole human kind.
>
> The books of the vozhd and teacher are immortal. They live and

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Many observers of Soviet society have noticed that in this constant struggle for power, and sometimes in order to save their very lives, Soviet officials and intellectuals must be ready not only to inform on each other, but also to "throw mud" at the closest associates and friends as soon as these happen to fall in disgrace.[1] Denunciation of a friend is often "the best way out of a hole," they say. Many "pretend to deny and to disown those who fall in disgrace" or, frightened, "join in verbal lynching to protect themselves." There is a "malignant joy regarding a comrade's mistakes . . . exaggeration of mistakes."[2] They "rush to kick a man who is already down, to push him over the precipice." In such conditions "Friendship is strained with blood and betrayal; it is an object of fear and suspicion."[3] Even members of one's own family might be repudiated under such pressure.[4] At the same time the need for cringing before one's superiors is often compensated by arrogance, capriciousness, arbitrariness, insulting and humiliating treatment of his subordinates or of all unprotected.[5]

The sense of guilt, insecurity, and feelings of humiliation which develop in such circumstances are magnified by means of social isolation. This isolation is manifold in the Soviet society, especially in the upper ruling strata. Intimate personal contact and unfettered social and intellectual intercourse is officially frowned upon and is therefore very limited among the Party, Army, government and managerial hierarchies. Intimate fraternization with associates is looked upon with great suspicion in a society whose ruling minority maintains itself in power by means of planned social divisions and mistrusts. Said Stalin: ". . . such family conditions create a favorable environment for the nurture of reptiles, not Bolsheviks."[6]

Real risks are involved in any free discourse in a society which is infested with watchdogs and informers and in which many are inclined to seek self-advance in the ruin of others. In the upper strata besides fear, suspicion and need for extreme caution, there is lack of intimate contact also because of sharp differentiation in rank. For the same reasons intercourse between the educated and non-educated strata has to be kept to a minimum.

There is also a deliberate policy on the part of the ruling class

1: Fedotov S-4 (no date) 1954 RF1 Great Russia RF1

ooo ably well the nature of the historical process, the drama of the perpetual dissensions and crises, and the very possibility of development.

181 If today, in exile, we ask this or that émigré of the rank and file
● 157 to describe the Russian character, we are sure to be offered two contrasting pictures. As often as not these different images correspond to the political camp of the émigré. To those of the Right and to those of the Left, Russia and the Russian show a different face.

Let us have a look at the left-wing image. This Russian is a lifelong seeker after truth, an enthusiast serving ideals with self-sacrificial ardor but frequently changing his gods and idols. He is utterly devoted to the people, to art, to ideas; eager to become a martyr for some noble cause; an irreconcilable foe of dishonesty, of compromise. An extremist in his dedication to ideas, he lives in the clouds and is estranged from reality—rootless, yet a saint in the full meaning of the word, a saint above material interests. Of the four elements, he is closest to fire and most alien to the earth—and yet he wishes to serve the earth, envisaging this service in terms of flame, conflagration, molten metal. In terms of religion, his is the eschatological type of Christianity—without a terrestrial home, but thirsting for the City of God. Or rather in search of a "New Heaven" and a "New Earth." He loathes nothing so much as moderation, regularity, the virtues of restraint and reasonableness, the smugness of a self-complacent culture. Culture, as the realm of consummate form, leaves him cold; he dreams of remolding all forms in his own crucible. The process of creation is more important to him than its product, the search for truth more important than truth itself, heroic death more important than a life full of labor. Usually he regards Belinsky as his ancestor and (today!) Dostoevsky as his supreme spokesman. It is not difficult to recognize in this image the self-portrait of the Russian intelligentsia,—not of the Russian educated class as a whole, but of that "order" whose origin goes back to the eighteen thirties.

18 However, the intelligentsia, this latest layer of Russian culture, is
517 not entirely lacking in national roots—or, more exactly, counterparts. For here we have to do not with the direct influence of deep popular forces but with the obscure subconscious play of the folk-soul, which in the destiny of these pseudo-renegades of nation and country repeats the features of another type, deeply embedded in the national psyche. Apostates, runaways, seekers, pilgrims—are

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181 517 was prevalent a specific Russian-Jewish atmosphere, of which a Jewish poet has said: "Blessed he who ever breathed that air."

000 And yet, only a foreigner may be forgiven for not distinguishing between Slavic and Semitic features in the amalgam of the intellectual-sectarian type. Surely there was nothing Jewish in Belinsky; and when Tolstoy spoke of Dostoevsky's Jewishness, he meant it, of course, in the widest metaphorical sense. The difference is subtle but plainly perceptible—rather one of style, of aesthetic pattern, than of ethical contents—which, after all, is true of most national distinctions. The kinship between the intelligentsia and popular sectarianism, on the other hand, is a primary phenomenon, sufficient in itself to establish this type of intellectual as one of the historical formations of the Russian soul.

181 ●157 I believe that many, and not only among the right-wingers, will refuse to acknowledge the intelligentsia as the deepest manifestation of Russianness. To myself, whenever today, in exile, I try to conjure up a pure image of the Russian, he presents himself under a different aspect. Profound calm, taciturnity, on the surface even apathy. An organic aversion for anything high-flown, high-strung, extravagant. Simplicity often carried so far as to shun a word, a gesture too much. "Silence is golden." Serene, self-confident power. The silence reflects profound Oriental experience absorbed in the blood. Hence a strain of fatalism. Hence also the humor—the tolerant smile at the foreground of life, at the ceaseless fretting and fussing of the intellect. Humor and restraint are features this type of Russian shares with the Anglo-Saxon. In the opinion of some, by the way, only the Russians and the English possess a genuine sense of humor. Tolstoy and his set—the "high society" of Anna Karenina—in all of Europe felt most at home in the Anglo-Saxon world, the only one they respected. However, this superficial similarity covers a vastly divergent experience—Western activism and Oriental fatalism; but in both worlds the violence of elemental forces was tamed by centuries-old discipline.

I shall not attempt here to define the moral aspect of this type of Russian. I believe that, as a rule, one should avoid over-precise moral characterizations of national types. The good and the wicked, the vicious and the pure are found among all of them, probably in the same proportion. What matters are the shades of goodness, of purity etc., the "how" and not the "what,"—which means definitions rather in aesthetic (in the widest sense) terms. Is the Russian kind? Quite often he is. When he is, his kindness combined with

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his own peculiar quiet wisdom, produces one of the finest human types. How we long for it in our warped life, swayed as we are by all kinds of passions—and be it spiritual passions! But the Russian can be cruel too—this we know well by now—and not only in a brief flare-up of fury but in a smugly callous, ruthlessly selfish way. Most often he amazes us by a kind of Oriental indifference to the lot and the sufferings of others—coupled with gentleness and superficial compassion (Karataev!). There is something Chinese in the impassive attitude of the Russian peasant towards his own and his fellowmen's death. This kind of wisdom takes us beyond the limits of Christianity. Tolstoy was profoundly aware of the primeval, prehistoric roots of this indifference ("The Three Deaths").

Nor is it easy to generalize about the volitional nature of the Russian. Is he indolent or active? More often than not he appears lazy; he works under pressure, pulling himself together only at the very last; but then he does not spare himself and is capable of making up in a few days for months of idleness. But there are also Russians of dogged industry, performing their tasks with restrained but intense passion; such were to be found among kulaks, inventors, scientists, even administrators. The amorphous mass of the people readily submits to the leadership of this sturdy élite, while seldom respecting it. Without this ruthless and strong-willed type the creation of the Empire, and even of the Muscovite state, would have been unthinkable.

In mentioning the Muscovite state, we are offering a clue to the understanding of this second brand of Russian. Its embodiment is the Muscovite, as his hard historical destinies have shaped him. For two or three centuries rough hands had been at work kneading the Slavic dough, knocking, bruising, breaking in the recalcitrant stuff, molding it into an extremely tenacious form. The Petrine Empire overlaid the Muscovite tsardom with a varnish of European culture, but it was still the Muscovite type that remained the real mainstay. To this type belong all those classes that were little touched by the Petersburg culture. All the clergy, the merchant class, the thrifty part of the peasantry (insofar as it was not undermined by spiritual restlessness). We meet this type again in the great Russian literature, where it is, however, pushed into the background by later spiritual formations. It is reflected most vividly in the regional literature—the writings of Aksakov, Leskov, Melnikov, Mamin-Sibiriak. And Tolstoy, of course. Although he cannot be fitted altogether into the Muscovite mold, he stemmed from it, had a

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deep fondness for this type, and was apt to idealize it. Karataev, Kutuzov, Levin are Muscovites; and so are Captain Mironov and Maxim Maximovich—Muscovite state servants who have survived the Petrine upheaval. The plodding official under Nicholas I, so ill-treated by the satirical literature of the time, represents the last layer of the Muscovite formation. We meet this type also on the highest cultural level: Pososhkov, Bolotov, the Aksakovs, Zabelin, Kliuchevsky—all these are authentic Muscovites. Here is the source of Russian creative power—which, however, like all things ultra-national, is rather limited in outlook. The narrow-mindedness of Tolstoy and Mussorgsky can assume truly tragical forms.

Such are the two polar types of Russianness, to whose conflict the high drama of the nineteenth century is largely due. They may be regarded as the expression of the basic dualism inherent in the Russian soul. They are, however, only the latest historically conditioned manifestations of this duality. Of all the successive cultural layers of the Russian soul, they represent the Muscovite stratum and that latest formation, the intelligentsia, born in the eighteen-thirties. But the historical approach to the problem of the Russian character makes it imperative to look beyond the limits of this duality. Between Muscovy and the intelligentsia there lies the Empire. Nor did Russia begin with Muscovy. What remains today of the Russian of the Empire, the Russian of the Kievan era, of Novgorod?

When, basing our claim on Pushkin, we assert with Dostoevsky that the Russian is a universalist, and that in this lies his national mission, it is actually the imperial Russian we have in mind. Universality is characteristic neither of the Muscovite nor of a true representative of the intelligentsia. On the contrary, the distinctive feature of both is narrow-mindedness, sectarianism. The Petrine reform, however, had brought Russia out into the open spaces of the world, had placed her at the crossroads of all the great Western civilizations and had brought into being the species of the Russian-European. His main attribute is freedom and openness of mind—such as to set him apart not only from the Muscovite but also from the European of the West. European culture, taken as a whole, was more intensely alive on the banks of the Neva or Moskva than on those of the Seine, the Thames, or the Spree. It is this imperial upper-class stratum that has given rise to the myth of the Russian's peculiar gift for foreign languages. Actually the average Russian,

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whether Muscovite or of the intelligentsia, is totally devoid of linguistic ability and finds it hard to adjust himself to strange countries and alien surroundings. But the Russian-European felt at home everywhere.

Throughout the two centuries of his existence, we have known him in two incarnations: the wanderer and the builder. Weak natures were easily crushed by the wealth of the alien culture. The conflict between the traditional Russian values and those of the new Westernized life was apt to generate skepticism, shallowness and premature weariness. Beginning with the "petits-maîtres" of the eighteenth century, "whose hearts belonged to the French Crown," a long chain of so-called "superflous people," including the Onegins, Rudins, Raiskys, stretches across Russian literature. Not so long ago it was customary to regard this as the basic trend of Russian life. This is a stupendous misunderstanding, a historical-literary aberration. We are well acquainted with another type of Russian-European—one that had retained the strong will of the Muscovite, his bond with the motherland, and sometimes even his religious faith. It was men like these who built the Empire, who fought its wars and made its laws, who sowed the seeds of enlightenment. Such were "the fledglings of Peter's nest," although in fairness it must be admitted that this type had come into being before Peter's time. Its genealogy begins with the Boyar Matveev, with Ordyn-Nashchokin, maybe even with Kurbsky. They reached their culminating point in the era of Alexander I. Under him they occupied the highest government posts. There was no rift yet between government and culture. Pushkin, "the bard of Empire and of freedom," was the last great embodiment of that imperial type. It did not, however, completely disappear even after the break between monarchy and culture under Nicholas I. In the "Era of the Great Reforms" the "Russian-Europeans" for a time came again into their own. We saw "the last Mohicans" of the type ourselves in the Senate and the Imperial Council under the last two tsars; deprived of power and influence, they still retained their rich experience, their political wisdom, alas! no longer needed by the degenerate dynasty. But on a lower level, within the administration, the courts, the liberal professions, the local self-government, and, of course, the universities, it was largely the "Europeans" who carried on their shoulders the whole burden of cultural activities under excruciatingly difficult conditions. Nearly always they shunned politics in order to concentrate on the only tasks open to them.

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181 Hence their lack of popularity in a country that for generations had
●157 been breathing the exhalations of civil war. Nevertheless, in every city, every district, these zealots of culture left some achievement behind them—here a school, there a learned society, a model farm, or just the memory of a dedicated physician, a humane judge, a noble man. It was they who preserved Russia from stagnating and freezing up at a time when every effort was made from above to put her on ice, and from below to set her aflame. While the Muscovite formed the backbone of Russia, the Russian-European was her builder. However, as we have pointed out, this creative, constructive type derived itself from Muscovite roots. While his lifework often compelled the "European" to wage a tenacious fight against the Muscovite's inertia and indolence, he yet shared with the latter a common moral ideal, a common love of Russia and her "soul." Kliuchevsky's history and Russian music were his link with Moscow. Whenever this link crumbled away, he would become a rolling-stone, no longer capable of constructive work. Under certain circumstances he might turn into an "intellectual"; this is the upper-class source of the intelligentsia, quite distinct from its democratic springs. But so long as he stood at his post, performing some vital task, he remained loyal to Russia and to the Muscovite principle of service. In the beginning of the twentieth century, notably after the revolution of 1905, the creative Russian-European element showed signs of impetuous growth at the expense of the intelligentsia. It looked as if the future belonged to it. . . . Fate decided differently.

181 What features of the Russian may be traced to the early Russia of warring principalities and free city-republics? Fully aware that we are embarking upon arbitrary and even fantastic speculations, we yet venture an answer: that aspect of the Russian character usually called its "largeness"; its unruliness; its rebelliousness—neither ideological nor sectarian—but rooted in a deep organic aversion to any kind of rigid form. Even today, the Russian heart still responds to the ancient chronicles, to the "Lay of Prince Igor." To state it boldly: it is not the stern builders of Empire, and not the statesmen, who most strongly appeal to Russian national emotions, but the knightly princes, the dare-devil Mstislavs, the Viking Sviatoslav, the tumultuous freedom of Novgorod. Muscovy certainly never succeeded in wholly disciplining the Slavic unruliness. It erupted in the free Cossack communities, in the sporadic uprisings; in the nineteenth century it found an outlet in debauchery and high living, in fantastic dissipation, in the bohemianism and

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artistic trend of the Russian character. This side of the Russian soul finds a most adequate expression in the gipsy song and dance. Russian debauchery is often somber and heavy, an effect, maybe, of Tartar blood and Muscovite oppression; but it can also be gay, generous, magnanimous. Such were the revelries of Pushkin, who combined Europeanism with Russian reckless freedom. Many talented Russians have succumbed to their nature (A. Grigoriev); and yet this characteristic, so long as it is to some extent held in check by self-discipline and education, is inseparable from Russian genius. "How fond I am of drunks!" Tolstoy once inadvertently confessed.

Gloom and childlike gaiety are the two poles of Russian unruliness. In the mood of youthful light-heartedness, generosity, sparkling high spirits, the Russian character is at its most attractive. This gaiety, however, is ephemeral. Unaccountable joy does not satisfy the Russian for long. He is likely to come to a grim and tragic end. If he fails to settle down in time (Muscovite fashion), his end is a ruined life, or a monk's hood.

Is it possible to penetrate still deeper into the Russian soul—beyond Kiev and Novgorod, beyond the threshold of history? If we remove, like skin after skin from a bulb, the successive cultural layers deposited by history, shall we find in the Russian a central irreducible core? It may be that our question is not posed correctly. The national soul is not given in history. The ethnic psyche serves only as the raw material of history. That psyche, moreover, is not all of a piece: Slavs, Finns, Turks,—all have gone into the making of the Russian soul. A nation is not a tree or an animal whose potentialities are all enclosed in the seed. The nation is rather to be compared to a musical or poetical work whose first measures or lines do not necessarily convey the main theme. Sometimes this theme is not revealed until the very end. It may be that in this sense (as revelation of an idea) the nineteenth century was more truly national than Kiev or Muscovy. Without assuming in any way that Slavic paganism contained in embryo the idea of Russianness (how could we differentiate here between Eastern and Southern Slavs—between Russians and Bulgars or Serbs?)—we yet believe it worthwhile to peer into this mysterious depth. Better than other civilized peoples we have preserved the organic, pre-Christian foundations of the national soul. Deep at the root of the greatest masterpieces of Russian literature there is something akin to the primitivism of folklore. Tiutchev, Tolstoy, Rozanov have distilled, as it

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181 were, in the apparatus of high spiritual pressure, the primordial stuff
● 157 of Russian paganism.

Where shall we look for a key to it? We cannot go here beyond a few suggestions, the first steps leading down into the subterranean galleries of the Russian soul. Some time ago W. W. Weidlé (*Sovremennye Zapiski*, No. 64) attempted, rightly so in my opinion, to link this Russian essence with the family principle. As late as the nineteenth century, the Russian-Slav was not yet wholly estranged from Mother-Earth. His intimate union with the world of nature makes individual existence difficult and strange. Nature for him is not landscape, not a background for his daily life, and still less, of course, an object of conquest. He is embedded in her as in the maternal womb; he responds to her with all his being; apart from her he dries up and cannot live. He has not realized yet the frightfulness of her ruthless beauty, the frightfulness of death—since there is nothing in him that can die. All that is valuable and lofty in the human being is generic, communal, indestructible. And that which is individual is not worth immortality. The moral law of the individual, his right to his own conscience, to self-determination—these things have no validity in face of the law of life. In the moral sphere this attitude leads to communal, collective ethics based on the principle of mutual responsibility. In art it generates an enormous power of sensuous perception and suggestion (derived from Gea, the Earth), which is offset by weakness of form and of individual creative design. In the pursuit of knowledge it leads, of course, to irrationalism and reliance on intuition. In work and social life it leads to distrust of all planning, system, organization. The Slavophile ideal, for all its consciously Christian character, is strongly imbued with this pagan element of the Slavic psyche. In the life of the common people, however, we find it already sublimated by the Church and, this has led to the widely held assumption that it forms the very essence of Eastern Christianity. Actually it has nothing to do with Christianity; rather it takes us far eastwards. Another step, and we are in India with her total obliteration of the individual.

The question arises: where in this historically stratified scheme of the Russian soul is its Christian, its Orthodox layer? The truth is that there is more than one such layer, since there are actually as many brands of Russian Christianity as there are historical types of the Russian, and maybe more. Just as every nation experiences Christianity in its own way, so every cultural stratum of a nation

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has its own key to Christianity, or at least its own nuances of it. There is no need, however, to distinguish between fine shades of Christianity in the Russian soul; all the contradictions stand out with stark boldness. Just try to express in one formula the religiosity of St. Sergius and the Archpriest Avvakum, that of the Metropolitan Philaret and of Dostoevsky. For good measure, add to these Greek-Orthodox folklore and the religion of Tolstoy!

The opinion is widely held that the Russian people are set apart from other European peoples by the peculiar intensity of their religiosity. Actually this impression derives from the fact that the twentieth century finds Russia and the rest of Europe in different acts of the religious-historical drama. In Russia, among the great mass of the people, the Middle Ages lived on right down to the middle of the nineteenth century. The Europe of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries would offer a closer analogy to imperial Russia. But the collapse of Russian medievalism was stormy and destructive in the extreme. Today the attitude towards religion, both on the part of the masses and of the intelligentsia, is not markedly different from that in other European countries.

. . . And now let us turn to our basic problem: which historical layers of the Russian soul have been destroyed by the Revolution and which will survive it? The answer now should be clear. The extermination of the old educated class and the suppression of all the sources that fed it were bound to remove the two uppermost strata from the spiritual structure of Russian society. The man of Empire and the intellectual perished together with the "bourgeoisie," the upper layer of the old society. As to the imperial type, the Russian of universal culture, some relics of it still survive within the ranks of the "specialists." Some time ago, the [Soviet] government belatedly realized that the liquidation of the upper cultural stratum was doing irreparable harm to technical progress. The surviving old-timers became the object of special attention. However, they were valued only in their capacity of specialists in some narrow field; as has been wittily said, golden watches were used to drive in nails. Their broad culture, no longer needed by anyone and even offensive to the new ruling class, still subsists within some tiny groups or even families. The new educated class produces exclusively specialists who often lack the rudiments of a general culture, even plain literacy. On the other hand, never since the Muscovite tsardom has Russia been fenced off from Europe by such a high wall. This wall has been erected not only by censorship and

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121 voke changes in the system of political relations (power structure) and hence in the social structure.

121 181 Two contrasting cultures, that of the power-seeking and self-oriented nomadic horsemen of the Eurasian steppes, and that of the anarchic and group-oriented tillers of the land in the river basins of eastern Europe, provide valuable data for an understanding of the formation of political elites in Russian society, and particularly for identification of conflicting orientations which have been at the root of its social instability and political aggression throughout ages of its growth. There were other sources of conditioning circumstances which have provided significant elements to the content of Russia's culture and its social structure and which have affected the recruitment of political elites and the formation of ideologies. Such were, for instance, the Byzantine system of the administration and of the Church-State relations, the conditions of serfdom and the retarded growth of middle classes, and Western European technology and political and social philosophies. There were also "external" pressures which—in conjunction with Russia's geographic location—have influenced its social and political development. Such, for instance, were the quality of Russia's soil and climate, the moving of the trade routes from the Dnieper valley toward the West in the late middle ages, the sudden growth and disintegration of the Mongol empire, the formation and the expansion of Western European and of Pacific imperial systems. A number of these agents, however, have tended to perpetuate the initial basic structure and to intensify the clash of views of life which was introduced into Russian society through the imposition of the rule of the steppe nomads over the tillers of the land in the ancient past.

• [157] One of the basic traits in the interpersonal and institutional relationships of the horse-breeders from the steppes consists of an apparent want of lasting emotional attachments, of social trust and of ties of moral unity. There is a lack of stability in loyalties and therefore a system of power which is self-oriented, that is, based on personal drives for aggrandizement. Only continuing conquests and lasting threats of common external enemies can assure the perpetuation of this predatory system

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tion has provided moral and ideological foundations for the formation and the expansion of a globally oriented empire, while at the same time, it has also reinforced some of the elements in the structure of the Russian State which have been responsible for its explosiveness and instability.

In the Byzantine politico-religious system, the Church was not only a religious institution but also a political organization, and an arm of the political power. Byzantium therefore undertook to Christianize the Russian lands as a means of political penetration. Following Byzantine Church traditions and practices, the dominant native speech was adopted for Church services. Christianization therefore fostered also Slavization of these regions. Moreover, the Church of Byzantium carried with it the Byzantine concept of unity of Church and State, as well as that of a god-like monarchial power, with the mission to create a Universal Christian Empire.

The Eastern Church also sanctioned unlimited paternal authority and promoted protection-dependency relationships both on politico-administrative and on family levels. This Church sponsored unconditional obedience, attitudes of reverence and gratitude, and feelings of humility and self-effacement, fear and awe in the relations of man to his God, his Prince and his Father. According to the precepts of this Church-State philosophy, the authorities were held responsible for the well-being as well as for the failures and sins of their dependents. Thus the Byzantine Church was preparing psychological and ideological grounds for a politico-religious integration of Russian lands in a system of military theocracy, which became characterized by its Messianic ideology of world redemption and by its dominance-submission and protection-dependency relationships. But such a political system was in sharp conflict with the anarchic view of life and the equalitarian philosophy of family and community relations held by large sections of the population in that area.

This basic internal clash of ideologies in Russian society was intensified in the course of the following centuries when the pressure of the steppe nomads and of the expanding Western empires favored increased militarization, economic regimentation and centralization of total power in the hands of an auto-

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175 642 cratic Czar. By the time of Ivan the Terrible, the power of the independent landed aristocracy was suppressed, and the autocratic power rested now on a service nobility who were given lands in conditional possession depending upon their service and their loyalty to the Czar. These people therefore found themselves in a slave-like dependency upon the ruler who was likened to God, a situation that promoted political and social regimentation and fostered domineering-subservience relationships, thus intensifying the existing incompatibilities between the upper and lower strata of the Czardom.

● [157] Domineering-subservience relationships are likely to breed humiliating experiences of self-abasement and feelings of wounded self-esteem which in turn might foster intense hostilities as well as compensatory ideas of grandeur. Thus in new circumstances, both self-seeking and power-orientation were reinforced in the upper strata, and manifested themselves in the oppressive rule of the nobility, in their extreme factionalism, and in their ruthless struggle for personal power and for the favors of the Czar.

[566] This trend of events, by the second part of the sixteenth century, led to establishment of serfdom and to direct interference of the service nobility and of the government in the communal and family relations of the peasantry. From this time on, the Church, the State and the landlords joined hands in strengthening the power of the Father and of the village elders and sponsoring in the peasant family and in the village community, dominance-submission relationships, absolute power and dependence, blind obedience and self-abnegation.

181 [579] The inevitable clash of this new power-oriented social philosophy with the old stateless and equalitarian values, was reflected in intense family and community tensions and in mass restlessness. Thus a weakening of power and of controls on any level—family, local, or national—opened the way to urges of destructive aggression and revolt against all the holders of power: the fathers, the village elders, the landlords, the Church and the Czar. Outbreaks of such extreme enmity were manifested in frequent communal riots, in mass vagrancy, in bloody revolutionary uprisings, and in widespread dissent from the official

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therefore were leaving the land to move to the cities or to join the bandits as traders and warriors.

These bandit-warriors are pictured in the Russian folk epic as ruling by such terrifying violence and dreadful terror and craft that all the living beings on the earth flee and hide, or lie prostrate, and even the earth itself shrinks and the sun sinks away at their appearance:

> The red sun was sinking
> Behind the dark woods, behind the broad sea,
> Multitudes of stars studded the clear sky
> When Lord Volga Buslavlevich was born
> In holy Russia.
> When Volga Buslavlevich was five years of age,[27]
> Lord Volga Buslavlevich went forth over the damp earth
> Damp mother earth was rent,
> The wild beasts fled away up to the clouds;
> And the fish scattered in the blue sea:
> And Lord Volga Buslavlevich went
> To learn all craft and wisdom,
> All the various languages;[28]
>
> Volga grew in strength and stature.
> He chose for himself a bold druzhina,
> Of thirty youths save one,
> He, Volga making the thirtieth.
> His dear 'uncle' bestowed upon him,
> Gracious Vladimir of Royal Kiev,
> Three cities with their peasants.[29]

The hero knights of these legendary *Byliny* (the events of the olden days) when they find themselves in circumstances which appear to be under their control, are likely to be boastful, quarrelsome, disrespectful, sensitive to rank and inclined to belittle the strength of their adversaries. In such circumstances they spend their time either in plundering, fighting, maiming and killing, or in feasting, debauchery, and drunkenness.[30]

The extreme power-compulsion and delusions of grandeur of these supermen, as well as their complete lack of self-control, are well symbolized in folk narratives about Svyatogor. This hero has an irresistible urge to bring the heaven and the earth to-

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III

The atmosphere of despotism, servility, fear and awe which developed under this system of total regimentation and dependency left an imprint on the habits and the attitudes of the people and had some influence on the shaping of their values and of their views of life. In conditions of complete dependency and domineering-subservience relationships, self-concern, destructive aggressiveness, as well as fatalistic resignation, are likely to thrive, not personal and social responsibility, moral obligations or group solidarity.

This trend of events meant also increasing social restlessness and political instability which in turn favored the rise to leadership of ruthless power-seekers and psychopaths. Lack of limitation on the personal power of the Czar, dissensions among the nobility and want of responsibility and of emotional balance in the person of the Czar led often to extreme excesses in Czar's rule.[11] All the attempts of the boyars to transform the Boyarskaya Duma into a legislative body were unsuccessful. Since the end of the seventeenth century even the *Zemski Sabor*, the consultative body of representatives of all classes, ceased to be convoked.

Only when the throne became vacant and the omnipotent Czar was gone did this nobility sometimes attempt to squeeze out promises and pledges from the pretenders to the throne. But, even then the remnants of the old boyar class and the new service nobility clashed over the question of control. Hence as soon as the new monarch was installed he did not have any difficulty in establishing his unlimited control and in proceeding to rule arbitrarily in face of a divided dvorianstvo.

The Czar could do anything he pleased with the nobles, including personal chastisement. They were treated as minors by the Czar and trained in blind and unconditional obedience. In the Czar's presence they observed dead silence. Anything that came from his hand, even the most degrading treatment, was to be received with resignation or even regarded as a sign of distinction. At the same time, however, while the nobles were exposed to all kinds of threat, terror and indignities on the part

7 [i.e. Czardom by end of 17th century.. Analyst]

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the favors of one's superiors that one hoped to exercise more power and to achieve a higher degree of security.

Such a situation often demanded self-abasing and cringing humility toward superiors in the hierarchy as an adjustment to a situation of permanent insecurity and threat. ". . . those employed believe that they can never do enough to show their zeal."[8] "Without being base, it is impossible to get on," the officials themselves would say.[9] At the same time, perhaps as a compensation for degradation and loss of self-respect, there developed the propensity of the officials to show haughtiness and arrogance to those below them in rank and status. "A man, as soon as he rises a grade above the common level, acquires the right . . . to maltreat his inferiors to whom it is his duty to transmit the blows that he receives from those above him."[10]

In such conditions preoccupation with one's self rather than interest in group ideals and objectives thrived. There was therefore a tendency for selfish and petty concerns, greediness, venality, and corruption. Careerism prevailed over loyalty. Fortunes were made by many in public service as a security for the uncertain future.[11] The public opinion itself supported such behavior because it was expected that people who acquire office or any other positions of trust would take personal advantage of the situation. In some departments because of the inadequacy of the salaries and in order to meet the expected high standards of living the officials were considered to have tacit permission to have recourse to illicit perquisites. Administration, justice, police, the army and the navy, and even the clergy, all had their acknowledged perquisites, which often included bribes.[12]

In such conditions in which extreme self-concern thrived, the Czar himself did not feel safe and secure. This sense of insecurity on the very peak of power was reflected, for instance, in the tendency of the Czars not to tolerate any outstanding personalities in their midst.[13] The same feeling was reflected in the idea that any concession on the part of the Czar would be considered as a sign of weakness. The result was that the Czar was often surrounded by sycophants and careerists and had no close friends whom he could trust and on whom he could rely for support at all times. In such circumstances the Czar might feel isolated,

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

643 imagine himself threatened by "enemies," and live in fear.[14] As
157 a defense against such feelings the Czar might be inclined to follow the advice of those of his officials who favored concentration of power and who advised against giving up any of his prerogatives or against any yielding to the demands of the opposition. "Constitution" to such a Czar and his camarilla was as dangerous as "revolution."

But such policies, which are rooted in a sense of extreme insecurity themselves tend to strengthen such feelings. Mistrust of people, fear of the "enemies," suppression of all opposition and tendency to concentrate increasingly the power in one's hands, to dominate and to demand absolute submissiveness is therefore perpetuated. Hence, power-relations in Russia of the eighteenth and nineteenth century tended to follow the pattern of rule established earlier in Muscovite Czardom:

661 The emperor Nicholas I ruled his country like a gamekeeper. Under
643 his administration of the empire, based as it was upon a system
566 of flogging, imprisonment, and exile to Siberia, the great could indulge their caprices with impunity . . . But . . . in reality . . . the masters were also slaves. Every man, whoever he might be, was dependent on someone more powerful than himself who could with impunity make him wretched, and over him again there was someone still mightier. The lord, it is true, lived in comfort, and the serfs in squalor, but that was all. They were all slaves, one as much as the other . . . I have seen both oppressors and oppressed at close quarters, and I can aver that the inhuman regime of bondage corrupted and depraved one as much as the other.[15]

625 Just as in the political organization of steppe nomads and in the Muscovite Czardom such relations of insecurity, mistrust, self-seeking, abusive domineering and blind subordination demanded an efficient system of watchfulness, vigilance, checking and counterchecking. A special attention therefore had to be paid to the institution of secret political police. Since the days of Czar Nicholas I, the secret political police, known as the Third Section, was placed above all ministries, and was directly subject to the Emperor himself, just as in the days of Ivan the Terrible. Like the Oprichniki of Ivan the Terrible the Third Section was the main agency of vigilance, the chief watchdog of the state. It

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

and was expected to love his family, he was to remain detached and distant. Such paternal behavior was particularly noticeable in the urban strata where both the Turco-Mongol and the Church influences were stronger. "Do not smile at him, do not play with him" is the advice of the Domostroy concerning father-son relations.[28] The father was not supposed to show any outward signs of emotion, neither anger nor affection toward his wife, children, or his servants. Even during the beating the father was expected to remain cold and detached, according to the Domostroy. His love was to be of a charitable and compassionate character. Any kind of personal closeness and familiarity with his wife or children might have undermined an authority that was based on sternness, fear and awe.

A number of autobiographies and other writings of Russian men of letters, as well as the accounts given by foreign observers, stress this duality in the behavior of the father. He is pictured as compassionate, kind and goodhearted, but also as detached, harsh and abusive.[29] A number of these documents tell about the *groza* (terror) in which the father or the grandfather had held all his dependents; about his detachment even when playing with children, and about his inability to be with them on comradely terms or to laugh with them. They often tell about the difficulties the children experienced in attempting to approach their father on intimate and friendly terms, though they felt that he had a "good heart" and was "compassionate":

My father, true to the family tradition, took up the profession of soldiering . . . To his children he was a comparative stranger but we were terrified of him. We only saw him at meals; he spent the rest of his time in his private rooms which none of us dared to enter save at his command. A masterful, violent nature, he either could not or would not control his temper, and was an object of terror to us and to his servants. However, he had a good heart. But at the period when he lived, harshness had become a moral principle. To show benevolence was to be weak, to be cruel was to be strong . . . and my father, like most men, was cast in the mould of his period. He carefully concealed his feelings under a mask of harshness. He was certainly brutal; he was also compassionate in his own way . . . At this period children, the poor and the weak, and still more the serfs, were scarcely considered to possess a soul. My father reigned, but did not govern.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Like Jupiter, he only interfered in the affairs of mortals in moments of crisis. But when he did interfere it was no laughing matter, and everybody, from cellar to attic, trembled in his shoes . . .[80]

This God-like, unapproachable, inscrutable, absolute and arbitrary power of a stern and violent but also benevolent, compassionate and solicitous father was apparently projected into the Russian supernatural world in the form of the *Domovoy*, the house spirit. According to the Great-Russian folk beliefs, the Domovoy was the protector of the house; he had patriarchal prerogatives over it, but also depended upon it. He demanded from the family all kinds of honors. At the same time he was as unpredictable in his behavior as any stereotyped family head in the Great-Russian patriarchal family system.

Thus the Domovoy was at times protective, benevolent and compassionate, but at other times he would become wicked, vindictive and mischievous. He was endowed with supernatural powers and could bring either fortune or calamity upon the family, depending upon his frequently changing moods and dispositions. It was, therefore, considered wise to address him as "Grand Father" and to propitiate and appease him by frequent offerings in viands. If such attention were shown to him he was likely to be helpful. But if he were neglected, he would become enraged and full of wrathful vengeance. In such a case, he could be atoned only by blood; the corners of the izba were sprinkled with blood of a cock that was killed for the occasion and various incantations were uttered.[81]

8
FAMILY CONFLICTS

I

THE FATHER treated his family members as wards and minors because he was responsible for their well-being, their behavior and their salvation. He had to show a constant solicitude for them (*neustannaya zabota*). The blame for their

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

These attitudes implied complete dependency and self-abnegation on the part of the wife and children in relation to their master. The wife and the children were expected always to speak with respect to the father, that is, in the second person plural instead of the second person singular—the way the children addressed each other or their mother. The wife did not address her husband by his first name, but by his first and second name (patronymic) which was the way less intimate acquaintances addressed each other. The children had to demonstrate their thankfulness for the father's care and solicitude by kissing his hands. Before a bride left her parental home, custom demanded that she say to her father, "God will help you for bread and salt." And he would advise her to be obedient to her new relations: "Be obedient to them the way you were obedient to me" (*slushay kak menia slushala*).[7]

Emphasis on fear and awe, obedience and gratitude was very outstanding in the Great-Russian patriarchal family relations. These feelings and attitudes had a supernatural sanction. As a result of the teachings of the Russian Orthodox Church, it was considered in popular opinion that any disobedience or disrespect of the father's will was mercilessly punished by God who brought life-long misery and misfortune for such unfilial behavior. Even after death, the soul of a disobedient and ungrateful child could hardly escape punishment in the eternal fire of hell. Many Great-Russian folktales place a great emphasis on obedience and gratitude and stress the cruel penalty and fearful fate that awaited a disobedient and ungrateful son.[8]

Such family relations in which demands of a harsh and detached, and even capricious and arbitrary father had to be answered by humility, unconditional submission, blind obedience, love and gratitude; in which family members fought over priorities and rights; where all felt dependent upon one another and isolated from the rest of the world, could not fail to provoke tensions and cause intense family antagonisms and animosities. Such tensions and conflicts became characteristic of the Great-Russian patriarchal family and were manifested in the relations between husband and wife, father and sons, between the siblings and between the in-laws.[9]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia / RF1

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The family was divided into two clans, the elder and the younger. The elder ones were proud, rich, all powerful, fearing none but Jupiter [father]. They had fine rooms where they could run about and play without fear of colliding with the furniture; they lived in style and despised us, and punished us. The youngsters were weak and oppressed, with only a little room as their domain; they were kept running errands and had sweets to eat only on the rare occasion when they were given a few. They were teased and were accused of lying when they were not telling lies; . . . They had none to defend them against the iniquity of the elders . . . The two clans carried on constant warfare. The elders . . . would treat the youngsters as vassals and make fun of them.[20]

In the homes of merchants and petty officials, frictions, tensions, and animosities were so outstanding a feature of family life as late as the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, that they formed a recurrent theme in Russian belles-lettres of those days, such as in the works of Dostoyevsky and of Ostrovsky. N. Dobrolyubov, a noted Russian critic, commenting on the writings of Ostrovsky, asserted that it was the system of tyranny which caused cunning, hatred, lack of justice and of human dignity in the family.[21] In a similar way Peter Kropotkin, observing family relations in various strata of Russian society in the second part of the nineteenth century, claimed that, "quite a network of habits and customs of domestic slavery, of utter disregard of human individuality, of despotism on the part of the fathers, and of hypocritical submission on that of the wives, the sons, and the daughters, had developed."[22]

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9

MOTHER-CHILD ATTACHMENT

I

THOUGH the internal situation in the Great-Russian patriarchal family tended to be rather tense, the role played by the mother was likely to introduce into that family an element of moderation and emotional integration.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF: Great Russia RF:

Aware of such attitudes and practices and sometimes also moved by a genuine sense of guilt, many of the accused were ready to confess and to incriminate themselves. Hense self-accusatory confessions became common to all strata of Russian society, including the intelligentsia. Thus, for instance, when the Russian anarchist leader Bakunin had been extradited to the Czarist police he wrote a *Confession to the Czar* full of extreme self-recriminations. In his confession this leading Russian conspiritor and revolutionary said that he merited the sternest penalties known to Russian law because his thoughts and actions had been "in the highest degree ridiculous, senseless, presumptuous, and criminal . . . criminal against God, my Emperor, criminal against Russia, my country, criminal against all laws, political and moral, divine and human."[3] Formerly, said Bakunin, he stifled the voice of conscience which warned him of the wickedness of his ways. But now "he can only be thankful that his arrest has been brought to an end," before more harm could be done by "my idle, useless, and criminal career." In his confession Bakunin had put himself completely at the mercy of the "wrathful and dread" Czar, admitting that he deserved the sternest penalty. It is of interest to note that Bakunin had also compared himself to a repentant son before an irate father: (". . . a prodigal, estranged and perverted son before an insulted and angry father.")

In a like manner, Leo Tolstoy, the apostle of the philosophy of non-resistance, in his confession humbly repents and tends to go to extremes in castigating himself for the sins of his youth:

> . . . I wished with all my heart to be good but I was young. I had passions . . . I cannot recall those years without dread, loathing, and anguish of heart. I killed people in war and challenged to duells to kill; I lost money at cards, wasting the labour of the peasants; I punished them, fornicated, and cheated. Lying, stealing, acts of lust of every description, drunkenness, violence, murder. There was not a crime which I did not commit . . . At that time I began to write through vanity, avarice, and pride. In my writings I did the same as in life. In order to have glory and money, for which I wrote, I had to conceal what was good and speak what was bad. And so I did.[4]

On the folk level the strength and prevalence of guilt feelings combined with a deeply rooted need and demand for forgiveness

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

783 [167] might be indicated in the farewell greeting phrase: *prashchaite* (forgive me). The same sentiment is manifested in readiness to shed tears at the slightest provocation. Easy and frequent weeping is found in all strata of Russian society, men and women alike. Autobiographies, belles-lettres as well as folk literature, give ample evidence for this phenomenon. Religious practices of the Russian Church support such needs and demand that repentance be manifested in frequent tears. There are even practical precepts in Russian Church literature about how to provoke tears:

> If you have no tears, do not despair; sigh frequently and heavily from all the heart; for tears are the gift of God, and by and by, with sighs and prayers you will obtain them from God. . . . Having found tears, preserve them with all your strength.[5]

II

It appears that this sense of guilt and passion for confession and self-incrimination, which are rooted in patriarchal family structure, might be strengthened and promoted by a social system in which one is utterly at the mercy of arbitrary superior forces that are not bound nor limited by any moral obligations or any superior principles of law or justice. If one has aroused the anger of such forces he may have a slight hope of forgiveness and salvation only if he completely gives up his individuality, renounces all struggle, and prostrates himself before the omnipotent powers, begging for pity and commiseration.

783 771 167 The annals of Russia's political, social and juridical history give much evidence of such feelings and attitudes. It is perhaps in the field of religion where such sense of utter helplessness before a fearful superior force is projected. There is a tendency in Russian religious beliefs to picture at the one end of the Universe a stern and implacable God and at the other end of it a helpless mankind which is at the complete mercy of this detached and fearful Ruler. But the orphans, the poor, the needy and the repentant, in other words those who are utterly helpless and dependent can expect compassion from Him.[6] Hence there is emphasis both on fear and humility in Russian Orthodoxy.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

That image of God and attitudes toward him might be to a certain extent projections of social and political relations could be seen, for instance, in the *Hundred Chapters*, a practical code of several centuries of Russia's early Christian life. This code stresses the need for fear and awe of earthly powers as a way to train oneself in fear and awe of God. "A pupil fears the master's cudgel more than the master himself"; "After them (masters), bow your head with humility, before every rich man"; "Those who have received power and fortune from their Tsar require glory also from their friends and demand veneration from minors." "Bow your head to everybody senior to you . . . fear the prince with all your power . . . from him you will learn how to fear God. . . . Who does not fear the earthly lord, how will he fear Him whom he does not see." "With the fear of God, as with a bridle, restrain your mind, keeping a watch on yourself every hour."[7]

This tendency to project the fear of omnipotent earthly powers into the supernatural world persisted as long as the autocratic and despotic powers of the Father and of the Czar were perpetuated and as long as the Church identified itself with the state. Describing her confessor, a Russian princess said that: "His [the priest's] principles were exactly those of my uncle; he was an extreme monarchist representing God as absolute monarch of the universe, and identifying the ideas of religion with a kind of rigorous bureaucracy, controlling every detail of life."[8] The image of a demanding God giving nothing in return penetrated all the strata of Great-Russian society, the peasants and the merchants, as well as the nobility and the intelligentsia:

> *Nyanya* [nurse] was entrusted with my religious instruction . . . She thought God was just like the Czar, except that one lived in heaven and the other on earth. He was the most powerful of all beings and inclined to be stern rather than merciful. At any rate she always spoke of his severity and never of his goodness. "He'll teach you to behave yourself! He doesn't forgive people! He is pitiless when He is offended!" . . . The saints were of negligible importance in her eyes.[9]

Chaikovsky, the renowned Russian composer, had a similar idea of God as a fearful being: "I had toward Him (and even

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[Ivan the Terrible]

[Dobrolyubov]

593 154 159 ment and indulgence to which Ivan was exposed as a child. Early in his life Ivan was left an orphan. His father died when he was four and he lost his mother four years later. As a child Ivan was reared among crouching servility as well as among arrogance, violence, and contempt. He was greatly pampered on the part of some of his tutors and courtiers, but also often deeply wounded on the part of others. Some of the boyars at the court would annoy him and insult him. They would arrest and threaten with death persons to whom Ivan was attached.

In his own writings, Ivan tells us how much he suffered because he was deprived of his attachments and frustrated in his expectations. It is possible, that it was as a result of such experiences that Ivan developed ideas of rejection, persecution and self-pity, as well as an urge for self-assertion by means of destructive aggression. He sought for himself power which was as overwhelming as that of omnipotent God and asserted himself by means of ruthless violence. "My parents never had a care for me," he claimed. He also said: "In vain I have looked for some man to have pity upon me, but have found no one. Yea, no comforter have I found, but only such as have rewarded me evil for good and hatred for love."[2] He felt emotionally very dependent upon his wife and blamed the courtiers for her early death. He himself explained his assassinations of the boyars on that ground. "Why divided ye me from my wife? Had ye not taken from me my *unitza* (heifer—young wife), never had there been the slayings of the boyars."[3] The old documents say about Ivan • [159] that "He pitieth not men, nor yet yieldeth. Likewise, he loveth not contrary speech, but doth conceive anger against them who do speak it."[4] He is described by his biographers as "self-seeking, opinionated, ferocious and self-willed."

More recent evidence of the effect of rejection-indulgence is given by Dobrolyubov, one of the outstanding Russian intellectual rebels of the second part of the nineteenth century. According to his biographers and according to his own diary, Dobrolyubov was thwarted in his attachment to his father, a clergyman, who was detached, harsh and even brutal in dealings with his son. Dobrolyubov was very close to his mother, but this relation apparently did not compensate for the thwarting and

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[Belinsky]
[Nekrasov]
[Herzen]

538 517 was to convey to the masses a social message. In their literary essays they stressed the social and political ills of Russia and believed in the Westernization of their country as a way out of its social and political difficulties.

[593] 159 It is reported that Belinsky grew up with the feeling of revolt against the despotism of his father who tyrannized the family. [157] Nekrasov, "at the age of 17 . . . broke with his father whom he detested even as he idolized his mother" . . . And it was Nekrasov who in his writings showed an especially "great and unfeigned compassion for the poor and the suffering" and who "idealized and worshipped the Russian people,"[1] that is, the people who have been exposed to an age long misery. In a similar manner Herzen had generalized his childhood experiences and had transferred his reactions to all human kind. As a child he showed a strong reaction against his "inaccessible" father and a deep sympathy for all those whom his father abused:

> . . . the hushed voices and noiseless steps of the servants were no sign of devotion, but of repression and fear. All impulsiveness and frankness my father disliked and called familiarity; and all display of feeling passed with him for sentimentality. And when this proud old man, with his clear understanding and sincere contempt of mankind, played this part of a passionless judge, whom did he mean to impress by the performance: A woman whose will he had broken, though she never tried to oppose him; a boy whom his own treatment drove from mere naughtiness to positive disobedience; and a score of footmen whom he did not reckon as human beings! . . . Always on his guard, discontented with everyone, he suffered when he saw the feelings he inspired in every member of the household. Smiles died away and talk stopped whenever he came into the room. Stinging mockery and cool contemptuous irony were the weapons which he could wield with the skill of an artist, and he used them equally against us and against the servants. There are few things that a growing boy resents more; and, in fact, up to the time of my imprisonment I was on bad terms with my father and carried on a petty warfare against him, with the men and maids for my allies . . . did I deserve that he should preach even the truth in a manner so repulsive to the heart of youth? His intelligence, chilled by a long life spent in a corrupt society, made him suspicious of all the world; his feelings were not warm and did not crave for reconciliation; and therefore he remained at enmity

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

wanted to suffer, wanted persecution."[18] A number of heroes in Dostoyevsky's novels show the same urge.

Undoubtedly such feelings contributed to that tone of fanaticism and that readiness for self-sacrifice which was characteristic of many Russian revolutionaries and conspirators of pre-Soviet days and which gave a special vigor and intensity to their activities. Such extremes in emotional reactions were supported also by another trait in these people, that of emotional instability.

13
EMOTIONAL INSTABILITY

I

FEAR and awe (*strakh*), submission (*povinovenie*), and sense of guilt (*sovest*) are rooted in the structure of the Great-Russian society and are supported by its traditions. But so is compassion (*zhalost*), humility (*smirenie*), demand for truth and justice (*pravda*) and for egalitarian acceptance, as well as revolt and terror (*ustrashenie*), lack of trust and urge to destroy (*unichtozhenie*). It is the propensity to experience such contrasting sentiments that causes behavior which is alternatively bent in opposite directions. A person's behavior which has been conditioned by an environment which fosters such feelings and attitudes might show a lack of sense of moderation and a tendency toward extremes in responses to his social milieu.

It is such unbalanced peculiarities of behavior that have drawn the attention of many students and observers of Russian society.[1] A tendency toward diametrically opposite extremes, and frequent alternation between these poles has been often noticed. Kindliness and gentleness have alternated with lack of consideration, excessive severity, brutality and cruelty. Rebelliousness has been followed by resignation. Periods of feverish energy and confidence have been superseded by spells of inertia, languor and despair. Extremes in feasting have alternated with extremes in fasting. Tyrannical rule had its counterpart in demands for

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

absolute and unconditional liberty and denial of any laws, conventions or obligations.[2] Ideologies which sought universal salvation and identification with Christ's teaching (Dissent, Slavophilism) had their counterparts in the ideologies which demanded universal destruction and identification with anti-Christ (Nihilism, Terrorism).[3]

Among the intelligentsia a lack of a sense for methodical work, and lack of initiative were combined with preoccupation concerning grandiose and utopian plans on a world scale. There was a noticeable lack of preparation for these programs and a tendency to consider that having made plans was equal to their fulfillment. Such traits were so striking among some intelligentsia that they were given a special name (*Oblomovshtina*).[4]

It is known that a number of outstanding Russian intellectuals have shown a remarkable lack of emotional balance in their behavior. These would often move from one ideological camp into that of their bitter opponents. In ideological controversies no tolerance was shown for the opposite point of view. There was a tendency to treat all in the opposite camp as enemies. "Who is not with us is against us," was the principle applied in theory and practice. Some outstanding Russian intellectuals themselves admitted such traits in their character. Dostoyevsky, for instance, analyzing his own feelings stated: "In all things I go to the uttermost extremes; my life long I have never been acquainted with moderation." Not unlike this self-analysis of Dostoyevsky was that of Bakunin. In his "Confession to the Czar" he said: "There was in my character a radical defect: love for the fantastic, for out-of-the-way, unheard of adventures, for undertakings which open up an infinite horizon and whose end no man can foresee."[5]

According to General Golovine among the army officers there was a "tendency to drunkenness, churlishness and tyranny toward their subordinates," but there were also "many heroes among these negative types," and often a "regular officer showed such readiness to sacrifice himself that his superiors were forced to restrain his excessive ardor."[6] Lack of balance and stability was also reflected in the differences between military units. Often "next to a first class regiment there was another completely worthless."[7]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

Top ruling circles themselves often exhibited a great lack of self-control. A number of rulers showed a tendency toward excesses and extremes that bordered on insanity. Even the Czars of the nineteenth century, in spite of many Western moderating influences, showed tendencies toward instability and extremes in their behavior. Not seldom a new monarch would completely reverse the policies of his predecessor. The rulers tended to show great instability also in attitudes toward their advisers. They would turn suddenly against the old councilors and find new favorites. As a result often "the mighty of yesterday were sent to Siberia or the scaffold." But also barrack and bedchamber revolutions were frequent, reflecting the suddenly changing extremes in moods within the ruling cliques.

Lack of moderation and emotional instability was one of the favored themes of Russian belles-lettres of the nineteenth century. The heroes in these works often display an extremely unbalanced type of behavior. Feodor Chaliapin, who himself took part in producing such types on the Russian stage, states the following:

. . . When I think of the characters I have created on the Russian stage, I am conscious not so much of the characters themselves as of an all pervading sense of the Russian temperament that is all extremes. . . . It seems as though Russian temperament is entirely devoid of moderation. . . . The fact remains that their contradictions are far more harsh and violent than those of most mentalities. . . . The Russian heart is infinitely pitiful and tender, but at the same time what gross and often completely aimless cruelty and tyranny are to be found in Russian life. The Russian soul is extraodinarily sensitized, but what brutality and lustful suspicion and vulgarism are to be found in human relationships. It is only too true that neither in good nor in evil can the Russian steer a middle course . . .[8]

In *Khovantchina* it is religious fanaticism, and how profound and powerful is that fanaticism! A normal mind could not possibly comprehend that perfect serenity which enables men to die for their belief. They stand on the sheer rampart, utterly oblivious of the stairway by which they might descend to safety. They batter their heads against the wall, unconscious of pain . . . In Rimsky-Korsakov's *Pskovitane* I take the part of Ivan the Terrible. He, the Tsar, cares nothing that the river runs red with blood, so illimitable is his knowledge of

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

his power over others, so unshakable is his belief in his own sovereignty. . . . There is tremendous strength in *Boris Godunov,* the part I would sooner play than any of the others of my repertory. Here again the Russian temperament is overwhelmingly manifest in the seditious license of the boyars, as it is in the boundless autocracy of Ivan the Terrible. It appears also in the lawlessness and drunkenness of Prince Galitski, one of the chief characters of Borodin's admirable opera *Prince Igor.* Galitski's excesses are as extreme as his cynicism.[9]

Some observers of Great-Russian music find in it traits similar to those of Great-Russian belles-lettres. According to Leroy-Beaulieu the Great-Russian music shows an "alternation between extreme emotionality and extreme peacefulness."[10] And according to General Golovine this music is a "combination of the vague and salient softness and harshness of sound, deep sorrow and uncontrolled gaiety, dreams and drama, restlessness and calm . . ."[11] Golovine specifically referred to the music of Glinka, Chaikovsky, Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakoff, and Rachmaninoff.

Extremes of self-aggrandizement followed by self-maceration, murder followed by tears, is noticeable also in the Russian folk psychology. The Great-Russian folk songs, for instance, are often full of cruelty, but are also heart-breaking and plaintive, full of sadness, melancholy and tragedy, sung in minor key. In folk tales and folk songs about Stenka Razin, this robber-bandit is represented both as magnanimous and cruel, as savage and pitiful. He revolted against those in authority, but rallied the poor and rebellious beneath his banner. At the same time he himself showed traits of barbarism and of self-laceration. One of the popular Russian folk songs, tells us, for instance, how once Stenka, "drunk with wine and mirth together," lifted the Persian Princess, his beloved "new-vow bride," over the side of his barque and flung her "forth into the hungry deep" of the Volga, as "a gift from a Cossack of the Don." Stenka acted in such a violent manner because some of his comrades had scornfully reproached him that in his affection to his bride he behaved like a *baba* (woman).

II

A number of interpretations are offered for such behavior.[12] Most of these explanations are either "geografic" or "cultural-

6: Tomatic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

that "If all laws perished the people would live in truth and justice."[7]

The peasant realized that there was sharp differentiation in economic status in his society as well as in his own local community. But what he especially resented was that the men of wealth took advantage of their position to oppress the weak; and that the poor had to be utterly submissive and subservient to the well-to-do. "The one who is better off has long hands," the peasants would say, meaning that the men of wealth had control over others. And he would compare the arbitrariness of the man of power with the craftsman who handles his material according to his will. "The master is like the carpenter: he cuts the way it pleases him." He would also say that the rich man has all the space he wants "as much as the pike in the water," but as "for the poor there is nowhere any room." He resented the fact that though "Poverty was not sin, yet the people laughed at it." He also objected that the poor were forced to repress their real feelings and cringe before the rich. "The poor are angry at the rich, yet they find themselves in their trail with cap in hand," he would complain.[8]

The peasant therefore grew distrustful and resentful of everyone who was in one way or other above him. He could not depend much upon God and Czar, and he mistrusted the bureaucrats, the landlords, the priests, the judges, the police, and even the better-off people of his own strata. He was particularly distrustful of cities and city folk, of Moscow and Moscovites especially. From ancient times he looked upon Moscow, the seat of the Czar's government, as heartless and deceitful, and as the source of most of his troubles. "In Moscow," he thought, "you find everything except own father and mother." He also considered that his capital city was so corrupted that, "If you go to Moscow you must take there your last penny."

The peasant therefore lived in an environment in which he felt deserted by the powers of heaven and oppressed by their representatives on earth. He therefore felt unprotected, isolated, friendless, lonely, and insecure. His idea was that both God and man were against him. "If God attacks you, good people will attack you too," he would complain.

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corresponding Party structure on the lower levels of the Party hierarchy where Party Secretariats hold the reins of power. In this system of political and social control it is the Party Secretariats on local, regional and republic levels that are of pivotal importance.[2] Through his control of the Central Party Secretariat, the supreme Party leader is enabled to select the most useful and the most trusted people for such offices.[3]

The top Party leadership is therefore in a position to direct the recruitment of Party membership. It is empowered to accept and to expel members. It directs the secretariats on the lower levels of Party hierarchy as to whom the Party shall "elect" as its officers and as its deputies to the higher Party bodies, or whom to delegate to the local or national Soviets, and other representative Party or non-Party institutions. It consults with the secretariats about the appointment of trusted Party members to responsible regional and republic government and managerial positions, and it checks on fulfillment of Party directives. This checking is done through the Committee of Party Control whose representatives function independently of local Party bodies.[4]

Stalin was well aware of the significance of the selection of leading Party personnel from the point of view of perpetuation of power when he said "Cadres decide everything." It was by his control of the top Party Secretariat that he himself was enabled to eliminate all his opponents in the hierarchy and to rise to undisputed and absolute leadership.

Since it is local, regional and republic Party secretaries who form the axis of this monolithic Party-state machine, the position of such potentates yields great power, and high material rewards. Such offices are therefore sought after by people of great ambition and lust for power, also by people of fighting, conspiratorial and domineering inclinations. Thus it is the zealous, the shrewd, the calculating and the career-minded people who are also efficient and hard-driving that tend to be picked out for these positions because it is such people on whom the Party can rely for a blind and unquestioning execution of all orders. The Party which has remained essentially a conspiratorial organization demands militancy and aggressiveness, a severe and exacting attitude toward subordinates, irreconcilability and lack of com-

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passion towards deviants and slackers, lack of intimacy among associates, complete dedication, and humbleness concerning one's own achievements.

Since the Party membership must assist the Party secretaries in the execution of Party policies, it is from among the same types of people that a significant part of the Party membership tends to be recruited. Such people form the hard core of the Party cells and the *aktivs* of Party and government institutions. They are likely to be distant and stern, critical and demanding; they watch over and feel responsible for the behaviour of others, but show no personal consideration or concern.[5]

Another part of Party membership is recruited from among the people who are not zealous, nor over-ambitious nor blindly submissive, but are especially useful to the Party because of their occupational or professional skills. Such people are likely to be competent, as well as humane, considerate, close to their subordinates and understanding in their relations with non-Party men. These people tend to alleviate the harshness of Soviet oppressive bureaucracy and perform therefore a function which is analogous to the role of the mother in the patriarchal Russian family.

It is however the hard core of zealots and careerists who are on the ascendancy and who direct Party work and control government administration and economic management with the help of the aktivs, that is, groups of selected and trusted persons formed within every organization to assist its leadership according to the Party directives. Aktiv is a cardinal agency of Party control. It is an institution of vigilance, supervision and intelligence, as well as an instrument of guidance and planned political manipulation. In the Party itself the role of the aktivs is of fundamental importance:

> Meetings of Party *aktiv* members play an outstanding role in the life of the Party organizations. It is at these meetings that the decisions of the Party and government as well as major problems in the life and work of the Party are discussed. The meetings of Party activists are a means of expression of Party public opinion; they are a forum for Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism.[6]

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group which claims perfection and monopoly on Truth cannot afford to lay itself open to any fundamental criticism of its accomplishments. Figures are therefore manipulated so as to achieve the desired effect.[22] "In the land of the Soviets statistics have become a weapon for Socialism and Communism," the Bolsheviks say.

II

Shaping of the "new man" must begin early in his childhood. To answer to this need, the schools have become in the Soviet system one of the fundamental instruments of character molding in the hands of the ruling faction. Special measures must be applied by educators to fashion character since "the life itself would not do it," the Bolsheviks say. The schools in the Soviet society have therefore a twofold objective. The first is to develop in each and every child psychological traits which are considered most desirable from the point of view of the perpetuation of the Soviet system and Bolshevik rule. The other is to develop needed skills and to train specialists which are of fundamental importance in a system of total control, such as experts in conspiracy, political organization and agitation, in overseeing, in vigilance and violence.

In a thoroughly regimented society training in unconditional obedience and in identification with and dependence upon the leader is of paramount importance. Such personality traits, already rooted in the Russian social and political structure, are being reinforced by the system of training in the Soviet schools whose pedagogical principles in their essentials do not differ from the precepts of the Domostroy. "From early years we must educate children so that a state of discipline will remain as their permanent possession," says a textbook on Soviet pedagogy.[23] "This discipline must be *firm*, that is, unquestioned obedience and submission to the leader, the teacher, or the organizer . . . " Submission to the will of the leader "is a necessary and essential mark of discipline."[24]

According to these pedagogical ideas the teacher does not coax pupils, he *demands* obedience.[25] The teacher is expected to be "authoritative and strict." Whenever necessary he must give

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876 157 commands and impose punishments. "If an order is given it must be carried out absolutely."[26] In order to achieve such absolute, unconditional and unquestioning obedience, the training of the young must be not only strict and firm but also consistent, so that their "habit of obedience" once formed is not easily broken.[27] Training in blind obedience is justified by the need to avoid conflicts and discord which a Soviet society cannot tolerate.[28] In such a society all available human energy must be employed exclusively in building socialism.

In order to develop the habit of unconditional obedience it is necessary to prevent any reflection upon given orders. Therefore the school training must stamp out "indecision" in the Soviet children. "We must create in Soviet children a state of mind which causes them to consider indecision in necessary actions as unworthy of their honor."[29] Obedience and submission demand traits of self-abnegation and self-denial; " . . . to bear pain patiently, to maintain self-control on hearing unpleasant news, and to endure unavoidable privations without complaint . . . all of this means to children a manifestation of courage."[30]

It is recognized that children have to be trained also in leadership, and that initiative is necessary in that respect. The Party, however, cannot allow any such initiative which might go counter to the Party's will. It is emphasized therefore that the initiative, too, must be "disciplined," because it is needed only for purposes of organization, vigilance and struggle along the lines put forward by those who possess the Truth. Hence according to Soviet principles of education it is "important that initiative not be exhibited impulsively, but that it be directed into organized channels . . . out of children of initiative good organizers must come."[31]

876 156 This complete submerging of the individual into his group, rooted in the social and political traditions of Russian society, is being reinforced by Soviet school training which strives to "educate people for whom the pronoun *I* could not . . . become more important than *we*, for whom thought for themselves always yields to thought for their comrades, for the group and for the country."[32] In this manner "clash between social demands and personal inclinations" is surmounted and the group

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is "perfected until there are no shortcomings." Then on members of such a group one can make great demands.[33] They will be disciplined, enduring, courageous and faithful. Work will become "second nature" to them; they will not abhor hard effort, nor be afraid of "healthy sweat."[34] They will be industrious and efficient and will develop the "best and most worthy feelings of man," that is, devotion to labor, heroism in the struggle against the forces of reaction, untiring, ruthless and unwavering vigilance against the survivals of capitalism, and an irreconcilable attitude toward the slightest manifestations of deviationism.[35]

III

In the days of Czardom the system of economic and political regimentation found its support in religious sanction and in nationalism. In a like manner the Bolsheviks had early realized that great privations which their regime demands could be best elicited from their subjects with the help of an identification with the great, the absolute, the sublime. It is by such means that traditional cravings for attachment and acceptance could be satisfied. In such a manner also a sense of guilt and urge for self-sacrifice could be reinforced and employed for political purposes.

It is along such efforts that the Bolsheviks have revived and strengthened the traditional Russian images of God, Czar, Father and Mother and have projected these images to the Leader and to the Party. The likeness to God and religion is manifested in the Bolshevik claim of infallibility of their leaders, universality, eternity, and sanctity of their doctrines. Lenin's teachings, for instance, are extolled by the Bolsheviks as being "superior" to any other ideology, as embracing the whole of humanity, and as living forever:

> Lenin's thoughts represent a superior achievement of the Russian and of the world culture; an eternally living and eternally developing science of society—a fighting banner of the working class—living soul of the Bolshevik Party which led our Fatherland to the avant-garde of the whole human kind.
>
> The books of the vozhd and teacher are immortal. They live and

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members was close to 85 percent. And as to the top level of the army command by 1941 this top military hierarchy was one hundred percent Communist.[66]

To maintain ideological purity among the armed forces and to strengthen the Party's control is the specific function of the political officer and of the Partorg (Party organizer). The political officers have now regular army training and in the actual fighting, the political officer becomes "the commander's substitute or takes his place when the commander is disabled."[67] It is this ability of the Party to replace any army commander by an army trained but Party devoted man, that is expected to insure absolute control of the armed forces by the Party even in times of greatest stress and defeat. The duty of the political officers is not only to interpret and to propagandize the latest utterances of the Party leaders or the decisions of the Politburo, but to watch for any weakening of enthusiasm, for any pessimism or gloomy views that may be noticed and to combat vigorously any signs of demoralization. The most important task of the political officers, however, is to cultivate martial spirit and to build up morale, thus creating "a psychological condition which sets up resistance to fear of discomfort, pain, or death."[68]

The goal of the Party is to infiltrate with martial spirit not the armed forces alone, but the whole Soviet population as a means of bolstering the morale of the Soviet masses behind the Bolshevik regime. This is being achieved by means of militarization of all public activities. The Bolshevik leaders consider that militarization is the only morale builder in a situation in which the laboring masses tend to become lethargic, apathetic and disinterested in their work. Speaking of the experiences in World War II, Stalin said that in that struggle people got transformed and acquired new qualities which strengthened the power of the Bolsheviks: "But the people themselves in the rear have been transformed, they have been more efficient, less slipshod, more disciplined; they have learned to work in wartime fashion, and to realize their duty to our motherland."[69] Stalin looks at sports and athletics from the same point of view:

We stood for five hours on the tomb while the show went on. The Generalissimo showed no sign of fatigue. On the contrary, he ap-

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peared to enjoy every minute of the show . . . A final remark of the Generalissimo's while we were watching the sports spectacle was that mass athletics and exercises were fine because of their effect upon the populace. He said, "This develops the war spirit."[70]

In accordance with the Bolshevik need for morale building most Soviet institutions have been militarized, including the Party. Thus when a Soviet subject leaves his school and his Pioneer or Komsomol organization and enters a factory, a kolhoz, an office, a research laboratory, or becomes a Party worker, he has been already trained for work in a society which is in most of its aspects organized along military lines. Anywhere where he is assigned a job he might find military discipline and military relationships. In a number of civilian jobs he will wear a uniform with badges of his rank. In his factory or kolhoz he may become a member of a "shock brigade" or a "hero of labor" and therefore an important link in an all-embracing Five-Year-Plan whose main emphasis is on military preparedness. As a Party member he will take his position in the Party pyramid as a common soldier, as a petty officer, or as a higher officer:

> Three or four thousand men of the high command—the generals of our Party. Then 30 to 40 thousand intermediate commanders; these constitute the officers' corps of our Party. And further, 100 to 180 thousand of the leading elements of our party—these are, so to speak —the subaltern officers of the Party.[71]

In a militarized society military language is used in all activities. Military language has always been a tradition in the Bolshevik Party and has been always widely employed by Lenin, Stalin, and other Party leaders. Therefore when addressing a meeting, or when writing in a newspaper or in a literary or scholarly periodical a Soviet subject is expected to employ military phrases, and use analogies taken from military campaigns and military experiences. He will speak of "reconnoissance," "skirmishes," "encounters," "operations," "outposts," "fortresses," "citadels," "maneuvres," "camps," "cadres," etc. and he will be expected to do his duty on his own "battle post." If he rises to the top of the Party hierarchy and if he especially distinguishes himself in his civil activities he might be endowed

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in that family, the new circumstances call for more leniency and more intimacy on his part toward his wife and his children. The mother at the same time, because now closer to her husband, is in no need to become over-attached to her children. Such well-balanced family relations come to closely resemble those in the Old-Slavonic family.

It is the children with such close family ties in an emotionally balanced family atmosphere that develop traits of moderation, self-control, responsibility, group orientation and humane feelings. It is in such families that patriotism, idealization of the past and longing for a more humane and more equalitarian political system are nursed.[28] In such families skepticism concerning Bolshevik mythology and opposition to Soviet system may be safely expressed. In such families also religion is cultivated or secretly practiced.[29] In such families apparently numerous anecdotes which ridicule Soviet regime circulate and are spread throughout the Soviet Union.[30] It is to break such family intimacy and solidarity which breed opposition to their regime that the Bolsheviks have shown increasing concern for the control of family relations.

But if the opposition to the Bolshevik regime centers in such families of patriots and humanists, the fate of the Soviet system might rest upon them, in the final analysis. These people might be reluctant to support a Soviet war of aggression led by careerists and fanatics, but ready to defend their Mother Country in the event of hostile aggression from the outside. However, in a war against the Soviet Union which the patriots and the humanists would interpret as a war of liberation from the oppressive, inhuman and destructive policies of Soviet rulers, they might be inclined to take the side of the invading liberators. Inasmuch as such people already find themselves at the fringes of Soviet power structure as specialists and experts in economic management and government administration, in times of crisis the shift of power to these people could easily take place.

Such a trend of development will be even more emphasized among the oppressed, but nationally-conscious minorities, than among the dominant Great-Russians. Millions of Soviet subjects who willingly gave themselves up to the German invaders and

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establish the strictest military discipline within its own ranks. The experience of the Russian Communist Party . . . has proved that the victory of the worker is impossible without a severe discipline . . . and unconditional subordination of subordinate units to the decision of those above them, and a strong Party central organ, whose decrees are binding upon all the leaders of Party life . . .[36]

In this manner, the principles of absolute dominance, unconditional obedience and ruthless discipline rooted in the political traditions of Russian society and reinforced by the structure of Bolshevik power were extended to all the parties on which the Bolsheviks imposed their control. In the same manner, also. the traditional filial attitudes of reverence, gratitude, love and humility have been established in relations of these parties to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Accordingly also, destructive aggression became one of the fundamental orientations of these parties. The Communist parties have been encouraged to use all means at their disposal, "including force of arms" in order "to overthrow the international bourgeoisie,"[37] and to "lay low the exploiters . . . completely defeat them . . . crush their resistance. . . ."[38]

As a result, the language of these parties, like that of Bolshevism, stresses hatred, destruction and war. For instance, in the Theses and Statutes and in the Program the emphasis is on extreme hostility expressed in many stereotyped phrases, such as "hatred and relentless aggression," "pitiless struggle," "persistent and merciless denunciation," "merciless contempt," "stubborn, armed and ruthless fight," "fierce and decisive battles," "ruthless war." These means against the "mortal enemy" are said to be necessary in order "to destroy the apparatus of the bourgeoisie," and to bring about the "violent overthrow" of bourgeois power, "at whatever cost." Each Communist party is expected to foster hatred and destructive aggression by all means of propaganda and agitation. The Communist press in all countries and popular Communist songs are especially significant in this respect.

Since the Communist parties outside the Soviet Union, just as the Bolshevik Party itself, stress hatred, pitilessness and destruction, they tend to attract into their ranks people who for one

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reason or another feel rejected, non-accepted, humiliated, oppressed or ostracized in their own society and who find in these parties an opportunity to vent their accumulated grievances and pent-up hostilities. But they also tend to attract people who for idealistic and humanistic reasons seek Utopias of all-human brotherhood. They attract ambitious and talented intellectuals and semi-educated people who have been thwarted in their professional and political expectations; also intellectuals and semi-intelligentsia with mediocre abilities but strong urges for self-assertion and desire for leadership and domination. They also attract many patriots belonging to oppressed nationalities or races, who have identified themselves with their nation, race or ethnic and cultural minority and seek acceptance of their group in a Communistic millenium. In times of social upheavals these parties attract also many adventurers, criminals, vagabonds, and other deviants and offenders.

It is, however, people overcharged with destructive aggression who in these parties tend to climb toward the top levels of Party leadership, because it is such people to whom the Party offers great opportunities for their destructive urges and who therefore tend to be unconditionally loyal to Moscow as contrasted to the more moderate and more humane and patriotic elements, who for one reason or another might not want always to accept Moscow's dictate. As a result of such internal conditions the history of all Communist parties has been a history of internal intrigues, splits, purges, and frequent bloodshed which in turn made it easier to completely subdue these organizations to the will of the Kremlin:

> . . . those who disorganize the Party are to be flayed without mercy. Championing as we do working class unity, we shall with so much more energy and irreconcilability fight for unity within our Parties. There can be no room in our Parties for factions, or for attempts at factionalism. Whoever will try to break up the iron unity of our ranks by any kind of factionalism will get to feel what is meant by the Bolshevik discipline that Lenin and Stalin have always taught us (applause) . . . *The Party is above everything else!* (Loud applause) To guard the Bolshevik unity of the Party as the apple of one's eye is the first and highest law of Bolshevism![20]

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[Ivan the Terrible]

In this manner popular religious ideas and practices which might have developed as a response to the interpersonal relations in the family and in the Czardom in their own turn tended to perpetuate the existing social and political order, its institutions and practices. There were, however, other aspects of interpersonal relations intrinsic to that social organization which provoked responses that tended not to perpetuate it, but to undermine it and to destroy its very foundations. These important agents of structural change in Russian society will be discussed on the following pages.

11
POWER-SEEKING, MISTRUST, AND DESTRUCTIVE AGGRESSION

I

A CHILD who has been rejected and humiliated by a stern and scornful father, but who has been spoiled by an overindulgent mother might respond to such a situation by developing an exaggerated concern for his own ego, and an extreme intolerance for privations and denials. And in case the mother cannot serve as a satisfactory substitute for rejection by the father, complete detachment from the group, and pity for an abandoned, degraded and suffering self might develop. In such circumstances also a deeply rooted suspicion of others, an unbridled desire for power, and an overwhelming hate and urge for destruction of all those who stand in one's path might take place.

The life histories of a number of Russian rulers and intelligentsia apparently show such an effect of their family environment.[1] Childhood experiences and character traits of Ivan the Terrible, for instance, provide an outstanding example. There is sufficient evidence for the contention that the strange behavior of this Czar was rooted in rejection and in alternating mistreat-

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[Ivan the Terrible]

[Dobrolyubov]

593 154 159 ment and indulgence to which Ivan was exposed as a child. Early in his life Ivan was left an orphan. His father died when he was four and he lost his mother four years later. As a child Ivan was reared among crouching servility as well as among arrogance, violence, and contempt. He was greatly pampered on the part of some of his tutors and courtiers, but also often deeply wounded on the part of others. Some of the boyars at the court would annoy him and insult him. They would arrest and threaten with death persons to whom Ivan was attached.

In his own writings, Ivan tells us how much he suffered because he was deprived of his attachments and frustrated in his expectations. It is possible, that it was as a result of such experiences that Ivan developed ideas of rejection, persecution and self-pity, as well as an urge for self-assertion by means of destructive aggression. He sought for himself power which was as overwhelming as that of omnipotent God and asserted himself by means of ruthless violence. "My parents never had a care for me," he claimed. He also said: "In vain I have looked for some man to have pity upon me, but have found no one. Yea, no comforter have I found, but only such as have rewarded me evil for good and hatred for love."[2] He felt emotionally very dependent upon his wife and blamed the courtiers for her early death. He himself explained his assassinations of the boyars on that ground. "Why divided ye me from my wife? Had ye not taken from me my *unitza* (heifer—young wife), never had there been the slayings of the boyars."[3] The old documents say about Ivan [159] that "He pitieth not men, nor yet yieldeth. Likewise, he loveth not contrary speech, but doth conceive anger against them who do speak it."[4] He is described by his biographers as "self-seeking, opinionated, ferocious and self-willed."

More recent evidence of the effect of rejection-indulgence is given by Dobrolyubov, one of the outstanding Russian intellectual rebels of the second part of the nineteenth century. According to his biographers and according to his own diary, Dobrolyubov was thwarted in his attachment to his father, a clergyman, who was detached, harsh and even brutal in dealings with his son. Dobrolyubov was very close to his mother, but this relation apparently did not compensate for the thwarting and

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[Dobrolyubov]

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humiliating treatment which Dobrolyubov experienced at the hands of his father. As a reaction to such a family situation, Dobrolyubov developed strong needs for emotional attachment and felt very disillusioned and deeply embittered when his need for dependency was frustrated. When he was sixteen years of age this "forerunner of Bolshevism" wrote in his diary:

> No matter how many attachments I had formed in the past, always the evil fate would whisk the beloved being far away from me; and in my soul remains only the sorrowful memory and bitter realization of my despair . . . I could never live without love, without attachment to someone. This has been so ever since I remember myself. But this constant irony of fate, which makes all my hopes and dreams usually crash into dirt, constantly hardens and chills my heart, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that soon it will be both hard and cold as stone.[5]

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Later, apparently, Dobrolyubov found an outlet for his repressed hostilities, in his writings in which he tended to emphasize the dark sides of Russian society ("Realm of Darkness"). He joined that group of "Nihilists" who excelled in their philosophy of extreme individualism, who attacked the existing society and devised the ways to destroy "coldbloodedly" its very foundations, including the family. It was in this ideology of "Nihilism" that Russian Anarchism as well as Bolshevism have been rooted.

000

The demand for unlimited power as a means of compensation for humiliations and deprivations and as a means of satisfying craving for acceptance and support tends to perpetuate a political system which gives one a chance to indulge such needs through relationships of absolute dominance and unconditional submission and through destructive action. Such a social and political structure, in its own turn, tends to reinforce paternal despotism and absolute obedience in the family. In this manner, just as in the society of steppe marauders, power-seeking, mistrust and destructive aggression are perpetuated, become generalized and are manifested in many social relations.

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On the folk level desire for power was manifested, for instance, in the customs connected with childbirth. On that occasion the midwife would place the child on a sheepskin coat or furcoat so

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[Belinsky]
[Nekrasov]
[Herzen]

was to convey to the masses a social message. In their literary essays they stressed the social and political ills of Russia and believed in the Westernization of their country as a way out of its social and political difficulties.

It is reported that Belinsky grew up with the feeling of revolt against the despotism of his father who tyrannized the family. Nekrasov, "at the age of 17 . . . broke with his father whom he detested even as he idolized his mother" . . . And it was Nekrasov who in his writings showed an especially "great and unfeigned compassion for the poor and the suffering" and who "idealized and worshipped the Russian people,"[1] that is, the people who have been exposed to an age long misery. In a similar manner Herzen had generalized his childhood experiences and had transferred his reactions to all human kind. As a child he showed a strong reaction against his "inaccessible" father and a deep sympathy for all those whom his father abused:

> . . . the hushed voices and noiseless steps of the servants were no sign of devotion, but of repression and fear. All impulsiveness and frankness my father disliked and called familiarity; and all display of feeling passed with him for sentimentality. And when this proud old man, with his clear understanding and sincere contempt of mankind, played this part of a passionless judge, whom did he mean to impress by the performance: A woman whose will he had broken, though she never tried to oppose him; a boy whom his own treatment drove from mere naughtiness to positive disobedience; and a score of footmen whom he did not reckon as human beings! . . . Always on his guard, discontented with everyone, he suffered when he saw the feelings he inspired in every member of the household. Smiles died away and talk stopped whenever he came into the room. Stinging mockery and cool contemptuous irony were the weapons which he could wield with the skill of an artist, and he used them equally against us and against the servants. There are few things that a growing boy resents more; and, in fact, up to the time of my imprisonment I was on bad terms with my father and carried on a petty warfare against him, with the men and maids for my allies . . . did I deserve that he should preach even the truth in a manner so repulsive to the heart of youth? His intelligence, chilled by a long life spent in a corrupt society, made him suspicious of all the world; his feelings were not warm and did not crave for reconciliation; and therefore he remained at enmity

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[Herzen]
[Sophia Perovskaya]

with all his fellow creatures . . . I felt intense pity for the old man, but I could do nothing—he was inaccessible.[2]

The liberalizing influences which were penetrating Russia from the West reinforced urges of revolt against despotism as well as feelings of identification with suffering masses. By the second part of the nineteenth century the reaction against the tyrannical family environment and oppressing political system took often an extreme form. It is common knowledge that many Russian terrorists and assassins of the second part of the nineteenth century grew up exposed to constant family tensions and personal humiliations, and sought total destruction of society. Others were inclined to identify themselves with all who were abused. Thus we find the urge for destruction and identification with suffering as fundamental aspects of the ideology of Russian revolutionary movements. For instance, Kropotkin, the outstanding Russian Anarchist directly related his revolutionary activities to his identification with all those who were persecuted. He appealed to all who were exposed to maltreatment to rise against their oppressors:

Ay, all of us together, we who suffer and are insulted daily, we are a multitude whom no man can number. We are the ocean that can embrace and swallow up all else. When we have but the will to do it, that very moment will justice be done; that very instant the tyrants of the earth shall bite the dust.[3]

Or take, for instance, Sophia Perovskaya, one of the plotters in the assassination of Czar Alexander II. According to her biographers her father was a willful despot "such as the patriarchal system alone could have produced," and her mother, "constantly humiliated and insulted," remained at home to protect the children. Thus, in her own family Perovskaya learned to hate oppression and developed her love for the oppressed and weak. For her mother, one of the down-trodden, she had a love "bordering upon adoration."[4] Catherine Breshkovskaya, another outstanding Russian revolutionary, who became known as the "little grandmother of the Russian revolution," tells us in her reminiscences and letters how her childhood experiences affected her feelings, thoughts, and actions throughout her life:

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[Catherine Breshkovskaya]
[Bakunin]

How many times, stupefied and shocked, I have been the witness of such humiliating, degrading, excruciating things! How many times I have thrown myself at my father's feet to implore pardon for a so-called culprit, whose only fault, perhaps, was to have fallen asleep while herding the sheep! How many times I have been indignant to see how hundreds of peasants would be kept waiting in the courtyard, bare-headed and shivering with cold, waiting for the master to appear, after making them wait all day, would send them off without a word, so taken up was he with gambling at cards with other lords, who in their turn were making their coachmen wait on the carriage box till their hands were frozen! These things tormented my childish mind, and pursued me even into my bed, where I would lie awake for hours, unable to sleep for thinking of all the horrors about me. Child as I was, I could not understand why these honest folk should bear the entire burden of work and of taxes. I saw that my father, good though he was, put much more heart into looking after his own interests than the interests of his serfs, and I was shocked at the inequality between the rich and the poor. From the age of eight, how to find justice was the question that troubled me.[5]

Identification with suffering is outstanding in the literary works of Dostoyevsky. Influenced by religious feelings, he considered his own sufferings as a blessing. He identified Russia with crucified Christ and regarded the sufferings of the Russian people as a means by which the wrongs of all mankind will be expiated so that a new and better order will prevail on the earth: "All men will be holy and love one another, and there will be no more rich nor poor, no exulted nor humbled, but all will be as the children of God, and the true Kingdom of Christ will come."[6]

II

Not in all families of Russian intelligentsia was the situation alike. There were families in which harmonious relations prevailed. There were also families in which reaction developed not against the despotism of the father but against the tyranny of the mother. Bakunin, for instance, describes his mother as "a vain, egotistical woman and none of her children loved her."[7] According to Carr, Bakunin "attributed his passion for destruction to the influence of his mother, whose despotic character

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

[Bakunin]

[Saint Theodosius]

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inspired him with an insensate hatred of every restriction on liberty."[8]

Identifying himself with all the oppressed, this leading Russian anarchist revolted not only against the family and the state, but against God as well, because God was a symbol of authority and fear. To Bakunin the concept of a God of fear implied abdication of reason and of justice, and was the negation of human liberty. He expounded therefore the overthrow of God as a necessary precondition of human liberation.[9] To Bakunin the revolt of Satan against God was the first attempt of free thought, of science, and of human freedom.[10]

Not unlike this was the reaction of Turgeniev toward the despotism of his mother. This outstanding Russian novelist apparently developed a great compassion for the Russian serfs and became a champion in the struggle for freedom and for the emancipation of the peasants because he identified his own sufferings with the plight of the muzhiks on the estate of his mother. Turgeniev's mother apparently gave vent both on her son and on her serfs for the sufferings of her unhappy married life, and in bringing up her own son she made few concessions. The same excessive strictness that she applied against serfs she exercised also against her own son. "I was flogged almost every day for merest trifles," says Turgeniev.[11]

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An earlier case of reaction against a despotic mother and resulting identification with those who are humiliated is that of Saint Theodosius. This Russian saint was one of the founders of Russian monasticism in the eleventh century. According to Fedotov, the main theme in the hagiography of Theodosius is the "strife with his mother . . . the cruel treatment he endured, and his threefold escape. Many scenes are painted with truly artistic skill, particularly the portrait sketched of the mother, with her passionate transitions from outbursts of anger to caresses, with her appearance as a virago: 'She was strong in body, vigorous as a man: anybody who would not have seen her but only heard her voice would believe it was that of a man.' "[12]

Theodosius reacted to the despotism of his mother by wearing "uncouth and patched garb" like the poor and the beggars to the dismay of his parents, who were well-to-do people and felt hor-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[Saint Theodosius]

593 rified by such behavior. After his father's death, Theodosius used
● 159 "to go to the fields with the slaves and work humbly."[13] Later
792 when Theodosius finally escaped from his mother's tyranny by entering a monastery, he became the founder of that school of Russian monastic philosophy which emphasizes self-abnegation and meekness, as well as charitable love and compassion for those who suffer. In that manner Theodosius identified himself and his Church with all those who were tyrannized. But he was also active in protecting those to whom injustice was done. He became "intercessor for many before judges and princes, rescuing people."[14]

152 Deep sympathy for those who suffer and identification with
695 them might explain why the Russian juries and the peasant courts were so ready to acquit the repentants. Juries and courts would often set free criminals who were found guilty by well established evidence. The verdict in such a case might be "not guilty" because of "commiseration for the poor murderer." A jury sitting through Holy Week would tend to acquit everybody, because "at the time of our Lord's Passion, it does not become Christians to condemn their brethren."[15]

152 Sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them
538 is an outstanding trait of Russian literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Russian writings of those days exhibit a preoccupation with great social, political, religious and psychological problems of mankind. They picture a gloomy, painful, and tragic world, full of misery, injustice, blood and death. In the same manner the school textbooks of those days contained many heartbreaking stories full of compassion and commiseration for the suffering, unprotected, weak.

152 When identification with suffering is a manifestation of revolt
783 or is combined with the urge for revolt, strong feelings of guilt
538 might develop. On such grounds compulsion to suffer and to be
668 persecuted might thrive. This "Russian Kenotism" is found among the early Russian monastics[16] as well as among the Russian nineteenth century revolutionaries and men of letters. Some Russian revolutionary factions, for instance, emphasized sacrifice and martyrdom to the point of self-destruction.[17] In the like manner Count Leo Tolstoy claims in his diary that he, "often

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

absolute and unconditional liberty and denial of any laws, conventions or obligations.[2] Ideologies which sought universal salvation and identification with Christ's teaching (Dissent, Slavophilism) had their counterparts in the ideologies which demanded universal destruction and identification with anti-Christ (Nihilism, Terrorism).[3]

Among the intelligentsia a lack of a sense for methodical work, and lack of initiative were combined with preoccupation concerning grandiose and utopian plans on a world scale. There was a noticeable lack of preparation for these programs and a tendency to consider that having made plans was equal to their fulfillment. Such traits were so striking among some intelligentsia that they were given a special name (*Oblomovshtina*).[4]

It is known that a number of outstanding Russian intellectuals have shown a remarkable lack of emotional balance in their behavior. These would often move from one ideological camp into that of their bitter opponents. In ideological controversies no tolerance was shown for the opposite point of view. There was a tendency to treat all in the opposite camp as enemies. "Who is not with us is against us," was the principle applied in theory and practice. Some outstanding Russian intellectuals themselves admitted such traits in their character. Dostoyevsky, for instance, analyzing his own feelings stated: "In all things I go to the uttermost extremes; my life long I have never been acquainted with moderation." Not unlike this self-analysis of Dostoyevsky was that of Bakunin. In his "Confession to the Czar" he said: "There was in my character a radical defect: love for the fantastic, for out-of-the-way, unheard of adventures, for undertakings which open up an infinite horizon and whose end no man can foresee."[5]

According to General Golovine among the army officers there was a "tendency to drunkenness, churlishness and tyranny toward their subordinates," but there were also "many heroes among these negative types," and often a "regular officer showed such readiness to sacrifice himself that his superiors were forced to restrain his excessive ardor."[6] Lack of balance and stability was also reflected in the differences between military units. Often "next to a first class regiment there was another completely worthless."[7]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1
[Ivan the Terrible]

convict labor, indicate that the number of such children will not decrease in the foreseeable future.[26]

Such children are considered to have an ideal background for their training as future specialists in conspiracy, vigilance, and violence. Therefore the children who have been raised in a tense family atmosphere or who have been rejected and neglected by their families form a fertile ground from which the Bolshevik rulers recruit a significant part of their future followers and leaders. But what is the future of a society whose ruling classes are being formed out of persons who have been raised in the midst of harshness, brutality and lack of human warmth or whose desire for emotional attachment has been thwarted?

By the middle of the sixteenth century Ivan the Terrible, who himself was left motherless early in his childhood and was exposed to great instability in his emotional attachments, became a victim of ideas of persecution and of boundless and insatiable thirst for power and self aggrandizement. Driven by such compulsions he undertook to organize a body of fanatical devotees who were bound by oath to forswear association not only with "friends and brethren" but even with their own parents, and to serve the Czar blindly and unconditionally. These *Oprichniki* became renowned in history as a brotherhood of brigands who lived separated and isolated from the rest of society—"men vile and filled with every sort of cruelty."[27] Throughout the day they indulged in savage torturing and killing of suspects after they had attended the morning liturgy. In their wild outrages they terrorized peaceful citizens immediately after their brow-beating prostrations before the Altar.

In the same manner in the Ottoman Empire, the elite militia of the Sultans, known as the Janizaries, were recruited from among the children who were often early in their childhood or boyhood taken away from their parents to be raised and trained in loyalty to the Sultan only. Still earlier in the society of Eurasian steppe warriors want of bonds of human attachment brought about instability and explosiveness of Asiatic empires. Both the Asiatic conquerors and the Janizaries became renowned in history for their recklessness and barbarism. They also rebelled and excelled in insubordination to established

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Other important mineral resources are phosphorite and apatite deposits in the Kola Peninsula and along the Vyatka-Kama divide, oil shale in the Volga Region and Leningrad Oblast, natural gas near Saratov, peat and building materials in many sections of the European part of the Russian SFSR. In the Urals, in addition to petroleum and coal, potash, salt, and copper are found on the western slopes, iron, nickel, chrome, and platinum in the central ranges, and magnetite iron ore, copper, zinc, bauxite, and precious stones on the eastern slopes. In addition to coal, gold abounds in the Asiatic portion, in the Lena River basin and along the Kolyma River, and there are important tin deposits in Eastern Siberia, as well as lead, silver, and graphite.

The population of the Russian SFSR amounts to about 111 millions. The greatest population density occurs in the black-earth belt of the European section and in the regions of century-old settlement, including the watershed between the upper Volga and the Oka, the cradle of the Muscovite state, and the districts adjoining the northwestern lakes, Il'men' and Peipus (Chudskoye), and the upper course and left affluents of the Dnieper River. In these areas the concentration reaches 125 to 150 per square mile and as much as 250 and higher in the Moscow area. In the black-earth region of Siberia the density decreases to 60–90 persons per square mile. North of this belt the population rapidly decreases to 10–25 per square mile in the European North and as little as one person for every 2 square miles in the taiga of Siberia. Only in the valleys of the northern rivers (Northern Dvina, Pechora, Ob', Yenisey, Lena, with the Aldan and the Vilyuy, Yana, Indigirka, and Kolyma) does the population density rise to about 25 per square mile. The urban population is distributed mainly throughout the European part of the Russian SFSR: between the Volga and the Oka rivers, on the Baltic Sea and the Volga, and in the industrial Urals. The Siberian cities extend along the Trans-Siberian Railroad and lie usually at its intersection with the principal Siberian rivers. A great urban concentration has taken place in connection with the industrial development of the Kuznetsk Basin.

The Russians are the basic national element of the Russian SFSR and number about three fourths of the total population. They live principally in the black-earth belt, mixed forest, and taiga of the European section. The great number of minorities are found mainly along the middle Volga, on the western slopes of the Urals, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus, and in the mountainous sections of Western

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

level violence was manifested in frequent beatings of wife and children, and on the rural community level in habitual drunkenness that often ended in brawls and even murder.[18] In conditions which foster human degradation and lack of trust, both self-seeking and vindictiveness flourish. Hence the Great-Russian peasant was inclined to commit atrocious acts of revenge against people whom he considered as his persecutors or who caused him any harm. When threatening with revenge the Great-Russian peasant was likely to say: "You will pay me with your own blood" (*Ty u menya kroviyu svoey umoeshsya*). Killing as a revenge, burning hay-ricks, barns and homes was a common occurrence. The peasants were likely to organize a collective hunt against real or fancied malefactors and mutilate them or put them to death by means of torture:

> For murder and robbery, death of the culprit—sometimes with mutilation by cutting and tearing off of various parts of his body. For horse-theft and grand larceny they practice sometimes hammering of iron nails into the head and forcing of wooden pins under the nails and also merciless beating even onto death; . . . in some instances the case ends by maiming the thief and letting him go.[19]

At the same time the frontiersmen and professional warriors, such as the Cossacks, became renowned and widely admired because of their deeds of vindictiveness and violence. War was a great opportunity for people with such inclinations. As Gogol has put it, the Cossacks found a great delight in "accumulating booty from raided towns, putting the villages and the fields on fire, and spreading their glories by far and wide throughout the steppe" in order "to revenge themselves for all evil and humiliation."[20] There were numerous robber and Cossack songs which told about such exploits, and expressed desire for vindictiveness and destructive aggression.

Destructive aggression was nursed on the patriarchal family level and reinforced by conditions in the local community. Thus as soon as the controls of the authorities would weaken, mass revolts would come into the open. Such a behavior in turn was used by the local authorities as a justification for their strictness in dealing with the peasants:

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Party members. Together with the policy-making Party bodies they form the ruling class of the Soviet society. This top Party-state governing class consists perhaps of about two hundred thousand people or one tenth of one per cent of the total population. They are often referred to as the *Partia i Pravitelstvo*—the Party and the government.

The middle and lower layers of government specialists are often referred to as the *Sluzhashchie*. This stratum includes the rank and file of the learned professions, the rank and file of the intelligentsia and semi-intelligentsia, the middle and lower professional military, the middle and lower government managerial ranks, the engineers and the technicians. According to the 1939 census the number of those in the sluzhashchie class, that is "all those who work in offices" was close to thirty million or seventeen per cent of the total Soviet population, as contrasted to the industrial labor (*rabochie*) which formed thirty-two per cent and the peasantry (*krestiane*) which formed forty-six per cent of the total.

The more one goes down this social scale, the smaller becomes the proportion of Party members to non members and of the privileged to the non-privileged. One's position in this caste-like pyramid determines his status expressed not only in the form of income, but even more so in the extent to which he gets the benefits of various social services, the extent of appurtenances,[10] the amount of freedom of personal movement, and the degree of superordination and subordination.

The privileged position of the educated and semi-educated classes is well manifested in the internal structure of the Bolshevik Party. As late as 1930 about 65 percent of Party members were workers or recruited from the working class, about 20 percent were peasants or of peasant background, and less than 15 percent belonged to the white collar class. But by 1941–42 the composition of the Party was reversed and apparently at present more than 70 percent of the new candidates and members are recruited from among the educated and official classes.[11] The Party rules, which in the first years of Bolshevik regime had favored the industrial proletariat, and to a certain extent the soldiers and the collective peasants, had to be revised in order to

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and harder and to produce more for Socialist Motherland. Not infrequently the brigade leaders have to use physical force to make him get up early enough to work on collective property.

Yet in spite of such unfavorable circumstances, compared to city workers, the peasant might still be in a somewhat better position in regard to security and stability, attachment to his family, to his cottage, to his small plot of land, and to his village. For this reason he has been able to put up resistance against the Party and the government.[33] It is against these scanty remnants of emotional and economic security, of personal independence, of group solidarity and resistance that the Bolshevik rulers are campaigning; it is to eradicate this psychology of group intimacy and opposition that the Party had recently attempted to resettle the farmers and move them into concentrated and urbanized surroundings; the Bolsheviks are exerting all efforts to eradicate these "residues of kulak psychology" root and branch and to make the peasants as completely helpless, insecure and subdued to the Party will as they have done with the industrial and intellectual workers.

There is a considerable disproportion in sex ratio in Soviet rural areas. Owing to great casualties in wars it is estimated that at present there are about fifteen million more women than men in the Soviet Union. And due to the increasing need of manpower to maintain huge military forces and to feed the inefficient city industries, the Soviet leaders are constantly draining both male youths and adult men from the villages in the form of military and labor drafts. They are therefore increasingly relying for agricultural work on peasant women. Hence peasant villages and peasant families tend to be composed predominantly of women.

Here too a family structure with semi-matriarchal traits, similar to the Old-Slavonic family, is being formed. Though in such circumstances the number of illegitimate children is increasing, it is quite possible that the women, especially those who are traditionally strongly attached to their family, are exerting a moderating and softening influence on the personality of the peasant child. An indication of such possible differences in the psychological atmosphere of the city and the country is given in

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SU 161 GR 161

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SU 162 GR 162

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SU 162 CR 162 and Eastern Siberia. In the Middle Volga Region live the Mordvinians and the Mari of the Finno-Ugric group and the Tatars and the Chuvash of the Turkic group; on the western slopes of the Urals are, from north to south, the Komi, the Komi-Permyak, and the Udmurt, all belonging to the Finno-Ugric group, and the Bashkirs, members of the Turkic group. On the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus live a wide variety of peoples, including the Avars, the Darghins, the Lesghians in the east, and the Circassian tribes in the west. These national elements belong to the Caucasian linguistic group, of which Georgian is also a member. The Ossetians, who live in the central part of the Greater Caucasus, belong to the Iranian group. In Western Siberia, in the valleys of the Altay system, are other representatives of the Turkic group: the Altay tribes (a group of several small national elements), the Khakass, and the Tuvinians. In Eastern Siberia, the two principal nationalities are the Buryat-Mongols of the Mongolian group and the Yakuts of the Turkic group. A large number of small elements in the extreme north of the Russian SFSR belong to the Finno-Ugric, the SU Tungus-Manchu, and the Paleoasiatic linguistic groups.

178 438* CR 178 438 Prior to the Bolshevik Revolution, industry within the present confines of the Russian SFSR was located in the Central Industrial Region between the Volga and the Oka, with specialization in the milling of cotton, silk, woolen, and linen textiles. The Petrograd (now Leningrad) industrial district was the chief area engaged in machine construction, while the metallurgical industry in the Urals was still on a small scale. During the Five-Year Plan period industrialization progressed rapidly throughout the republic, with particular emphasis on the Volga Region, the Urals, Western Siberia and the Far East. The Central Industrial Region largely developed heavy machinery construction, the manufacture of precision tools, and the production of chemicals, while maintaining its previous importance as a textile-milling region. The Leningrad industrial district continues to be a machine-construction center. However, in contrast to the prerevolutionary period, when raw materials were usually imported, it now uses local mineral resources, that is, CR 178 438 505 copper, nickel, apatite, nephelite (an aluminum ore), from the Kola Peninsula; coal and petroleum, from the Pechora River basin; bauxite, SU lignite, and oil shale from the vicinity of Leningrad itself. Power is 178 438* 505 obtained from hydroelectric plants on the Volkhov and the Svir' rivers. An entirely new industrial region was created on the Volga. This river serves as one of the principal transportation routes of the Russian

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

standards of formal education, low level of agricultural technology, undeveloped means of transportation and too many idle days handicapped the advance of agriculture. In such circumstances the peasants did not even produce sufficient food to nourish themselves, much less a surplus to exchange for manufactured products. As a consequence the peasants were exposed to periodical famines during which many died of starvation.

Periodical epidemics of cholera, typhus, small pox, and other diseases took a toll as high as famines. A low degree of personal hygiene in crowded living conditions also increased the death rate. In addition there was a great dearth of doctors, nurses and hospitals, and no measures of preventive medicine. Equally ruinous were the periodical cattle epidemics due to primitive techniques of cattle raising. One should add to these misfortunes the figure of more than one hundred thousand peasant homes destroyed each summer by fires, many of them the result of arson. And if one considers the widely spread robbery, theft and murder that went undetected and unpunished, one gets an idea of the distressing personal and social conditions in which the Russian peasant lived. It was in such circumstances, left entirely to his own resources, that he developed an ideological, emotional and symbolical world of his own.

17
THE ATTITUDES OF THE PEASANTRY

I

STUNNED by the magnitude of the inimical and arbitrary social and physical forces which surrounded him and completely controlled his life, the Great-Russian peasant felt impotent and helpless. In the family circle if he had to be submissive and he was exposed to arbitrariness of the elder, he also might have enjoyed a certain degree of protection and succor.

* [i.e. in second half of XIXth century.--Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

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They used to go starke naked, save a clout about their middle, with their haire hanging long and wildely about their shoulders, and many of them with an iron coller in chaine about their neckes or middles, even in the very extremity of winter. . . . Among others at this time they have one at Mosco that walketh naked about the streets, and inveyeth commonly against the state and government. . . . Another there was, that dyed not many years agoe . . . that would take upon him to reproove the olde emperour, for all his cruelties and oppressions done towards his people. His body they have translated of late into a sumptuous church neere the emperours house in Mosco, and have canonized him for a saint. Many miracles he doth there. . .[15]

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Another form of protest or of reaction against the existing conditions consisted of mass vagrancy. Many thousands of these restless people were roaming the roads, the forests, and the deserts, as beggars, as pilgrims or as agricultural nomads. Many of them spent whole lives wandering, unable to find peace and rest.

IV

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Conditions in which abusive dominance-submission relationships, self-concern, lack of trust, and destructive aggression thrive do not favor unification and stability of an empire. Yet the Czardom showed a steady and remarkable development in spite of such unfavorable circumstances. In the course of several centuries it had grown from a small principality into a great world power. Just as in the states of steppe nomads, the social agents which were responsible for self-seeking, power-orientation and internal restlessness and explosiveness encouraged also external expansion. But unlike the empires of the steppes, there were in the Empire of the Czars several circumstances which fostered ideological and moral unity, such as the politico-religious philosophy of the Orthodox Church and conditioning on the family and community level. It was perhaps this combination of the explosive and unifying tendencies which was responsible for steady expansiveness and growing consolidation of the Czardom.

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From its very inception the Russian state was a military soci-

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6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

and harder and to produce more for Socialist Motherland. Not infrequently the brigade leaders have to use physical force to make him get up early enough to work on collective property.

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There is a considerable disproportion in sex ratio in Soviet rural areas. Owing to great casualties in wars it is estimated that at present there are about fifteen million more women than men in the Soviet Union. And due to the increasing need of manpower to maintain huge military forces and to feed the inefficient city industries, the Soviet leaders are constantly draining both male youths and adult men from the villages in the form of military and labor drafts. They are therefore increasingly relying for agricultural work on peasant women. Hence peasant villages and peasant families tend to be composed predominantly of women.

Here too a family structure with semi-matriarchal traits, similar to the Old-Slavonic family, is being formed. Though in such circumstances the number of illegitimate children is increasing, it is quite possible that the women, especially those who are traditionally strongly attached to their family, are exerting a moderating and softening influence on the personality of the peasant child. An indication of such possible differences in the psychological atmosphere of the city and the country is given in

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

(*sud*). Accordingly, in the mind of these people, the universe and peace (*mir*) were also identical.[28]

Great calamities occasionally befell the Old-Slavonic communities—frequent raids and plundering by the invaders and slave hunters; then cattle plagues and epidemics. These were thought to have been brought on by certain demons and malevolent ghosts, but the Polesie people knew of ways to cope even with such disasters. Contagious diseases were prevented or stopped by means of magic, especially by the magical powers of women. As for their enemies, the soil cultivators of the Dnieper basin were not prepared for any offensive or defensive warfare and were an easy prey for many aggressors. Being not armed, their defense consisted of hiding themselves. They sought safety in impenetrable marshes and forests and even resorted to such ruses as lying submerged on the bottoms of marshes and breathing by means of cane sticks until the danger was over.[29]

Since the Old-Slavonic agriculturists contracted their marriage unions early in life, as a means of labor supply and since they were not exposed to exhaustion of constant warfare, the region which they originally inhabited soon reached its limits of population. Thus, in spite of their autarchic and intensive agricultural techniques and their attachment to the soil, the early Slav folk were forced to leave their original habitat in search of new lands. They did not migrate in a fury and did not traverse great distances like the mounted nomads of the steppes; rather, they moved slowly and quietly for short distances and by stages always keeping in touch with the mother community from which they had sprung.

In this manner the Old-Slavonic tillers penetrated new regions and territories, not by force and conquest like the predatory steppe raiders, but by cultivating new soil along the river basins, in the midst of forest clearings, drained marshes or irrigated steppes. Living in village communities which remained ethnically uninterrupted, they transplanted and perpetuated in their new homes their native agricultural techniques, their beliefs and customs, their family and community organization, as well as their philosophy of life. Thus as late as the twentieth century, the social organization and personality traits of the Zadruga peo-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

ple, in the plains between the Drava and Sava rivers, showed cultural and personality traits similar to those of the Old-Slavonic plowmen.[30]

In their migration, these early Slav soil cultivators were often able to Slavicize the natives among whom they had settled and even to absorb the numerically small bands of steppe raiders who had conquered them. These assimilated invaders were then often employed to fight against new nomadic incursions.[31] It was in the course of such acculturations, due to migrations and conquests, that in the regions between the Volga and the Dnieper a peculiar fusion of contrasting cultural patterns of the steppe horsemen and of the tillers of the soil had developed. Structural relations, personality traits and the religious, social and political ideologies that resulted out of this blend of the two conflicting worlds formed the basis of Russian society and have been at the root of its political instability throughout centuries.[32]

4
TURCO-MONGOL INVASIONS AND FORMATION OF RUSSIAN SOCIETY

I

THE MOUNTED warriors of the steppes were accustomed to covering great distances on their raids and migrations. After they had devastated and annihilated much that was in their way, they would impose their rule with ease over whatever was left. Then they would proceed to organize nomadic federations, principalities and empires.[1] The political systems which thus arose in the area between the Ural mountains and the Carpathians apparently followed the pattern that had been originally established by the Scythians and Huns in the same territory.[2]

Being extremely self-centered and insecure, a strong driving

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19
PEASANT UPRISINGS

I

EVER since the establishment of serfdom, slaves and serfs would free themselves from oppressive bondage by joining the gangs of vagabonds, fugitives from justice, army deserters, malcontents and escapees of all kinds, many of whom lived by theft, robbery, and begging. These victims of oppression, as well as many adventurers, gathered along the frontiers of the empire in "no man's land" where they would organize themselves as bands of freebooters, guerillas, and mercenaries, ready to enter the service of rival powers.

In the regions of the lower Don and Dnieper these communities of fugitives of all social classes and occupations and of many races formed elective military governments, known as the Cossack republics. Once they were established, these free Cossack communes served as a place of attraction to all who longed for freedom from oppression or who sought adventure. In these free societies no one was asked any question about his passport, his identity, his domicile, his faith, or his belongings. Everyone willing to fight and loot was welcome, but none was forced to come or stay.[1]

However, by the middle of the seventeenth century in these Cossack commonwealths, there appeared a social differentiation between the old settlers and the newcomers. The older settlers formed a property-owning class known as the "house-owners," and the newcomers became known as the *golytba* (the naked). And it was these unsettled and restless Cossacks of the "naked class" that played an especially prominent part in the uprisings of the seventeenth century and later.[2]

The first part of the seventeenth century, known in the history of the Czardom as the "Period of Trouble," was characterized by the lack of an established authority. The old dynasty had

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do specify the cases in which the state wishes to facilitate divorce and dissolve marriage. Such cases are for instance, "a court sentence depriving either spouse of his or her liberty for no less than three years," and "the absence with no news of either spouse."[18] In such cases the party seeking divorce is exempted from the payment of fees and also from the requirement that a public notice be put in the local newspaper. These provisions are in accordance with the principle of family hostages and the well known practice of the Soviet political police to persecute the families of political offenders. Divorce from such a person may in some cases rehabilitate one in the eyes of the Party. The police as a rule exert pressure on the spouses of political culprits or suspects to seek divorce, and the law provisions are such that the court may facilitate divorce in such cases.

The Bolshevik regime depends to a great extent upon the available large contingents of manpower for its armed forces and for its industrial enterprises whose labor efficiency is very low. In accordance with such needs a series of measures was introduced designed to encourage large families, such as strict laws against birth control, maternity leaves, safeguards for employed pregnant women, monthly cash payments for children, reduced fees in nurseries, advantages in income tax payments, medals, awards, citations, and titles for mothers bearing and raising a certain number of children.[19] At the same time special taxes were imposed upon bachelors, childless couples and couples with only one or two children. Also suits to establish paternity were abolished and an unmarried mother was given the option to accept a modest allowance or to place the child in a public institution where the state takes care of it.

The recognition on the part of the Bolshevik rulers of the significance of the family as an institution of early training of Soviet subjects in discipline, subordination to the group, and obedience to authorities is manifested in the inclusion of family legislation within the jurisdiction of the central government of the Soviet Union. The constitution of the Soviet Union itself was amended for this purpose in 1947.[20] Thus the trend of Soviet legislation in the matters of family relations in the course of over thirty years of Bolshevik rule tended to increase and

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With an energetic Khan at the head of such raiders, who knew how to organize them along military lines, a horde of looters was often able to transform itself into a highly disciplined army.[31] Being in the midst of a hostile population, the conquerors held fast together. Thus, despotically governed principalities and states were formed and ruled by small bands of horsemen who knew how to use their military advantage over the subjugated and disarmed peoples. It was in this manner that these nomadic warriors had in the early centuries of this era imposed their rule on the Old-Slavonic agricultural population between the Volga and Dnieper rivers.[32]

3

POWER-INDIFFERENCE OF THE OLD-SLAVONIC PLOWMEN

I

ACCORDING to both linguistic and historical evidence, it appears that the early home of the Old-Slavonic peasant folk was centered in the middle Dnieper and its western tributaries, a region known as Polesie. Before drainage, this area consisted of deep swamps (Pripet marshes) throughout which were scattered many islets of land. The scantiness of cultivable soil forced the inhabitants to subsist by means of very intensive tillage. Hand hoes and hook-plows, to which men yoked themselves, were the principal modes of cultivation. For clothing and oil, flax and hemp were planted.

The people were, on the whole, vegetarians. Some hogs were raised but few sheep or cattle. There was, however, abundant fishing and some hunting. Bee-keeping was prevalent and an intoxicating drink was fermented from honey. Communication between the islets in this marshy land proved difficult during all seasons; therefore, the population, in order to survive, had

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to maintain a system of economic self-sufficiency which was restricted to small villages or groups of such villages.[1]

In early documents these Old-Slavonic plowmen are described as peaceful, moderate, mild, and humane, patient and sober, disinterested in power, hard working, living in social and political democracy. They are pictured as being opposed to subjection, but unable to offer much resistance to a foreign aggressor since they were not skilled in warfare. Procopius (6th century), for instance, said that "these people are not ruled by one man, but they have lived from of old under a democracy, and consequently everything which involves their welfare, whether for good or for ill, is referred to the people."[2] And Emperor Leo (9th century) stated the following:

> . . . jealous of their liberty they have always refused to submit themselves to the Empire. . . . even those who have accepted Christianity keep as much as they can the forms of their ancient freedom. . . . This is a numerous nation, patient in difficult times, and very industrious. Heat, cold, hunger, and want of all things do not beat down these people. . . . They used to be very hospitable and still maintain with great care this virtue. They are affable people and receive travellers with much kindness, show them the way, and protect them against insult. If a traveller would not be well treated by his host because of host's fault all the people would attack the host. They behave with much gentleness also toward their slaves; they do not condemn them to perpetual slavery, but fix a time of service . . . after which time . . . they free them. The women are well-behaved, and attached to their husbands. . . . These people are very frugal . . . they prefer to live with much freedom. . . . They like to take refuge in the woods or in inaccessible places.[3]

The people of Polesie seem to have been politically organized in a system of smaller groupings of self-governing villages or even in single autonomous villages connected among themselves, not in the form of a central authority or state, but rather as a loose confederation of independent units. Apparently, there were no marked social distinctions or differences in class and rank in this society. There was no aristocracy, no separate class of priests or warriors, no cities, no temples. There was, therefore, no class or clique which sought power and expansion over others,

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subjected agricultural population. In the ruling class of conquerors—who were marrying the native women—the steppe traditions of an unlimited paternal power, centered in a God-like, distant and strict father, tended to prevail. The principles of seniority, of priority of the male sex and of super-ordination and subordination among brothers and sisters favored sibling rivalry in this family system. At the same time, the mother, following her native traditions, tended to assert her marital equality, to maintain separate property rights, to teach her children the native speech and customs, and to protect them against the caprice and wrath of a domineering and warlike father.

[155] It is likely that children in such families of clashing marital and social philosophies might be exposed to alternating experiences of rejection and over-protection; they might develop an exaggerated self-concern and power-orientation, as well as feelings of inadequacy and dependence. Extremes in emotional reactions ranging from blind submission to destructive aggression and violent revolt tend to develop in such circumstances.

Such traits which contain a core of emotional instability and perpetual strife did not seem to be favorable for the growth and consolidation of State. Instead, a number of small principalities were formed, whose ruling strata were torn by internal rivalries and splits, and by never-ending parricidal and fratricidal feuds. Moreover, these petty princes and war chieftains, following steppe tradition, were interested in waging warfare more than in promoting agriculture or industry—which was contrary to the view of life and the social philosophy of the subjected population. There was, therefore, a lack of common culture, lack of common interests and want of social solidarity between the subjects and their warlike lords. Such a situation fomented social unrest; local riots and mass uprisings, which in turn promoted increasing rigidity of controls, centralization of power, never-ending internal splits and never-ending warfare.

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795

By the ninth century A.D., these turbulent warriors came into conflict with the Byzantine Empire which had a political interest in the same area. This contact with Byzantium was of far-reaching consequence, because it introduced the Eastern Church into the social and political structure of Russian society. This institu-

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tion has provided moral and ideological foundations for the formation and the expansion of a globally oriented empire, while at the same time, it has also reinforced some of the elements in the structure of the Russian State which have been responsible for its explosiveness and instability.

In the Byzantine politico-religious system, the Church was not only a religious institution but also a political organization, and an arm of the political power. Byzantium therefore undertook to Christianize the Russian lands as a means of political penetration. Following Byzantine Church traditions and practices, the dominant native speech was adopted for Church services. Christianization therefore fostered also Slavization of these regions. Moreover, the Church of Byzantium carried with it the Byzantine concept of unity of Church and State, as well as that of a god-like monarchial power, with the mission to create a Universal Christian Empire.

The Eastern Church also sanctioned unlimited paternal authority and promoted protection-dependency relationships both on politico-administrative and on family levels. This Church sponsored unconditional obedience, attitudes of reverence and gratitude, and feelings of humility and self-effacement, fear and awe in the relations of man to his God, his Prince and his Father. According to the precepts of this Church-State philosophy, the authorities were held responsible for the well-being as well as for the failures and sins of their dependents. Thus the Byzantine Church was preparing psychological and ideological grounds for a politico-religious integration of Russian lands in a system of military theocracy, which became characterized by its Messianic ideology of world redemption and by its dominance-submission and protection-dependency relationships. But such a political system was in sharp conflict with the anarchic view of life and the equalitarian philosophy of family and community relations held by large sections of the population in that area.

This basic internal clash of ideologies in Russian society was intensified in the course of the following centuries when the pressure of the steppe nomads and of the expanding Western empires favored increased militarization, economic regimentation and centralization of total power in the hands of an auto-

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175 642 cratic Czar. By the time of Ivan the Terrible, the power of the independent landed aristocracy was suppressed, and the autocratic power rested now on a service nobility who were given lands in conditional possession depending upon their service and their loyalty to the Czar. These people therefore found themselves in a slave-like dependency upon the ruler who was likened to God, a situation that promoted political and social regimentation and fostered domineering-subservience relationships, thus intensifying the existing incompatibilities between the upper and lower strata of the Czardom.

[157] Domineering-subservience relationships are likely to breed humiliating experiences of self-abasement and feelings of wounded self-esteem which in turn might foster intense hostilities as well as compensatory ideas of grandeur. Thus in new circumstances, both self-seeking and power-orientation were reinforced in the upper strata, and manifested themselves in the oppressive rule of the nobility, in their extreme factionalism, and in their ruthless struggle for personal power and for the favors of the Czar.

[566] This trend of events, by the second part of the sixteenth century, led to establishment of serfdom and to direct interference of the service nobility and of the government in the communal and family relations of the peasantry. From this time on, the Church, the State and the landlords joined hands in strengthening the power of the Father and of the village elders and sponsoring in the peasant family and in the village community, dominance-submission relationships, absolute power and dependence, blind obedience and self-abnegation.

181 [579] The inevitable clash of this new power-oriented social philosophy with the old stateless and equalitarian values, was reflected in intense family and community tensions and in mass restlessness. Thus a weakening of power and of controls on any level—family, local, or national—opened the way to urges of destructive aggression and revolt against all the holders of power: the fathers, the village elders, the landlords, the Church and the Czar. Outbreaks of such extreme enmity were manifested in frequent communal riots, in mass vagrancy, in bloody revolutionary uprisings, and in widespread dissent from the official

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to maintain a system of economic self-sufficiency which was restricted to small villages or groups of such villages.[1]

In early documents these Old-Slavonic plowmen are described as peaceful, moderate, mild, and humane, patient and sober, disinterested in power, hard working, living in social and political democracy. They are pictured as being opposed to subjection, but unable to offer much resistance to a foreign aggressor since they were not skilled in warfare. Procopius (6th century), for instance, said that "these people are not ruled by one man, but they have lived from of old under a democracy, and consequently everything which involves their welfare, whether for good or for ill, is referred to the people."[2] And Emperor Leo (9th century) stated the following:

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[XII century]

and hence, no group support could be found if a leader had attempted to form a centralized political authority or an imperial system over the whole area. The old Russian Chronicle of Kiev (12th century) describing a tribe with such a culture (the Polians) states that among them each kindred group (*rod*) lived in its own separate locality and had its own government.[4]

In a like manner, principles of dignity and moderation, as well as personal autonomy and lack of coerciveness, prevailed in family relations of these people. The Chronicle, for instance, states:

The Polians had customs of their fathers, customs mild and peaceful (*krotok i tikh*); they showed a kind of reserve (*stydenie*) towards their daughters-in-law (*snokha*) and their sisters, towards their mothers and their parents, towards their fathers-in-law and their brothers-in-law; to all of the persons named they showed great reserve. They had marriage cusoms: the bridegroom did not go to seek his bride; she was taken to him in the evening, and the following morning they brought what belonged to her (*chto vdaduche*).[5]

It appears that the family organization of the Polians rested on mutual respect of all family members; that the bride brought the dowry which remained her personal property; that she might have had the initiative in wooing. This contention is supported by other evidence. Cosmas Pragensis, for instance, speaking of the old Bohemian Slavs, states: "It is not the men who choose the maids, but the maids themselves who take the husbands they like, and when they like."[6] A French writer who visited Ukraine in the seventeenth century wrote: "In Ukraine, contrary to the customs of all other nations, the husbands do not choose their wives, but are themselves chosen by their future consorts."[7]

There is also other evidence concerning some matriarchal traits of the early Slavs.[8] Throughout ages, women of the plains betwen the Dnieper and the Volga maintained property rights over their dowries and also over income from vegetables, poultry, dairy products and yarn that they produced and sold, though such rights were not recognized to men.[9] Although a woman in Russia did not have any claim to the property of her father or her brother, and only a limited right to that of her husband, she had the privilege, denied to a man, of saving and building up a

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territories. He was adorned with the title of the "Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias,"[4] a symbolic beginning of Russian religious and political unity.

When the Tartars in the beginning of the thirteenth century imposed their overlordship over all Russian lands, lacking an efficient administration and interested not so much in governing as in tributes, they restored to the native princes their old titles and gave them the right to collect tributes for them. In this manner in the beginning of the fourteenth century Ivan Kalita of Moscow succeeded in obtaining a *yarlyk* (charter of privileges) in which the Tartar Kahn recognized Ivan as the *Veliky Knyaz* (Grand Prince). A few years later Ivan also became the chief collector of tributes for the Kahn in Russian lands.

In his function as chief farmer of internal revenues Ivan practiced extortion from his Russian subjects and acquired a great personal wealth. His riches enabled him to purchase entire domains and apanages, and to buy the protection and backing of the Kahn. Seeing the ascendency of Ivan, and following Byzantine traditions of Church and state unity, the Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias moved his residence to Moscow and built a cathedral there, ready to support Moscow princes in their political ambitions.

The expansion of Moscow's power over other Russian lands was favored also by external circumstances and pressures. By the second part of the fourteenth century the central authority of the Tartar Empire, the Golden Horde, had weakened and as was customary in Turco-Mongol society, civil wars ensued among the contenders for the throne. This situation presented an opportunity for power wise princes of Moscow to change their policy of cringing and prostration before the Tartars into that of rebellion and bargain. From now on at times they fought the Tartars, at other times they were again kneeling before them; but they now knew how to take advantage of Tartar weaknesses and how to gain new possessions with Tartar assistance. In this policy of expansion at the expense of other Russian principalities the Muscovites had the support not only of the Khans but that of the Eastern Orthodox clergy as well. Their

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[XVth century]

allies were also the local boyars who were traditionally always ready, at the critical moment, to abandon their own local princes and rush to join the ascending power.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, the representatives of the Church of Byzantium, in the hope of obtaining the Pope's help against the Turks, agreed to a union with Rome. However, in Moscow, whose power was ascending in the face of the disintegrating Mongol Empire and where the Turks were not considered a threat, no need was felt for any Latin help. Thus the Metropolitan of Moscow who gave his approval for the union with Rome was deposed and the Russian Church was declared autocephalous and independent of the Greek Patriarch. This break with the Byzantine Church was of far-reaching consequences. It placed the Russian Church into a completely dependent position on the Grand Prince of Moscow. From now on, the objectives of the Russian state and those of the Russian Church became inseparable.

Another international event, the fall of Constantinople (1453), removed the last ideological barrier to the growth of the Muscovite Principality into a world empire. Since the seat of the Greek Patriarch had fallen into the hands of the infidels, Moscow became the strongest and the leading Eastern-Orthodox state thus inheriting the Messianic ideology of world salvation and of a Universal Orthodox Empire.

In accordance with such traditions the Russian clergy began to consider Moscow as the only true successor of the first and of the second Rome, as the only depositor of the True Faith, and as the center of a Messianic politico-religious Orthodoxy. By the beginning of the sixteenth century this ideology of the "Third Rome" was fully developed. The Grand Prince of Moscow had already adopted the title of Czar (Caesar). At that time a monk of one of the old monastaries of Pskov stated this idea in a letter to Czar Vasili III, in the following manner:

> Two Romes have now fallen, and the third one, our Moscow, yet standeth, and a fourth shall there never be. In thy puissant Empire the council of our church doth shine throughout all the world with the light of holiness which is greater even than the light of the sun. In all the world thou alone art the Christian Tzar.[5]

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19
PEASANT UPRISINGS

I

EVER since the establishment of serfdom, slaves and serfs would free themselves from oppressive bondage by joining the gangs of vagabonds, fugitives from justice, army deserters, malcontents and escapees of all kinds, many of whom lived by theft, robbery, and begging. These victims of oppression, as well as many adventurers, gathered along the frontiers of the empire in "no man's land" where they would organize themselves as bands of freebooters, guerillas, and mercenaries, ready to enter the service of rival powers.

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However, by the middle of the seventeenth century in these Cossack commonwealths, there appeared a social differentiation between the old settlers and the newcomers. The older settlers formed a property-owning class known as the "house-owners," and the newcomers became known as the *golytba* (the naked). And it was these unsettled and restless Cossacks of the "naked class" that played an especially prominent part in the uprisings of the seventeenth century and later.[2]

The first part of the seventeenth century, known in the history of the Czardom as the "Period of Trouble," was characterized by the lack of an established authority. The old dynasty had

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ended in a violent and mysterious way and a number of pretenders arose to take its place. It was in this interval between the fall of the former authority and the relative consolidation of a new one that the oppressed strata of the Czardom saw an opportunity to rebel against a state of humiliating bondage and economic misery. Seeking relief from their burdens and yearning for social acceptance in a system of equalitarian relationships, the poorer burghers, homeless Cossacks and runaway peasants and slaves flocked into the camp of Bolotnikov, himself an ex-slave and adventurer who marched at the head of this strange army upon Moscow. From his camp near Moscow he distributed proclamations inviting slaves and serfs to slay their masters, commanding all of his followers to rise against the voevodas and others in authority, and exciting them to rob and beat traders. In return he promised the slaves and serfs the wives and the property of the serf-owners. To all his followers he pledged honors, riches and the status of boyars.[3]

Search for security in a system of protection-dependence relationships manifested itself in a need for pretenders. If only a rumor started about the appearance of a pretender, whole provinces would rise to greet him. Sometimes a pretender had to be subsequently found to lead these masses of discontents who rose to follow a fancied liberator and benefactor. Such conditions only contributed to the prolongation of the troubled times and prevented an early establishment and consolidation of a new authority. It was in such a way that most of the seventeenth century became a century of riotings and rebellions which climaxed in the great rising under Stanka Razin in 1670–1671. Originating among the Don Cossacks, this movement soon spread to the Volga regions and developed into a general war of the lower strata against the upper classes. In this, as in the other uprisings of that century, many excesses were committed by both the rebels and the government forces. The same features of social struggle were repeated in the eighteenth century, in the great peasant rebellion that was led by Pugachev, another Cossack chieftain.

Also the nineteenth century witnessed a number of peasant rebellions. In the beginning of that century the peasants of the

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nology opponents are referred to as the "enemies of the people." They are said to be "groups of spies," "traitors to the country," "dregs of humanity," "fiendish criminals," "pigmies," "useless rubbish," "hordes of barbarians," "hangmen," "cannibals," "enemies of humankind."[18] These "instruments of oppression of the proletariat," full of "falsehoods and perverse lies," "narrow-minded petty-bourgeois with sickly mentality," have to be mercilessly "smashed," "annihilated," "crushed," "destroyed" with an "ever greater frenzy and ferocity."[19] They have to be "cleansed" from the Soviet society in order to ensure the consolidation of the rule of the Bolsheviks.

It was in order to justify ruthlessness in dealing with the opposition that labelling, denouncing and name-calling has become prominent in Bolshevik practices. Any softness toward the "enemies" is denounced as bourgeois "sentimentalism."[20] Instead, *besposhchadnost* (mercilessness), *surovost* (ruthlessness), *besstrashie* (fearlessness), and *zheleznaya volia* (iron will) are said to be the "Lenin ways" by which the political workers are to deal with all the "opponents, slackers, and deviants."

If in this "life and death fight," ruthlessness, pitilessness, and mercilessness have to be applied then also cunning, guile, craft, ruse and deceit are equally welcome as useful means. Lenin is often quoted as saying that the Communists, when necessary, must "resort to strategy and adroitness, illegal proceedings, reticence and subterfuge,"[21] that they must use any trick and veiling of truth; that they must dodge and maneuver. They must be ready in the interest of final success to suffer humiliation and self-abasement. In the interest of the cause and of final victory, they must know how to retreat and how to "crawl in the mud on their bellies."[22] According to the Bolshevik teaching, there is not an "absolute ethic." Every act is measured by how it corresponds to the interests of the group.[23]

III

Emphasis on extreme hatred, on ruse, and on mercilessness against those who do not conform is not new in the history of Russian society. Destructive aggression formed an aspect of the Czarist rule; it was manifested in the persecution of religious

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dissenters, in the civil wars as well as in the struggle between the Czarist police and the revolutionary intelligentsia; it was even formulated as an ideology and became a credo of Anarchism.

In the Bolshevik ideology this anti-humanism is justified by representing the "enemies" as not being human beings. Just as in the folk attitudes toward enemy aliens, the oppositionists and the adversaries, actual and potential, real and imaginary, are identified in Bolshevik writings with "gnats," "insects," "reptiles," "dogs," "wild beasts," and "beasts of prey." It is by such ways of reasoning that the Soviet pedagogists have come to the assertion that indoctrination of the people with "burning hatred" of the enemy does not contradict the ideas of humanism, because, they claim, the ideas of humanism and humane feelings do not apply to beasts. In this manner even acts of cruelty toward the "enemies" are condoned and encouraged:

> Hatred of the enemies of the socialist Motherland by no means contradicts the principles of humanism, since it is devoted to the protection of the rights and liberty of the worker from the designs of beasts of prey.[24]

The need for such an appeal to extreme animosities against the adversaries is in itself an indication of instability of the Bolshevik system. The ruling faction had to resort to such a means in order to promote complete identification with and fanatical devotion to the Cause and to the Leader. Here, however, we see a noticeable difference between the Czardom and the Soviet Russia. Though the Czarist system often exhibited aspects of extreme ruthlessness, the whole ideological and intellectual development of the Czarist Russia, especially in the last century of its existence, was in the direction of increasing Westernization and humanization. This trend coincided with certain gains in the field of personal, economic, and cultural freedoms in the Czardom.

As a result terrorism and acts of violence, though widely practiced, were not openly advocated as official Czarist policy. Many moderate and conservative factions of the intelligentsia strongly denounced all acts of terror performed either by the government or under the auspices of the revolutionary intelligentsia. One

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that "All the peoples of the Soviet Union recognize and appreciate the tremendous historical mission which the Great-Russian people is performing, as the outstanding people of the Soviet fraternity of nations."[51] In the same manner Grekov, a Soviet academician and one of the most outstanding Soviet historians, claims that the Russians, owing to their fighting ability and their readiness to sacrifice themselves for a good cause, saved the Western European civilization from barbarism and destruction even in the middle ages.[52]

Innate superiority of the Great-Russians is said to have manifested itself in an unsurpassable inventive genius. Hence the Russian military strategists, scholars and technicians are credited with a number of outstanding inventions which have been heretofore generally regarded as being developed in the Western countries. It is claimed, for instance, that the "Soviet Military science" developed by the Great-Russians is superior to any bourgeois concept of war. Also, most of the basic technological discoveries and inventions, from the spinning wheel to the nuclear nature of the atom, are said to have been the result of the "creative work of Russian genius,"[53] but "wrongfully ascribed to Germans, Englishmen, Americans, and Italians."[54]

Dominance of the Russians over the other peoples of the Soviet Union contradicts both the Socialistic doctrines and the Bolshevik myth of equality of all national and ethnic groups. As a result of Bolshevik policies of rigid centralization of power which promotes Russian hegemony, national and ethnic autonomies provided for by the Constitution became illusory. Reaction to such a situation has provoked dissatisfaction among subjected nationalities, resulting sometimes in open rebellions. To stamp out such revolts the Bolsheviks had to resort occasionally to resettlement and extermination of the whole recalcitrant populations, just as the Turco-Mongol rulers did before them. As a result a number of ethnic and national groups disappeared as separate entities, such as the Volga Germans, the Crimean Tartars, the Kalmyks and others.

The Bolsheviks realize, however, that these are means only to be used in extreme cases and in emergencies. Their aim is therefore to promote Russification among all their non-Russian sub-

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Church. In these protest movements on the folk level, demand for acceptance on equal terms in an all-human brotherhood of men was emphasized.

In the meantime, with the increasing technological, economic, and intellectual advance of the West, the Western pressures against the Czardom were intensified. In order to meet this challenge and withstand the threat, the Czardom, by the time of Peter the Great, embarked on a series of reforms aimed at Westernization of the Empire, such as secularization of the State, bureaucratization, industrialization and mass education. As a result of such developments, a new elite of parvenu salaried bureaucracy, and of parvenu salaried military, distinguished by the rank and not by the possession of land, was gradually taking the place of the old service nobility as the main pillar of the Czardom. At the same time, the old nobility who were freed of their obligatory service to the State, became hereditary owners of their estates.

In this manner, the old service nobility evolved into a class of economically independent landed squires, even though losing their former political status and privileges, such as monopoly on land and on service. This new gentry however, were by tradition, upbringing, and personal traits, interested in ruling, in political and military careers, not in land cultivation or industry. Many of them, when without office, tended to lead a life of leisure, and to emulate Western manners and styles, to cultivate arts and letters and to indulge in philosophical speculation and formulation of political theories. Few showed an inclination to identify themselves with the productive strata of the population and to devote time and energy to improve techniques of economic production and management.

Such an attitude of the nobility was an important agent in the retarded economic growth of Russia and in the lack of development of a numerically strong and influential middle class, which might have served as a cementing force in a culturally and ideologically split society. And it was from among this leisured class of rural gentry who had lost their status as the main pillar of the Czardom, but who had also emancipated themselves from their economic dependency upon the Czar, that the first

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leaders of an organized opposition to the Czarist autocracy were recruited.

By the nineteenth century, this landed gentry opposition to the Czarist regime took two main forms. One was pro-Western, seeking the reconstruction of the Czardom along humanistic, libertarian and juridical lines, brought about by the ideas of Humanism and Renaissance, by the Reformation and by the French and American Revolutions. The other was anti-Western, reacting against Western rationalism and materialism, against Western "heathenism" and cosmopolitanism, and against the Western system of impersonal formalism and open class strife which was beginning to infiltrate Russia.

In an attempt to bridge the widening cultural and ideological chasm between the ruling classes and the common folk, the anti-Westerners exalted the anarchic community relations and equalitarian and humanist values of the Old-Slavonic world and of the Russian peasant commune. But they also emphasized the value of the Church-State unity, and sought a Messianic redemption of the whole world through the absorption of the State by the Orthodox Church and reestablishment of a paternalistic system of community relations ruled by collective conscience and based on Christian love and compassion.

In the meantime, that is, by the second part of the nineteenth century, with the growing impoverishment of the rural gentry and with increasing educational opportunities for all strata of the population, the ranks of the educated classes (*intelligentsia*) were being swollen by many declassed people as well as by increasing numbers of young people from the families of clergymen, of lower government employees, of petty tradesmen and other lower classes (*raznochintsy*). Even though Czardom at the time was still governmentalized to a high degree, it was not totally regimented. Moreover, by the second part of the nineteenth century, under the pressure of the West, and in order to match the military, the educational, the industrial and the social levels of the Western world, Czardom abolished serfdom and made other concessions in the direction of a libertarian and a juridical state. This trend of events reinforced the penetration of Western political and social philosophies which tended

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[XIX century]

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to undermine the existing Church, State and family system based on self-abnegation and on unconditional submission.

As a result, a number of raznochintsy intelligentsia, freed of fear and awe before God, the Czar and the Father, but feeling thwarted in their political ambitions and socially rejected, expressed their dissatisfaction and their hostility toward the existing conditions of inequality and oppression by developing ideologies of denial and destruction. Their aim was to reject and to annihilate all the basic institutions and authorities on which Czardom rested: the family, religion, property, the power of the Father, the authority of the Church, as well as the rule of the Czar. These revolutionaries denied God and conscience as well as any existing ethics or rules of conventional conduct. They sought to destroy Czardom "root and branch" and to seize power for themselves by all and any means. Their professed objective was to establish on the earth an all-human stateless society of totally free men living in a system of equalitarian justice and fraternal love.

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Thus, while seeking to reestablish the anarchic and group-oriented values of the early Slav folk and of the Russian peasant commune, these revolutionaries exhibited also Messianic power-centered urges and destructive drives common in the ruling classes of Czardom. Hence a number of these people became professional conspirators, advocating establishment of an underground organization with rigidly centralized total power commanding expendability of its members, and demanding their complete dedication to the cause of the revolution. They considered this system of organization to be the only effective way to fight the Czarist rule. In this "mortal struggle," these dedicated young men and women tolerated no opposition or differences of opinion, propagated extreme hatred and pitilessness in dealing with all adversaries, organized assassinations, mutinies, strikes and mass risings, thus preparing the ground for the ascendancy of Bolshevism.

The Bolsheviks were a group of professional conspirators. In common with Messianic and power-oriented aims of all raznochintsy, the Bolsheviks endeavored to seize absolute and total power exclusively for themselves, by any and all means, as a way

1 [i.e. of undermining due to penetration of western influences -- Analyst]

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ple, in the plains between the Drava and Sava rivers, showed cultural and personality traits similar to those of the Old-Slavonic plowmen.[20]

In their migration, these early Slav soil cultivators were often able to Slavicize the natives among whom they had settled and even to absorb the numerically small bands of steppe raiders who had conquered them. These assimilated invaders were then often employed to fight against new nomadic incursions.[21] It was in the course of such acculturations, due to migrations and conquests, that in the regions between the Volga and the Dnieper a peculiar fusion of contrasting cultural patterns of the steppe horsemen and of the tillers of the soil had developed. Structural relations, personality traits and the religious, social and political ideologies that resulted out of this blend of the two conflicting worlds formed the basis of Russian society and have been at the root of its political instability throughout centuries.[22]

4
TURCO-MONGOL INVASIONS AND FORMATION OF RUSSIAN SOCIETY

I

THE MOUNTED warriors of the steppes were accustomed to covering great distances on their raids and migrations. After they had devastated and annihilated much that was in their way, they would impose their rule with ease over whatever was left. Then they would proceed to organize nomadic federations, principalities and empires.[1] The political systems which thus arose in the area between the Ural mountains and the Carpathians apparently followed the pattern that had been originally established by the Scythians and Huns in the same territory.[2]

Being extremely self-centered and insecure, a strong driving

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In a similar manner the old Kiev Chronicle points out the cultural differences between a number of Slavic-speaking tribes, such as the Polians—the "field-people," and the Drevlians (Drevlyane)—the "inhabitants of the forests," in the middle Dnieper basin. While the former are described as peaceful and mild, organized along egalitarian lines, the latter are represented as ferocious and wild, organized along monarchial, predatory, warlike, and polygynic principles. The Drevlians, says the Chronicle, ". . . lived like beasts; friends killed one another (*ubivahu drug druga*) . . . no marriage took place amongst them, but they captured young girls on the banks of the rivers."[6] And as for some other tribes, such as the Radimichi, the Vyatichi, and the Sever, the Chronicle says that ". . . shameful things occurred amongst them between fathers and daughters-in-law . . . there was no marriage . . . but the villagers would get together for dancing and satanic games, and there they captured their wives . . . they had generally two or three wives . . . they burned their dead."[7]

It is to be expected that under such circumstances cultural dualism and internal conflict and tension occurred within many individual families in this area. A Slavonic woman as wife or concubine of a Turco-Mongol horse-breeder and warrior might know nothing about his nomadic and predatory way of life, about horses and mares, about weapons, wagons and tents. She might therefore introduce into her new family agricultural techniques and a more settled way of life.

Being raised in an equalitarian society with some matriarchal traits, and with emphasis on self-respect and personal autonomy, a Slavonic woman would not be inclined to be completely submissive to her Turco-Mongol husband. Following child rearing customs of her own society the Slavonic woman would tend to remain close to her children, would teach them Slavonic speech, and might even be in a position to give them protection from the arbitrariness and impulsiveness of their warlike father. Such a situation reinforced and even magnified the traditional distance between the Turco-Mongol father and the members of his family.

At the same time the invader would insist on a subordinate

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623 626 [661] a fiction. Lacking means of physical enforcement because of the lack of a centralized political system, common action could take place only among those who voluntarily agreed. But when small bands of mounted warriors imposed their rule over the multitudes of non-warlike peasantry, the power-oriented conquerors made use of the Old-Slavonic system of unanimity for purposes of regimentation and governmentalization from above. That is, they imposed a dictated consensus by means of force else the opposition of the peasant majority would soon have deprived the ruling minority of its power.

634 [152] In this manner a number of band chieftains of nomadic origin ruled groupings of small peasant communities, in the form of manorial principalities. Each one of these local potentates, even though Slavicized in speech or born in mixed families, still exhibited extreme self-seeking characteristics and cherished personal power and aggrandizement above everything else, a tenet that had characterized his nomadic predecessors. Each, therefore, following steppe traditions, had a scheme of his own; each was interested primarily in accumulating riches for himself and his immediate family. In consequence, these local princes and their war bands constantly intrigued and fought among themselves. They also transferred their personal and factional strifes to the neighboring towns of burghers. In these squabbles and struggle for power and expansion, the feuding princes and fighting factions did not hesitate to call on the common enemies in their neighborhoods, such as the steppe marauders or the Viking pirates to come in and help them defeat their opponents.

[579] 628 It was in the course of such an internecine strife (*vsta rod na rod*) in Novgorod region in the middle of the ninth century that a band of Scandinavian merchant-pirates was called on to come and help one clique of native princes against the other.[18] These "Varangians" not only came in but stayed, founding later the Russian state in the Dnieper river basin, at that time the most important merchant thoroughfare in that part of the world. These Norse conquerors and state builders were soon assimilated by the natives. In the course of time a series of new principalities was formed and old factional bickerings and fratricidal warfare was renewed.[19]

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over the whole earth.[1] Through the support of the Church the absolute power of the Emperor became sacred, all-comprising and omnipresent. In the proclamation which announced his reign after he has been solemnly anointed by the Patriarch it was stated that he "proceeded from God, and not from man," and that to him, the "supreme master of the universe, absolute obedience was due from all."[2]

It was this Messianic ideology of politico-religious proselytism and world salvation which had united the Church and the state that helped Byzantium to solidify its rule and to spread its influence and control over the neighboring countries. In conquered, dependent and friendly territories numerous bishoprics of Eastern rite were established whose function was to obtain the moral support of the people for the Byzantine ruler. The conquered people were allowed a certain degree of autonomy in their internal affairs and one of their privileges was the right of the use of their native language in church rituals.

This politico-religious expansionism, however, had its weaknesses. The only tie that linked the subjected and the dependent peoples with the central power was the Church. Thus, as soon as the central power and the authority of the Byzantine Emperor weakened as a result of internal feuds, palace revolutions, civil wars, and invasions, some petty local potentates saw a chance to emancipate themselves from Constantinople and proclaim themselves as sovereign rulers. Such a local lord following Byzantine traditions would appoint from his own kinsmen bishops and Patriarchs whose function was to anoint the new king, to bestow upon him God-like qualities, and to sanctify his despotic rule among the subjects.

It is this pattern of Church and state relations that also developed between Byzantium and Russia by the end of the tenth century, when as a result of a political alliance with Byzantium Prince Vladimir of Kiev was converted to Christianity.[3] A Greek Metropolitan and a number of Greek Orthodox bishops were subsequently sent to Russia. Having an eye on the control of all other Russian principalities, the Byzantine Church bestowed upon the Metropolitan of Kiev the authority over all Russian

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II

Following Byzantine traditions and being entirely dependent upon and identified with the dominant political power, the Russian Orthodox clergy supported the autocratic reign of Muscovite rulers by means of an apotheosis of the Czar. According to this theocratic ideology the role of the Church was to be the loyal ally and helper of the Czar who derived his authority directly from God. The Czar's judgment could be overruled by no prelate. In his effort, common with that of the Church to establish a divine order on the whole earth, the Czar had to be unconditionally supported.[6]

Native Russian, Byzantine and Turco-Mongol institutions and concepts were blended in this system of Russian imperial theocracy. According to the Mongol idea of imperial power the emperor was the owner of the body and of the property of each one of his subjects. He was, however, disinterested in their souls and conscience. Thus, as far as religious beliefs were concerned, the Mongol rulers showed a great deal of tolerance; being interested mainly in collecting the tributes and not in governing they did not look at religion and clergy as allies in ruling. The shamans among the Ural-Altaic peoples were not organized as a priestly class and the Mongol emperor, even after he had accepted Islam, did not see any potential threat to his imperial power in any religion. In that system of power there was a complete separation of religion and politics.

In Byzantium, on the other hand, the Church was a powerful and well-organized force with imperial ambitions. But the Church was subdued to the imperial and personal interests of the lay ruler. The Church often succeeded, however, in using the imperial power for its own ends. At the same time the Byzantine Emperor in legal theory did not rule in his own right, but derived his authority from the people. In legal theory, he was an elected monarch and was subjected to the supreme rule of law, even if the law emanated from him. There was thus in Byzantium a well established set of laws which bound equally the Emperor and his subjects and guaranteed also certain rights to the subjects.

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177 642 The ideology of Moscow imperial theocracy was rooted in the power-centered traditions of Russian princes, reinforced by a fusion of Mongol and Byzantine political ideas and practices. As among the Mongols, the Czar was considered to be the supreme owner of the body and of the property of his subjects, but as among the Byzantines he was also concerned with their souls. At the same time, according to the Muscovite political philosophy, the Czar as owner of his subjects derived his authority not from the people, as in Byzantium, but directly and exclusively from God.[7] Therefore, the Czar alone possessed rights, his subjects only duties.

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In the Muscovite system of theocratical power not only was the Czar's freedom unlimited by any laws, but his personal will was not limited by any recognized human rights either. The Czar was considered to be limited only by his duty to God and by Divine law. The Czar, however, was himself the sole judge of his duty to God. He himself was the sole interpreter of Divine Law in regard to temporal affairs. Even the head of the Church could only supplicate but not advise him in these matters. The Czar was therefore at liberty to use the law capriciously as an instrument of his personal power, or to break the law at his convenience. And so he often did.[8]

643 565 Supported by the imperial ambitions of the Church, Muscovite rulers had two main objectives. One was the solidification of the unlimited personal power of the Czar to which all institutions of law and order were subjected; the other consisted of territorial expansion at the expense of the neighboring countries. The hereditary magnates—the local princes and the boyars—were obstacles in the path of both of these objectives. This landed aristocracy, following the traditions of early Russian princes, insisted on their personal and manorial privileges and resented any interference of the Muscovite Czar. They were therefore in favor of limitation of the Czar's power.

565 [643] At the same time, however, these magnates were members of an advisory council to the Czar (*Boyarskaya Duma*); in this council some of them were closer to the Czar and formed an inner circle which exerted more power and influence on the affairs of the state. The boyars were therefore not unified and did not

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his wife"; "The husband is the law unto his wife," the proverbs say. As a result of such a view of husband-wife relations, the husband had the right and duty to apply brutal force to his wife as a means of discipline, the same as to his children. "It is woman's fate to be always beaten," the people would say.[20]

The description of folk life in the eastern parts of Russia corroborate this attitude toward wives as expressed in popular sayings. The informants tell of the "miserable fate of the women" (*nepriglyadnaya uchast zheny*),[21] the constant fights of husband and wife (*muzh deretsya s zhenoi*), and the thrashing (*poboi*) to which the wives were exposed on the part of their husbands. In case of adultery the punishment for the woman was "merciless beating" (*neshchadnoe bitie*) or strangling (*udushenie*).[22]

Domostroy, which was under the influence of Church teachings, agrees with this philosophy and practices and even offers elaborate and detailed precepts to the husband about how to treat his wife ". . . if the wife is not afraid of the punishment and does not follow the instructions, the husband should beat her." According to Domostroy only if the wife is blindly and unconditionally submissive "everything will run smoothly in the family." The wife must do everything "to please her husband and God and she must listen to him with fear and awe."[23]

Domostroy was compiled primarily for the urban classes of the Czardom. Its rules reflect a certain deterioration in the status of women as they moved from the peasant to the urban level. In the cities, especially among the merchants, the women were confined to the *terem* (gyneceum) and had less opportunity to work and earn for themselves. In the urban environment, the Turco-Mongol influences were therefore reinforced.

In the rural areas the women retained their role in economic production. The peasant women were thus enabled to retain some of the the Old-Slavonic traditions; they often knew how to assert themselves and influence family affairs. In a like manner, with the increasing opportunities for schooling in urban centers, a growing number of city women emancipated themselves from family ties and became economically and socially independent. In such circumstances also many women in the urban

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[Herzen]
[Sophia Perovskaya]

with all his fellow creatures . . . I felt intense pity for the old man, but I could do nothing—he was inaccessible.[2]

The liberalizing influences which were penetrating Russia from the West reinforced urges of revolt against despotism as well as feelings of identification with suffering masses. By the second part of the nineteenth century the reaction against the tyrannical family environment and oppressing political system took often an extreme form. It is common knowledge that many Russian terrorists and assassins of the second part of the nineteenth century grew up exposed to constant family tensions and personal humiliations, and sought total destruction of society. Others were inclined to identify themselves with all who were abused. Thus we find the urge for destruction and identification with suffering as fundamental aspects of the ideology of Russian revolutionary movements. For instance, Kropotkin, the outstanding Russian Anarchist directly related his revolutionary activities to his identification with all those who were persecuted. He appealed to all who were exposed to maltreatment to rise against their oppressors:

> Ay, all of us together, we who suffer and are insulted daily, we are a multitude whom no man can number. We are the ocean that can embrace and swallow up all else. When we have but the will to do it, that very moment will justice be done; that very instant the tyrants of the earth shall bite the dust.[3]

Or take, for instance, Sophia Perovskaya, one of the plotters in the assassination of Czar Alexander II. According to her biographers her father was a willful despot "such as the patriarchal system alone could have produced," and her mother, "constantly humiliated and insulted," remained at home to protect the children. Thus, in her own family Perovskaya learned to hate oppression and developed her love for the oppressed and weak. For her mother, one of the down-trodden, she had a love "bordering upon adoration."[4] Catherine Breshkovskaya, another outstanding Russian revolutionary, who became known as the "little grandmother of the Russian revolution," tells us in her reminiscences and letters how her childhood experiences affected her feelings, thoughts, and actions throughout her life:

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diffusionist" in their general approach. Thus a number of writers attribute the ambivalent traits in Russian behavior to the influence of climate. The struggle with hostile forces of nature, say these people, has developed in the Russian man qualities of tenacity, energy, and strength; but at the same time the insuperable forces of nature have developed qualities of patience, resignation, and meekness. The former has developed hardness of character by the very bitterness of the struggle; the latter has taught him to sympathize with the afflicted and desolate.[13]

Other geographic theories point out not only the extremes in climate, but the contrasting nature of the soil as well, as a means to explain Russian behavior and Russia's life and history which are full of contrasts and contradictions. Russia's forest and marshy area is contrasted to the steppe regions as the basic foundations on which Russian society has grown.[14]

There are other students of Russia who tend to explain unbalanced traits in the Russian man on the ground of conflicting Asiatic and European cultural influences, to which Russia has been subjected throughout many centuries of its formation. This view is still shared by many. It had been advanced by a number of Russian intellectuals, among them Leo Tolstoy:

> One *Rus* has its roots in a universal, or at least in European culture. In this *Rus* the ideas of goodness, honor and freedom are understood as in the West. But there is another *Rus:* the *Rus* of the dark forests, the *Rus* of the Taiga, the animal Russia, the fanatic Russia, the Mongol-Tartar Russia. This last Russia made despotism and fanaticism its ideal. . . . Kiev *Rus* was a part of Europe, Moscow long remained negation of Europe.[15]

It would be difficult however to explain ambivalence in the behavior of individuals and peoples exclusively on the basis of such generalized influences of East and West, extremes in climate, and contrasts between forests and steppes. The circumstances which become significant as agents in personality formation have to be felt directly or indirectly on a number of levels of interpersonal and institutional relationships. Among these one of the more effective influences which shape and mold the personality of man seems to be the family environment.

Some Russian intellectual leaders and men of letters, such as

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former role as main instruments of the Czar's power to a parvenu bureaucracy and military that leaders of first opposition movements were recruited.

Even before and during the French Revolution a number of Russian landed nobility became aware of the ideas of the Revolution. They were also becoming increasingly interested in constitutional forms of government in which they could take part in their own right, not depending upon the whims of a despotic monarch. Some of these people even became dissatisfied with serfdom because of its economic inefficiency. They were also becoming increasingly impatient with absolutism because of its oppressive and degrading aspects.

Such ideas and feelings penetrated the officers' corps and a number of this military intelligentsia organized themselves into a secret society and formulated a concrete program for constitutional changes.[1] Some of these people came from high nobility. Others, especially those from the South, were impoverished nobles living on meager officer's salaries. In December, 1825 these people attempted to seize power. However, owing to ideological differences and the traditional factional splits within the dvorianstvo, the attempt of this faction of military intelligentsia to gain power was thwarted.[2] Nevertheless, this uprising of the "Decembrists," though abortive, was the beginning of increasing revolutionary activities of the intelligentsia[3] which finally brought about the overthrow of the Czardom in the Revolution of 1917.

The revolt of the Decembrists was a sign that the Czardom had already gone through such changes in its social structure that a change in its political system was overdue. The most important change in this structure was the formation of a class which, for the first time in Russia's history, became economically independent of the Czar, and which, though economically idle and not always prosperous, became intellectually very alert and also very sensitive to Western ideas.

In accordance with the traditional behavior pattern of Russian nobility, their reactions to the conditions at home and to Western thought tended to develop in the direction of two opposite extremes. One was that of the "Westerners" who were

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inclined to take a defeatist attitude and who in their defeatism tended to acknowledge little in the achievements of Russia. They took a very negative attitude toward Russia's social and political system, demanded a break with Russia's past and wanted a thorough Westernization of the country.[4]

Another group of this landed gentry tended to idealize the values of the Old-Slavonic culture and those of the pre-Petrine, pre-bureaucratized, pre-secularized, and Holy Russia. These people, who were highly learned according to Western standards, were aware of many of the inadequacies and deficiencies of the Russia of their times. At the same time they feared the expansionistic designs of the West and the infiltration of Western thought, institutions and practices. They were extremely sensitive to the criticism of Russia and the Russian people prevalent in those days among Western scholars and other Western observers.

Apparently as a reaction to such a threat and criticisms, and perhaps also because seeking compensation for their wounded pride, these people resorted to a flight into Russia's past and projected an idealized image of former values of Russia and of Slav people into the future. They were inclined to criticize the political and social system which Peter the Great had introduced and in which he followed Western patterns; they demanded a return to pre-Petrine and Orthodox Russia reestablished in all its former glory. Such a visionary image of Russia enabled these well off landowning intelligentsia to see also themselves regaining the grandeur, the self-respect, the social prestige and the political power which they were rapidly losing to a parvenu military and bureaucratic hierarchy.

These people reacted aggressively against a challenging Western world by over-stressing what they thought were superior qualities of Slavs and superior values of Russian and Slav culture. It was in this manner that a romantic view of Slav folk society and of the Russian man was developed. These ideas left a strong imprint on literature, art, philosophy and political thinking both of the nineteenth and of the twentieth century Russia and became known as "Slavophilism."

Brought up in a patriarchal family system which had condi-

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tioned them to dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships, but yearning also for the Old-Slavonic anarchic and egalitarian justice, the "Slavophils" tended to idealize especially those institutions in which paternalistic, as well as equalitarian, relationships were well established, but which they saw distintegrating in new circumstances. Such was, for instance, the *mir* institution, according to their view.

According to the Slavophil interpretation, the old Russian and Slav community was founded on the principles of obedience, mutual responsibility, social justice and equality, Christian love and humility.[5] They asserted that the Russian land commune was the foundation of an original and highly satisfactory culture which was exempt from the vices of the Western civilization, untainted with proletarianization, pauperism, and the problem of wages. The mir was an institution in which man felt as an organic and integral part of his community. There was no uncertainty, no insecurity, and no frustrations in that social system since in it the values were absolute and unchallenged.[6]

The Slavophils idealized Russia's patriarchal relationships based on absolute and unchallenged values, on faith and on total fusion of man and community, as contrasted to Western individualism, cosmopolitanism, rationalism and skepticism. They contended that reason, if separated from faith, introduces doubts, splits and conflicts between man and his society. They stressed the organic totality and harmony of the Old-Slavonic and pre-Petrine Russian society in contrast to the materialism and class strife of the West.[7]

The old pre-Petrine order which the Slavophils idealized had greatly depended upon Church support and religious sanction for its perpetuation. The Slavophils therefore feared that Western liberalism which was beginning to penetrate Russia would undermine its religious foundation. As a defense against such demoralizing influences, the Slavophils pointed out that the Western world was rapidly disintegrating because of the spreading of free thought and because of the decline of the faith. The West was a prey to Roman heathenism, they said, and it was from this traditional anti-Christian spirit that revolutions, free thought, the papacy, and the Reformation had sprung.

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Pensa gubernia rose against the landlords with the slogan "Liberty and Land" (*Zemlya i Volya*).[4] Ever since they had been enserfed and bound to the land, the peasants kept in cherished memory the *Yuriev den*, St. George's day, the day when in earlier times each peasant was allowed to leave his landlord (*vykhod*). The peasants' demand for freedom from bondage was as strong as their demand for land. When the ideas of personal, economic and political freedoms started to penetrate Russia from the European West, also, the Russian peasants, owing to a growing contact with the city and the intelligentsia, became affected by them and in consequence revolts were increasing in number. Between 1826 and 1830 there were 41 cases of peasant rebellions and between 1858–1860 there were 284 such uprisings.[5]

It is significant to note that these peasant rebellions became especially prominent and especially widely spread each time the ruling class had suffered loss of prestige, such as in case of defeat on the battlefield. During the Crimean War in 1854 and 1855 widespread peasant uprisings took place on the shores of the Volga, and in central and southwestern gubernias, the Vladimir, Ryasan, Tambov, Pensa, and Voronezh.[6] In these provinces the mir institution prevailed and periodical redistribution of land was practiced. Here also reaction against abusive and humiliating conditions of serfdom was very intense and demand for land became very strong. In these provinces the traditions of earlier revolts were fresh in the memory of the peasantry. In addition, growing density of population and increasing land shortage tended to strengthen the revolutionary attitudes of the peasants. Their hostilities turned against the landlords whom they blamed for all their ills and misfortunes.

II

The defeat in the Crimean War and the internal disturbances which followed that war forced the Czarist government to undertake measures to reorganize its armed forces and to stabilize the regime internally. After being defeated by technologically and politically superior enemies, the Czarist government finally realized that in order to improve Russia's fighting effectiveness vis-a-vis the West, higher state revenues were needed and these

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

By the end of that century[1] a faction of Russian radical intelligentsia fused the Russian Narodnik and Anarchist ideologies and practices with those of Western Socialism and formed the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries. The program of this Party was agrarian socialism and terrorism. They published leaflets and manifestos, and spread their ideas in the villages. The Socialist Revolutionaries preached open violence as a means of overthrowing the Czarist regime. They relied on the peasantry to start uprisings against the landlords and government officials, and to commit individual acts of terror to achieve their ends. Just as earlier, the Anarchists and Terrorists, the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, had a separate organization which specialized in perpetrating acts of terror:

> Where the lash and the whip are, there are also the bomb and the revolver! So has it been, so is it now, and so shall it be. When public indignation and hate become centered upon an agent of the regime whether he be placed high or low; when that agent becomes a symbol of violence and despotism; when his activity becomes harmful to the commonweal; when no means are available to render him harmless and his continued existence represents an affront to the social conscience, then is the door open to terror in the executor of the sentence pressed from the hearts of public-minded citizens.[7]

The terroristic organization of the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries enjoyed complete autonomy within the Party. It had its own sources of revenue and was independent in selection of prospective victims. In the course of a few years of its existence it perpetrated more than two hundred acts of terror. Most of these consisted of assassinations or of attempted assassinations of highly placed officials of the government, including a member of the Imperial Family, two Ministers of Interior, thirty-nine governors, seventy-four ranking officers of the army and the navy, and fifty-two high police officials. Seventy percent of these acts of terror were perpetrated by workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors.[8]

The Socialist Revolutionaries relied mainly on middle and poor peasant strata. They attempted to widen the gap between the better-off and the poor, to set up the lowest strata against the upper, to stir class hatred against the kulaks. In their manifestos, leaflets, and speeches, the Socialist Revolutionaries harangued

[1] [i.e. 19th century -- Analyst]

6; Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

The landed gentry had for ages kept the peasants in slavery, misery and contempt. The peasants, feeling humiliated and wronged, had risen against the landlords, burning manorial mansions, looting estates, and massacring their masters whenever the power of the nobility appeared to be waning. Since the traditions of Russian landed squires were those of service nobility, not of manorial aristocrats, their interests and ambitions did not prepare them to take a personal interest in either their lands or serfs. The mansions on the estates of these rural gentry were located on the outskirts of the peasant villages and except for the house servants there was little if any contact with the world of the peasantry. Since Peter the Great the differences between these two worlds became also very visible in dress, manners, standard of living, as well as in views of life, education, ideas and morals. When, after the reforms of Peter the Great, French ways were aped by the dvorianstvo, and French language accepted by them as a means of social intercourse, the abyss between the two worlds became even more unbridgeable.

Similarly the bureaucracy and the revolutionary intelligentsia were two violently opposed camps with little possibility of cooperation between them. And while secondary schools and the universities were producing increasing numbers of lawyers, teachers, architects, journalists, artists, and literati, the tension between the bureaucracy and these intelligentsia developed into an intense and open enmity. Extreme emotionalism nursed on the family level was only heightened in such conditions. Each of these groups therefore showed a great deal of dogmatism; they tended to be implacable, irreconcilable, and full of malevolent criticism of each other. To the revolutionary intelligentsia the bureaucrats were the "corrupted lackeys of the dynasts to be killed like beasts." To the government officials all the liberal intelligentsia were the "mortal enemies" of the Czar. They represented the "sedition" and had to be "mercilessly annihilated."[12] Thus while the intelligentsia relentlessly attacked the bureaucracy in a spirit of destructive criticism, the bureaucracy responded by persecuting the liberals and the revolutionaries with such a blind passion and hatred that the opposition had to go underground or emigrate abroad and organize its war from out-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

They believe that politics is the business of the government, the business of the Central Committee, and as for the writers that their business is not to interest themselves in politics. They believe that if a man wrote well, artistically, and beautifully, one should let it go, in spite of the rotten passages which disorientate our youth and poison it. We demand that our comrades, both the supervisors of literature and the writers themselves must be guided by something without which the Soviet regime cannot exist, and that is politics. Lenin wrote: "Literature must become Party-minded . . . Against bourgeois literary careerism and individualism . . . socialist proletariat must put forward the principle of party literature . . ." Comrade Stalin described our literati as the engineers of human souls. It is necessary therefore that our literature, our literary magazines, . . . should help the Party and the people to educate the youth in the spirit of supreme devotion to the Soviet regime . . .[16]

Special attention is paid in this respect to dramatic art because of its popularity and effect. It is stated therefore that "a playwright must be a politician" and that the producer and actor must be "politicians" of the same stature. Appointment of a group of actors for a Soviet play "is a political question for the producer . . . and how the hero must be played in a Soviet play is a political question for the actor."[17] In the same manner in painting, sculpture and music the Party demands "Soviet realism" which means that the artists and the musicians must have recourse to "topical themes and images of contemporary Soviet reality" and must discard "formalistic trickery and subjectivist insularity."[18]

Accordingly any alien, especially Western, influence on Soviet thinking must be completely eliminated. Western philosophy of liberalism and free individual expression could undermine Bolshevik endeavors to create a completely regimented and submissive "new man." Hence a crusade against "cosmopolitanism, objectivism and other manifestations of bourgeois ideology"[19] has been initiated together with the severance of all closer contacts of Soviet intellectuals with the Western world.[20]

Such policies of complete subordination of one's thoughts, feelings and behavior to the needs of the Party demand not only strict censorship of all published matter[21] but dictate even the use of statistics to suit the objectives of the ruling class. A ruling

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There is also a deliberate policy on the part of the ruling class
177 626 609 to prevent personal contact and exchange of ideas between the Soviet subjects and the foreigners. In this way the Bolshevik Party is performing the same role in the social and psychological development of Russia as the Orthodox Church has done in the past. Xenophobia and a deliberate avoidance of strangers easily develops in such circumstances, traits which have been noticed by all the observers of Soviet society. Xenophobia is so outstanding in the Soviet world that it has been noticed even by the most casual and most friendly visitors. Soviet authorities have done their best to encourage this feeling. "We were completely cut off [625] from the great bulk of the Russian people by constant police surveillance, by propaganda and by the threat of punishment."[7] "The air itself was clothed with hate and suspicion . . . penetrated even to the child world. . . . Our next door neighbours, too, were grilled, and though we had known them for years, they took to avoiding us utterly."[8] As a rule, only police informers are assigned to foreigners as servants because everyone else is afraid to work for them.

517 647 In such conditions original ideas and independent intellectual pursuits are fraught with great risks and it is often the less original, the mediocre, the cynical, the shrewd and the unscrupulous that take the lead. Some independent and creative people in such circumstances tend to become apathetic, to withdraw, to sever social contacts and put an end to their creative activities.[9] Others tend to seek safety in bureaucratic routine and in avoidance of initiative and responsibility. For each decision they tend to cover themselves by presenting the matter to various committees, or by seeking the Party's advice, thus letting others shoulder the responsibility.

517 665 The social consequences of such a development are then manifested in a pronounced anti-intellectualism, bureaucratism and vigilantism. The ascendancy of anti-intellectualistic and watchdog trends in Soviet society is well expressed, for instance, in the change in the composition of the membership of the Politbure. In this topmost ruling body the more intellectual types of revolutionaries have been gradually purged and replaced by the activists, the semi-educated professional conspirators, Party organizers, agitators and former security officials.

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of the outstanding tenets in the philosophy of Russian monasticism whose history is even longer than that of the Czardom was charitable love. Many sects of the *Raskolniki* propagated and practiced principles of humaneness. The Slavophils were especially prominent in advocating the return to an idealized stateless society of benevolent paternalism where brotherhood, Christian love, and compassion would reign. The "Westerners" endeavored to introduce into Russia Western concepts of justice and tolerance, and a humanistic, libertarian and juridical state. Russian belles-lettres, Russian school textbooks, as well as laws and regulations in the nineteenth century and up to the beginning of World War I, bear witness to this trend toward Westernization and humanism.

In Soviet Russia, on the other hand, after a brief initial period of reaction against the old regime which led toward an emphasis on all-human values and equalitarian brotherhood, soon the trend of events pushed the Bolshevik ideology in the opposite direction. The determination of a ruling clique of professional conspirators to maintain themselves in power by any and all means dictated the emphasis on the internal and external "threats" which would justify the intensification of internal "measures of security," and of external aggression. Thus vigilantism and war preparedness, and expansion of internal and external Bolshevik power, became the main base of the policies of the ruling class.[25] Such policies had to be constantly reinforced by a deliberate incitement to hatred and destruction.

The image of Soviet society as being in a constant state of war, not only against foreign enemies but against internal oppositionists, deviationists, spies, saboteurs, and remnants of bourgeois mentality has been determined by a social structure which the Bolshevik rulers themselves have created, but which makes their own power uncertain and precarious. In such circumstances Lenin's idea of a life and death struggle with the "class enemies," the idea that "it's them or us" (*Kto kogo*) has provided the main motivating force of the Party's internal and foreign policies. Fearing to be annihilated unless they themselves destroy their enemies, conscious that they have "either to rule or to die," the Bolsheviks have ruthlessly applied the principle of "obedience

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CHAPTER VII

RUSSIA

THE important fact about Russian civilization is that it is Byzantine in its origin, and that in spite of what Toynbee refers to as Russia's "fits of Westernization", its convulsions due to the injection of ideas from the West, (e.g., under Peter the Great), and again in its adoption of Marxism, Byzantine it has remained.

If anyone cares to dispute this about Russian civilization as a whole, he can hardly do so about the Russian Church in particular. In the eleventh century the Russians, or rather their Scandinavian rulers, took over Orthodoxy as one whole thing from Constantinople. It was the reverse process of what happened in the Roman Empire when the State adopted Christianity after it had largely won the people. In Russia the princes accepted Christianity and then gradually imposed it upon their subjects. Christianity had a thousand years' experience behind it, and Orthodoxy had reached its final form when Russia embraced it. No disputes about fundamental Christian doctrines disturbed the Russian Church. The Trinitarian and Christological controversies were settled, the marriage of Christian revelation with Greek philosophy had been consummated, and the conflict to settle the relations between religion and art had been fought out. Together with the liturgical books and all the external apparatus of worship, Russia took over a fixed body of doctrine, a monastic system, a style of building and ornamenting churches, and a body of legal principles.

In all these matters Russia was to introduce modifications and to set a Russian stamp upon them, for in spite of its method of adoption Orthodoxy entered into the soul of the

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Russian people and became its very life. But the Byzantine character of Russian religion was conserved. As we have already seen the Russian Church was for long dependent upon Constantinople. Its literature consisted of translations or imitations of Byzantine writings. Its Metropolitan was a Greek consecrated in Constantinople and sent to rule the Russian Church. The two exceptions provided by the appointment in Russia of Hilarion in 1051 and Clement in 1147 are regarded as isolated cases which did not impair the theory and change the practice, which held good till 1448.

Politically the Russians lived for a century and a half under Mongol domination. From the battle of Kalka in 1223 the onslaughts of these mysterious, hideous and inhuman hordes, suddenly appearing from whence no man knew, burning, killing, capturing, had struck terror into the hearts of the dwellers on the Russian plain. Kiev, the cradle of Russian Christianity, the ancient and beautiful stronghold on the Dnieper, was sacked in 1240, and one by one the rest of the Russian towns speedily succumbed. Novgorod alone escaped, protected by its remote situation behind its marshes and forests, and by the courage, self-sacrifice and political wisdom of its prince, St. Alexander Nevsky. The Tartar rule bore less heavily upon the Church than upon the State. When their victory was assured the Tartars were at first, in matters of religion, easy-going pagans, and so long as they received their tribute, did not interfere unduly with the religion of the people they conquered. And as was also to be the case later on with the Balkan peoples under the Turk, it was their religion and their Church which, in the days of social and political disaster, saved the Russians from complete despair and preserved among them some sense of fundamental unity in spite of all their factions and divisions.

The Russian Church was the nurse of the growing national spirit of Russia. In the person of one of its great national saints, Sergius of Radonezh, who founded the Monastery of the Holy Trinity near Moscow, for centuries the citadel of Russian religion and national aspiration, it inspired the movement which thrust back the Tartar domination. In 1380 Dmitry of the Don, whose building of stone walls round Moscow had been a challenging gesture to which the Tartars were not slow

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excommunicated the Old Believers, deposed Nikon himself and banished him into monastic seclusion.

The line of Patriarchs continued until 1700 when Adrian the last of the original succession died. By this time the dynamic personality of Peter the Great had appeared on the scene and inaugurated a new period in Russian history. In building the city on the Neva which bore his own name he opened his famous "window upon Europe" through which a hurricane blew which disturbed, scattered and rearranged many things in the life of the Russians. Peter admired all things Western and was determined to make Russia a great nation after the pattern of the West. So far as the Russian Church was concerned Peter's reforms had little if any effect in the sphere of doctrine, but he saw to it that bishops were appointed who sympathized or at least were ready to co-operate with his critical ideas on traditional Russian customs and who were willing to acquiesce in the subservience of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to his own autocratic will. Most important of all, he permitted no election of a successor to the Patriarch Adrian, and twenty-one years later abolished the Patriarchate altogether. The formal instrument by which this change was made was entitled the "Ecclesiastical Regulation". There were to be no more Patriarchs in Russia, instead the supreme authority in the Church was to be vested in a body formed on the German Lutheran model and known as the Holy Governing Synod.

This was no synod in the ordinary ecclesiastical sense of the word, but a committee whose members were appointed and dismissed at the will of the Tsar. In addition a secular official called the Procurator was appointed by the Emperor. This layman was not indeed a member of the synod, but his function was to supervise all its proceedings, and without his consent the synod could enact nothing, nor even choose what matters it should discuss. The bishops were dragooned into acceptance of this system, completely foreign as it was to the spirit of the Russian Church. Yet Peter's organization lasted until the collapse of the Empire in 1917.

It is an eloquent testimony to the dynamic force of Peter's personality that the impetus of his reforming movement survived his death. But it introduced deep cleavages and

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confusion into Russian life. The Court and governing classes in St. Petersburg became the least Russian of all sections of the nation, indeed they were more German than Russian, and for long the reform of Peter affected only the educated classes of society. Behind the St. Petersburg façade was the great mass of the people who continued to regard everything Western with suspicion and even abhorrence. Nevertheless, the movement gradually made headway and in due course the interplay of Western ideas and native Russian thought was to produce modern Russian culture and especially the astonishing achievement of Russian nineteenth-century literature.

The "Westernizers" who believed that the destiny of Russia was to follow the path of the West, and the "Slavophils" who put their faith in the Orthodox tradition of native Russian culture, sharpened their wits upon each other in drawing-room discussions and set forth their views in books. But behind all this and but little affected by it, the religious life of the Russian people went on as before. The official Church and the majority of the hierarchy supported the Government even if they disapproved of things Western. Tsar and Metropolitan needed each other, for each believed that in the preservation of the other his own well-being was involved.

But the schism inherited from the seventeenth century still continued and the "Old Believers", among whom was conserved much that was most profound and sincere in the traditional religion of Russia, would have no truck with the St. Petersburg Empire which was anathema to them, nor with the official Church which had come to terms with it. There were in course of time many groups of these interesting schismatics, some of whom had a clergy and some had not. If sections of them degenerated into sects which were psychologically abnormal, the bulk of them, consolidated by persecution and fanatically tenacious of their beliefs, upheld a high standard of conduct and their communities were a storehouse of many significant and beautiful elements of Russian Orthodoxy. Although after 1800 some availed themselves of more generous terms offered them for reconciliation to the Church, the Old Believers exist to this day as a well-organized body of some millions under their own bishops.

1: Fedotov S-4 (no date) 1954 RF1 Great Russia RF1

has its own key to Christianity, or at least its own nuances of it. There is no need, however, to distinguish between fine shades of Christianity in the Russian soul; all the contradictions stand out with stark boldness. Just try to express in one formula the religiosity of St. Sergius and the Archpriest Avvakum, that of the Metropolitan Philaret and of Dostoevsky. For good measure, add to these Greek-Orthodox folklore and the religion of Tolstoy!

The opinion is widely held that the Russian people are set apart from other European peoples by the peculiar intensity of their religiosity. Actually this impression derives from the fact that the twentieth century finds Russia and the rest of Europe in different acts of the religious-historical drama. In Russia, among the great mass of the people, the Middle Ages lived on right down to the middle of the nineteenth century. The Europe of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries would offer a closer analogy to imperial Russia. But the collapse of Russian medievalism was stormy and destructive in the extreme. Today the attitude towards religion, both on the part of the masses and of the intelligentsia, is not markedly different from that in other European countries.

. . . And now let us turn to our basic problem: which historical layers of the Russian soul have been destroyed by the Revolution and which will survive it? The answer now should be clear. The extermination of the old educated class and the suppression of all the sources that fed it were bound to remove the two uppermost strata from the spiritual structure of Russian society. The man of Empire and the intellectual perished together with the "bourgeoisie," the upper layer of the old society. As to the imperial type, the Russian of universal culture, some relics of it still survive within the ranks of the "specialists." Some time ago, the [Soviet] government belatedly realized that the liquidation of the upper cultural stratum was doing irreparable harm to technical progress. The surviving old-timers became the object of special attention. However, they were valued only in their capacity of specialists in some narrow field; as has been wittily said, golden watches were used to drive in nails. Their broad culture, no longer needed by anyone and even offensive to the new ruling class, still subsists within some tiny groups or even families. The new educated class produces exclusively specialists who often lack the rudiments of a general culture, even plain literacy. On the other hand, never since the Muscovite tsardom has Russia been fenced off from Europe by such a high wall. This wall has been erected not only by censorship and

1: Fedotov S-4 (no date) 1954 RF1 Great Russia RF1

178 181 517 the ban on foreign travel, but also by inordinate conceit and outright contempt for decaying bourgeois Europe. Here lies the essential difference between the semi-literate technical intelligentsia of Tsar Peter and a similar intelligentsia under Stalin. That of Stalin has deliberately turned its back on Europe and in so doing has cut short the line of the "universal" Russian.

More complex was the fate of the intelligentsia proper. By the time the revolution broke out, this extraordinary formation had already lost its former vitality. After 1905 the intelligentsia began to dissolve, losing its identity within the whole of the "cultured" class. It was unable to survive the collapse of its political mysticism, desecrated by the pathetic Russian constitutionalism; the new brilliant religious-philosophical culture of the Russian renaissance of the twentieth century demoralized it with its many seductions; the war drew it into the stream of a national consciousness new to it. By 1917 the revolutionary enthusiasm of the intelligentsia was already a warmed-up dish. Its roots did not go deep, and the size of this social group, the only one to give loyal support to the Provisional Government, had shrunk considerably. The October Revolution hit it with all its weight. Dedicated to principles and uncompromising, the intelligentsia was utterly unable to acquiesce in the triumph of brute force. No wonder that the struggle against the new rulers bled it white. The few who survived either went into exile or filled Soviet prisons and concentration camps. Some managed to adjust themselves to the conditions of Soviet bureaucracy and turned into "specialists," gradually losing the last features of their noble "order." The mills of a brutal way of life were grinding without mercy. In the words of a Russian proverb—"to live with wolves one has to howl with them." Those unable to adjust themselves were cast out of the new life. The new intelligentsia now emerging is organically devoted to the Soviet régime; it feels a blood kinship with both the people and the ruling class. And for this reason it can never—not even in opposition, not even (let us anticipate the future) engaged in a revolutionary struggle against those in power—degenerate into that rootlessly-ideological, extremist, and eschatological type, let alone the dedicated fraternity we call the Russian intelligentsia.

However, this defunct Russian type is not entirely without successors. Sectarianism and spiritual journeying have not died out in the people, as insistently testified by the "godless" press. The Revolution has even given rise to some new sectarian formations,

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usually of an eschatological nature. On the other hand, part of the old intelligentsia have found a spiritual foothold in the Church. Here the last remnants of the vanished "order" can quench their spiritual thirst from the same spring that, unknown to them, had generated it. Within the Church they have, of course, preserved their psychological characteristics: their restlessness and extremism, their thirst for an integrated, consecrated life. Here they find themselves on common ground with the searchers and pilgrims of the people. One should keep in mind that the spiritual barrier between Church and dissenters is no longer what it was before the Revolution. Persecution has brought the various creeds closer together. The remnants of the old intelligentsia act as a ferment upon the whole religious mass. So far, however, this force has either been completely eliminated from all constructive cultural work or else has voluntarily turned away from it. Insofar as Russian culture of the immediate future is concerned, the old type of intellectual is definitely extinct.

What remains is the Muscovite with his vague ancestral heritage. The masses of the people who, molded by Soviet schools, produce the new human being, until quite recently lived and thought after the Muscovite pattern. The most radical ideological upheaval is powerless wholly to remake a spiritual mold. In the internationalist, the Marxist of today, whoever he may be, it is easy to recognize the village lad, the factory worker, as we remember them from the turn of the century. Paradoxical as it may sound, *homo Europaeo-Americanus* seems closer to Muscovy than to the more recent Petersburg era. The paradox is easily explained. *Homo Europaeo-Americanus* has little claim on the rich heritage of Europe's culture. He emerged in Europe in the period of her barbarization and assimilated a civilization already narrowed down to its athletic, technical, military contents. The savage of our time, technician or athlete, is the product of the disintegration of ancient culture going hand in hand with the absorption of barbarians into the civilized world. The Muscovite who, biding his time in rural Russia, outlasted two centuries of imperial culture, does not need any great effort to keep step with a Europe that has come to curse the last two centuries of her history. What might seem really amazing is the ease with which religion has been repudiated. But this is a special, highly complex theme. As to everything else, the Muscovite lout only had to be shaken up and kicked around for a while, to be jolted out of his indolence and sluggishness. What the tsarist barracks once did to

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leaders of an organized opposition to the Czarist autocracy were recruited.

By the nineteenth century, this landed gentry opposition to the Czarist regime took two main forms. One was pro-Western, seeking the reconstruction of the Czardom along humanistic, libertarian and juridical lines, brought about by the ideas of Humanism and Renaissance, by the Reformation and by the French and American Revolutions. The other was anti-Western, reacting against Western rationalism and materialism, against Western "heathenism" and cosmopolitanism, and against the Western system of impersonal formalism and open class strife which was beginning to infiltrate Russia.

In an attempt to bridge the widening cultural and ideological chasm between the ruling classes and the common folk, the anti-Westerners exalted the anarchic community relations and equalitarian and humanist values of the Old-Slavonic world and of the Russian peasant commune. But they also emphasized the value of the Church-State unity, and sought a Messianic redemption of the whole world through the absorption of the State by the Orthodox Church and reestablishment of a paternalistic system of community relations ruled by collective conscience and based on Christian love and compassion.

In the meantime, that is, by the second part of the nineteenth century, with the growing impoverishment of the rural gentry and with increasing educational opportunities for all strata of the population, the ranks of the educated classes (*intelligentsia*) were being swollen by many declassed people as well as by increasing numbers of young people from the families of clergymen, of lower government employees, of petty tradesmen and other lower classes (*raznochintsy*). Even though Czardom at the time was still governmentalized to a high degree, it was not totally regimented. Moreover, by the second part of the nineteenth century, under the pressure of the West, and in order to match the military, the educational, the industrial and the social levels of the Western world, Czardom abolished serfdom and made other concessions in the direction of a libertarian and a juridical state. This trend of events reinforced the penetration of Western political and social philosophies which tended

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[XIX century]

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to undermine the existing Church, State and family system based on self-abnegation and on unconditional submission.

As a result,[1] a number of raznochintsy intelligentsia, freed of fear and awe before God, the Czar and the Father, but feeling thwarted in their political ambitions and socially rejected, expressed their dissatisfaction and their hostility toward the existing conditions of inequality and oppression by developing ideologies of denial and destruction. Their aim was to reject and to annihilate all the basic institutions and authorities on which Czardom rested: the family, religion, property, the power of the Father, the authority of the Church, as well as the rule of the Czar. These revolutionaries denied God and conscience as well as any existing ethics or rules of conventional conduct. They sought to destroy Czardom "root and branch" and to seize power for themselves by all and any means. Their professed objective was to establish on the earth an all-human stateless society of totally free men living in a system of equalitarian justice and fraternal love.

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Thus, while seeking to reestablish the anarchic and group-oriented values of the early Slav folk and of the Russian peasant commune, these revolutionaries exhibited also Messianic power-centered urges and destructive drives common in the ruling classes of Czardom. Hence a number of these people became professional conspirators, advocating establishment of an underground organization with rigidly centralized total power commanding expendability of its members, and demanding their complete dedication to the cause of the revolution. They considered this system of organization to be the only effective way to fight the Czarist rule. In this "mortal struggle," these dedicated young men and women tolerated no opposition or differences of opinion, propagated extreme hatred and pitilessness in dealing with all adversaries, organized assassinations, mutinies, strikes and mass risings, thus preparing the ground for the ascendancy of Bolshevism.

The Bolsheviks were a group of professional conspirators. In common with Messianic and power-oriented aims of all raznochintsy, the Bolsheviks endeavored to seize absolute and total power exclusively for themselves, by any and all means, as a way

1 [i.e. of undermining due to penetration of western influences -- Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

These feuds did not affect only the relations between local lords; intense strifes and vendettas were flourishing within the family of each one of the princes. Struggle for power and expansion often caused fratricidal warfare among the brothers after the death of their father. The old chronicles and other historical documents are full of examples of such family feuds. Murder, torture and blinding among the brothers and even between fathers and sons apparently were frequent.[20] The life of each one of these local potentates was spent in perpetual warfare, in feuding, and in plundering adventures.[21]

Power-thirstiness, factionalism, and rule of crude force prevailed among these petty rulers in no lesser way than among their nomadic predecessors and overlords. The internal system of rule on the domains of each prince was not more advanced. As the Russian written laws of that period testify, the killing of prince's representatives on the part of the peasants must have been frequent. City populace often rose in riots and revolutionary outbursts against the oppressive conditions imposed by these lords.[22] It was such conditions of physical, social and emotional insecurity that favored perpetuation of the institutions, practices, and other behavior traits which were introduced by the nomadic invaders and conquerors.

III

The changes that in the course of several centuries were taking place in social and psychological structure of the Old-Slavonic world as a result of the imposition of the rule of the nomadic warriors seem to have been well reflected in the Great-Russian folklore, especially in its epic legends. The military, the peasants, the burghers, their conflicts and their character traits are personified in these narratives by a number of popular heroes.[23]

The general picture which these folk documents present shows that the social stability which existed in the Old-Slavonic society was completely shattered as a result of nomadic invasions and conquests. The invading warriors not only caused great havoc but they provoked rapid and fundamental changes in the structure of the old society. Moreover the social disorganization and the political and economic instability that resulted out of these

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

events were apparently manifested in a widespread sense of emotional and physical insecurity which fostered destructive aggression and mass violence. In such circumstances extreme self-seeking and dominance-submission relationships tended to substitute the Old-Slavonic egalitarian and anarchic system.

The plight of the Slavonic peasant strata has been symbolized in these products of folk imagination in the person of Mikula Selyaninovich ("the Villager's son") and in that of Ilya of Murom, who is often referred to as "the peasant's son," and as "the old Cossak." Mikula is pictured as a superb plowman and fie[illegible] la[illegible]orer. He has a keen knowledge of husbandry and possess[illegible] the best mares and the best farming equipment.[34] He is endowed with such tremendous strength and is entrusted with such heavy responsibility that he carries "the weight of the whole world" in a little shoulder bag. This villager, however, comes into conflict with the city people over the custom duties and over the haughty manner of the urbanites. The tolls imposed by the city are too high. Moreover, the burghers treat Mikula in a despicable and undignified way. So he is enraged and loses his self-control:

> I was in the city no longer ago than the day before yesterday,
> On my light bay mare,
> I carried thence two whole bags of salt,
> Two bags of salt of forty pud each.
> The folk there are no better than robbers.
> They demand two kopecks toll;
> But I had a leaded whip for toll
> I paid their two kopecks toll.
> Whoever was upright I left seated
> And whoever was seated I left prostrate,
> And whoever lay prostrate would never rise again.[35]

As a result of such conflicts, Mikula finally came to the conclusion that tilling was not profitable any more. He found that there were other and better ways which would guarantee to one safety, economic gain, and self-respect. So he gave up husbandry and joined Volga Buslavlevich, the bandit-warrior. In his new role in which he uses great physical power not as a productive force, but as a means of coercion, he makes a strong imprint on

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the mind of the burghers. As a result, the city folk changed their attitude and instead of haughty bearing they now "bow low" to Mikula.

Ilya of Murom, the other hero of peasant origin, is portrayed as "being crippled" for many years. Then suddenly he acquires gigantic strength from two sources: from psalm singers and from Svyatogor, a hero of supernatural origin and superhuman powers. By means of this acquired strength and by employing cunning, Ilya gets rid of Svyatogor and, like Mikula, joins the bandit-warriors. However, the professional warriors do not accept Ilya on equal terms because of his low origin. But by constant demonstration of superior physical strength employed as a means of intimidation Ilya is finally accepted by the ruling military aristocracy. After a terrifying demonstration of physical strength which shook the whole town to its foundation Prince Vladimir became so panicky that he hurried a messenger to humbly invite Ilya to a prince's feast:

> Knock upon the door five times
> Then cross yourself in the prescribed manner
> Make your bow as it is enjoined,
> Offer humble salutations, and beat with your forehead
> Upon the floor of bricks,
> Upon damp mother earth herself,
> Before the old Cossack, Ilya of Murom.[26]

It seems clear that in these two heroes of peasant origin we find reflected the vicissitudes to which the Old-Slavonic society has been exposed after it has been subjugated to warriors and traders. The moral and productive values of the peasants, symbolized by Mikula's strength, his skill in productiveness, his social responsibility and feelings of dignity and equality, were rapidly declining in the changing conditions. The peasants became an easy prey of the new ruling classes. The result was moral corruption on the part of the soil cultivators, disinterest in land, and an urge to revolt. The peasantry became "crippled." First they expected help from supernatural forces. Then finally they began to rely on guile and on terror to protect themselves. They realized that in the new political atmosphere it was superior physical force which was admired and respected. Many peasants

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therefore were leaving the land to move to the cities or to join the bandits as traders and warriors.

These bandit-warriors are pictured in the Russian folk epic as ruling by such terrifying violence and dreadful terror and craft that all the living beings on the earth flee and hide, or lie prostrate, and even the earth itself shrinks and the sun sinks away at their appearance:

> The red sun was sinking
> Behind the dark woods, behind the broad sea,
> Multitudes of stars studded the clear sky
> When Lord Volga Buslavlevich was born
> In holy Russia.
> When Volga Buslavlevich was five years of age,[27]
> Lord Volga Buslavlevich went forth over the damp earth
> Damp mother earth was rent,
> The wild beasts fled away up to the clouds;
> And the fish scattered in the blue sea:
> And Lord Volga Buslavlevich went
> To learn all craft and wisdom,
> All the various languages;[28]
>
> Volga grew in strength and stature.
> He chose for himself a bold druzhina,
> Of thirty youths save one,
> He, Volga making the thirtieth.
> His dear 'uncle' bestowed upon him,
> Gracious Vladimir of Royal Kiev,
> Three cities with their peasants.[29]

The hero knights of these legendary *Byliny* (the events of the olden days) when they find themselves in circumstances which appear to be under their control, are likely to be boastful, quarrelsome, disrespectful, sensitive to rank and inclined to belittle the strength of their adversaries. In such circumstances they spend their time either in plundering, fighting, maiming and killing, or in feasting, debauchery, and drunkenness.[30]

The extreme power-compulsion and delusions of grandeur of these supermen, as well as their complete lack of self-control, are well symbolized in folk narratives about Svyatogor. This hero has an irresistible urge to bring the heaven and the earth to-

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Tver the ancient,
Tver the wealthy,
And the two brothers,
The two bold Borisovichi.
At once young Schelkun
Stabbed his son,
Filled a bowl of his blood,
His warm blood,
And drank up the bowl of that warm blood:
And straightway Tsar Azvych
Bestowed upon him
Tver the ancient,
Tver the wealthy,
And the two brothers,
The two bold Borisovichi.[32]

However, as soon as such "Good bold youths who have robbed and slain" find themselves in circumstances which appear to be unsurmountable, they are inclined to become cowardly, are overwhelmed with gloom and fear, and tend to rely on crouching servility and on guile and cunning as a means of self-preservation. When in such a mood they picture their enemies as superhuman, beastly beings possessing supernatural strength, thus justifying the lack of fair play in dealing with them.

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It is possible that this radical change of social structure was projected into the new folk concept of the supernatural world. The Old-Slavonic fairyland inhabited predominantly by benevolent spirits was apparently transformed under the new conditions into a demonland full of beings with terrifying and macabre qualities. Blood-sucking vampires, heart-devouring witches, fiends that feast on human flesh, and other murderous and rapacious beings similar to those found in the underworld of the steppe nomads replaced the Old-Slavonic helpful deities and moderately malignant spirits.

In the same manner the Old-Slavonic benevolent wizards apparently evolved into rapacious and slaughterous witches who specialize in child eating. The Old-Slavonic beautiful and benevolent water spirits developed into monsters who bewitch people, especially the youths, and then draw them down into the deep waters to put them to death. The Old-Slavonic friendly and

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

attractive forest fairies who used to help travelers changed into beastly demons who trick wayfarers into making them lose their way and then cause them to perish.

The imposition of the rule of nomadic warriors over the soil cultivators brought about not only insecurity of life and property, but disintegration of the old ways of life and of the old morals. Social disintegration favored detachment from the group, caused decline in group identification and solidarity, tended to increase self-concern, fostered destructive aggressiveness and anti-social behavior. Hence, drunkenness, debauchery, orgiastic practices, together with robbing and killing, became prominent. According to Fedotov, the old Christian sermons are so full of invectives against such behavior that some studies of Russia's religious life consider that these themes formed the main content of anti-pagan literature of those days.[33]

Perhaps as a result of such social disorganization the Old-Slavonic Goddess of Love (Lada) was relegated into the background and obscurity. Instead, male gods of bacchanalian passion and Dionysiac orgy (Iarilo, Pereplut) became outstanding in folk imagination.[34] A phallic rite was observed at wedding banquets and sexual promiscuity during the feast gathering of young people became prominent, according to the old sermons.[35]

It was under these conditions of social disorganization and insecurity, and ascendency of power-oriented patriarchal system over the old stateless, semi-matriarchal and equalitarian order that the attitudes toward women changed radically. Mounting hostilities generated by conditions of strife and insecurity can be vented not only through inordinate sex life, alcoholism and delinquency, but also by aggressive behavior against all the unprotected and the weak. And just as sex life tended to take the form of lechery, and love that of uncontrolled passion, the attitudes toward the women changed from respect and reserve to that of scorn and contempt. They came to be looked upon as impure and unclean physically and morally.[36]

It is possible that the new unsatisfactory social conditions might have also affected the concept of the Christian God and attitude toward death. Not only did popular imagination in conditions of disorganization and insecurity tend to see in this

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

God a wrathful, irate and revengeful Old Man, but the Church leaders themselves, affected by the conditions of their society, were inclined to emphasize the fear aspect of the Christian God rather than his love and compassion. They also tended to preoccupy themselves with death, describing it as a terror-striking event. In some early Church sermons even the messengers of God, the angels, were represented in a terrifying manner:

> Then, two angels appear, sent by God for the soul. As soon as the soul has seen them, it will be horrified; all its image and beauty and face will change; feet and hands will be torpid, and the hearing as with the tongue will be chained by silence; and man will be all sorrowful and invalid and woeful; and afterwards, appears death. And then, with a terrible pain the soul will issue from the body . . .[37]

These feelings of anxieties and fears, combined perhaps with a strong sense of guilt of the Church leaders, are manifested in the life histories of most Russian saints. These people, as portrayed in their hagiographies, were being constantly threatened by temptations and intimidations of dreadful demons. Hallucinations about demons became very frequent among the monks, and struggle against demons became one of the main aspects of ascetic life. Whole herds of these fiends were sometimes seen by the ascetics. The demons would disguise themselves as humans, as angels, and even as Christ, or they would appear in their true beastly form.[38]

Consistent with this gloomy and terrifying view of life and death was also an apocalyptic picture of the end of the world as pictured by Church leaders. According to the old Russian sermons the end of the world was very near and it was to ensue in fire and floods of blood brought about by a wrathful and revengeful God, (a picture that strongly reminds one of the vision of the end of the world found in the beliefs of the steppe nomads of Central Asia):

> Then undying fire will flow from the East to the West, devouring mountains, stones, trees, and the sea. The firmament will be dried up and turned like brick bats, and all existing things, except men, will melt in a like way by the rate of the fire. All the earth will be burned; and through this undying fire all mankind has to pass.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

There will be no place to run and hide oneself; it will be woe and pain without comfort, particularly for the repenting sinners. They will see the anger of God, full of rage and wrath, bearing the woe of revenge.[1]

Also the folk religious poetry began to emphasize the gloomy aspects of *post-mortem* life, especially that of the *Strashny Sud*— The Terrible Judgment. It was perhaps in such conditions that Destiny, together with the Truth, became dissociated from the idea of a supreme Justice that reigned everywhere and came to be looked upon as being subject to the caprice of arbitrary and uncontrollable forces that now dominated the Universe.

Such circumstances might have meant quick disintegration of this society, not unlike the rapid dissolution of the Turco-Mongol empires, had it not been for agents that favored the stabilization and the perpetuation of this social system in spite of its internal weaknesses. One of the most important instruments in this process of social consolidation was the Byzantine Church.

5
THE BYZANTINE CHURCH AND MUSCOVITE MILITARY THEOCRACY

I

FOLLOWING the traditions established by the Roman Caesars, the Emperor of Byzantium (Basileus) was looked upon as the supreme war-lord, the sole legislator, and the chief justice, as well as the universal ruler. Therefore, the Church, which was subjected to the absolute and autocratic will of the Emperor, developed a religious ideology in accordance with the dominant political philosophy and practices of the Empire.

The Emperor assumed the duty of defending the Church, combating heresy, and spreading Orthodox faith throughout all the globe. In return, God had promised him universal dominion

1 [cf. ref. 116, pp. 52-55.--Analyst]

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565 423 701 dependency of the land recipients upon the Czar, because the Czar could at any time withdraw the grant.

642 565 423 By means of the pomestie system of land tenure which prevailed in the second part of the sixteenth century the Muscovite rulers obtained both of their objectives: unlimited power and permanent war preparedness. Once the owners of the estates became dependent upon the Czar for the possession of their lands, any opposition on their part could be crushed easily, especially if the caste solidarity and the development of an *esprit de corps* among these people could be prevented. By the end of the seventeenth century the hereditary land tenure and the conditional land tenure were equalized. As a result all nobility became service nobility (*dvorianstro*), dependent upon the Czar for their lands. All therefore became *holopy*, the slaves of the supreme *gosudar* (master). Neither type of land holder could alienate his land either by sale, exchange, or any other process. The principle was that "He who owned land should serve the Czar."

178 642 565 Thus, by the end of the seventeenth century, by making the nobility economically dependent and having the support of the Church, the Muscovite Czars were enabled to eliminate all potential opposition to their rule and to perpetuate their despotic power. After the nobility was subdued and regimented, the other classes, including the clergy, followed suit. By the end of the seventeenth century the slaves and free land tenants were equalized and bound to the land and burghers were bound to their [486] *posads*. It was prohibited for any person to move from one town or borough to another without special permit. There could be a penalty of death for such flight or desertion.

By this time, therefore, all persons were bound to their status. A rigid caste system was established for the purpose of securing for the Czar permanent and controllable bodies of people whose function was either to pay cess or to render military and state service. The whole state was regimented and militarized for the [641] purpose of the Czar's aggrandizement, defense of the realm and military campaigns; each person had one duty only—to serve the Czar and the country. The whole society was geared to increase the revenues and the military might of the Czardom.

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They used to go starke naked, save a clout about their middle, with their haire hanging long and wildely about their shoulders, and many of them with an iron coller in chaine about their neckes or middles, even in the very extremity of winter. . . . Among others at this time they have one at Mosco that walketh naked about the streets, and inveyeth commonly against the state and government. . . . Another there was, that dyed not many years agoe . . . that would take upon him to reproove the olde emperour, for all his cruelties and oppressions done towards his people. His body they have translated of late into a sumptuous church neere the emperours house in Mosco, and have canonized him for a saint. Many miracles he doth there. . .[15]

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Another form of protest or of reaction against the existing conditions consisted of mass vagrancy. Many thousands of these restless people were roaming the roads, the forests, and the deserts, as beggars, as pilgrims or as agricultural nomads. Many of them spent whole lives wandering, unable to find peace and rest.

IV

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Conditions in which abusive dominance-submission relationships, self-concern, lack of trust, and destructive aggression thrive do not favor unification and stability of an empire. Yet the Czardom showed a steady and remarkable development in spite of such unfavorable circumstances. In the course of several centuries it had grown from a small principality into a great world power. Just as in the states of steppe nomads, the social agents which were responsible for self-seeking, power-orientation and internal restlessness and explosiveness encouraged also external expansion. But unlike the empires of the steppes, there were [182] in the Empire of the Czars several circumstances which fostered ideological and moral unity, such as the politico-religious philosophy of the Orthodox Church and conditioning on the family and community-level. It was perhaps this combination of the explosive and unifying tendencies which was responsible for steady expansiveness and growing consolidation of the Czardom.

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From its very inception the Russian state was a military soci-

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6
WESTERN TECHNOLOGY AND RUSSIA'S BUREAUCRATIC AUTOCRACY

I

THE STRUCTURE of Muscovite power had some advantages in comparison with the Turco-Mongol system of rule. The steppe warriors had not developed an efficient system of administration. They depended upon their vassals for the collection of taxes. This practice gave an opportunity to the vassals to enrich themselves, which strengthened their feelings of independence and of revolt. In the same manner the principle of religious tolerance and the practice of granting Church autonomies helped to perpetuate religious, linguistic and cultural differences among the subjects, a situation that did not favor ideological unification and centralization of power. In Russia, on the other hand, a system of centralized administration which followed the Byzantine pattern took care of revenues and of military manpower. The enserfed agricultural population was a source of steady income. Furthermore, state dominated Church tended to Slavicize linguistically and to unify ideologically all subjects under the Czar.

However, this system of Muscovite military theocracy that was efficient in dealings with the Mongols, proved inadequate in Russia's relations with its adversaries in the West. Since the end of the middle ages Western countries went through a series of ideological and economic changes which had fundamentally affected the structure of the Western world. Humanism and Renaissance, Reformation and Counter-reformation, the industrial and political revolutions had brought about considerable intellectual and technological advance and radical structural changes. Compared to the West, Russia had many drawbacks in her economic system. Its power-centered and militarized social struc-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

ture was detrimental to the development of trade and industry. For centuries its economy remained founded on a system of primitive agriculture. Lack of large centers of trade and industry adversely affected rural economy. There was no stimulation for agricultural improvements and for freeing of the serfs. Instead, the emphasis was on the exploitation of serf labor as the most expedient means to satisfy the demands of the landlords and of the state. The landlords were mostly absent on military campaigns or other state duties and were generally disinterested in land improvements. At the same time the system of using the land as a pay for military or other state services, in a country whose war campaigns and military contingents were increasing, tended to diminish the size of the donations and increase the burdens imposed on the serfs.

The lack of urbanization, together with the low standard of education of the service nobility, kept also the intellectual development of Russia far behind that in the West. Intellectual activity was limited mainly to the court circles. The ideology and practices of the Russian Church favored intellectual stagnation. Russia accepted Christianity from Byzantium after the Greek Church had already given up classical traditions of Hellenism. By the time Byzantine Christianity entered Russia, Byzantine literature had assumed an almost exclusively ecclesiastical character, and education consisted almost entirely of religious teaching and the reading of the lives of the saints. Art, too, became exclusively religious and stereotyped. All thought was regimented according to religious dogmas and political objectives of the power-holders.

In Russia this type of intellectual rigidity and inactivity was emphasized because of the use of the Old-Slavonic language in the Church, which resulted in neglect of Greek language. And it was considered a sin to learn the "thrice accursed Latin tongue." Thus, the Russian clergymen became isolated from the West because they lacked the possession of the only instruments in which human knowledge was communicated in those days. Moreover, Russian Orthodoxy, like the Byzantine Orthodoxy, was based on monasticism. But unlike the manifold monastic practices of the Western Church, the monks in the Russian Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

where true Christianity was preserved. In the official statements, in the prayers, in the Church sermons and school textbooks, the Russian Empire was represented as a Holy Land (*Sviataya Rus*).

Accordingly, official geographic studies and statistics tended to magnify everything within the frontiers of the Empire. Russian possessions and might, the resources and riches of the Czar, the progress and virtues of the country were pictured in the school textbooks in a fabulous way. A steady and imposing territorial growth of the Czardom in the course of many centuries at the expense of the East and the West undoubtedly supported these feelings of greatness. In this manner successes in policies of external expansion promoted desires for further conquests.

As long as the authority of the Church remained unshaken the power of the Czar rested on solid foundations. The Czars were able to increasingly concentrate and monopolize all social power while the Czardom expanded territorially in all directions, in spite of all its internal weaknesses.

In the meantime, however, the economic, educational and religious reforms introduced since the eighteenth century tended to undermine the sacredness of the Church as well as the power of the Czar. It was in such circumstances that feelings of revolt bred on all levels of social organization had an opportunity to come into the open, challenging the Czarist regime and all the institutions on which it was based. The people who were treated like wards and minors and were kept in oppressive dependency in the family, in the local community and on the state level rebelled against the system which kept them in perpetual bondage, a trend of events which finally brought about the downfall of the Czardom. The family roots and the development of this personal and social revolt which had shattered the Czardom will be discussed on the following pages.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

women and children of the household. The power of the bolshak was lifelong, but in case of mismanagement, prolonged illness or want of mental powers, the family adult male members or the village elders could remove him and place another adult male as the head man of the household.[2] All the property: land, farm implements, cattle, buildings, household furniture, and utensils were considered common property of all household members, particularly male adults. But women's clothing and other personal belongings, such as linen and canvas, brought as a dowry or produced by women were considered their private property. When such a household was broken up the common property was divided equally among all the adult male members, regardless of the degree of blood relationship.

The bolshak was assisted in his management by a family council (*soviet*) consisting of married male members, while the bolshuka was assisted by the married females. Though the bolshak's place after his death was taken by his eldest son or his eldest brother, it happened occasionally also that such a household came to be ruled by a woman, if she proved to be an exceptionally resolute personality and good manager.

The remnants of such a family collective persisted in some rural parts of Russia until the beginning of the twentieth century. Such a household in which some of the Old-Slavonic traditions were still in existence was looked upon as a labor association, as much as an association of blood-related families. This is why the heads of such a family commune were designated, not by parental names, as father or mother of the family, but by functional names, as managers of the common property.[3]

Originally the powers of the household soviet were an important check on the authority of the head elder. The soviet assured protection against inequity and tended to maintain equalitarian relationships among the married members of the household. However, early in the development of the Great-Russian society the events tended to favor the power of the bolshak. Following the practices of Mongol rule, frequent censuses were held and frequent levies were imposed on the population according to the number of households or according to acreage. The village community which composed a cess district was made jointly respon-

3: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

ties—the state, the Church, the landlords, and the village tax commune—joined hands in backing the collective household system and the power of its head elder.

II

In this manner, under the pressure of circumstances, the *bolshaya* system of jointly ruled community household was gradually giving way to the *otsovskaya* system, that is, the patriarchal family in which the power-oriented steppe traditions tended to take precedence over the Old-Slavonic egalitarianism. Patriarchal traits prevailed especially in the urban strata. The father became absolute master as well as the exclusive owner of the family property in the otsovskaya system. As a result of this change in household structure all family members became economically and personally dependent upon the father; and as long as his power was supported by the state and the Church, they were expected to submit unconditionally to his will; there was no appeal against his arbitrariness, favoritism, and even misbehavior.

As a result of such a development the steppe traditions of life and death power of the father over his wife and children, the relationship of absolute dominance and complete subordination tended to be reinforced and perpetuated. The Church was particularly instrumental in this matter. Under the influence of the Church the father was likened, in the popular mind, to the Almighty. "As God is to the people, so is a father to his children" (*Kak Bog do lyudey, tak otets do detey*),[5] the people would say.

The father had at his disposal a number of ways to impose his will. Owing to the Church teachings, one of the main paternal sanctions consisted of invoking God's wrath This was done by means of malediction or withdrawal of blessing. Parental curse, as well as lack of parental blessing, was certain to bring great misfortune to the disobedient child (*Lisheniem otsovskogo blagoslovenia shchitaetsa chelovekom propashchim.*)[6] The emphasis on need of parental blessing and fear of disastrous consequences of parental curse is stressed in many Great-Russian folk customs and in their folk sayings, folk songs, and folk tales.[7]

Another instrument at the disposal of the father in imposing

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

lead the others. Russia was therefore predestined to fulfill this world mission. Hence the Pan-Slavs looked to Moscow, the ancient Russian capital, not the Westernized "City of Peter" (Petersburg) as the heart of Russia[17] and of mankind of the future—the Third Rome.

15
REVOLT OF THE RAZNOCHINTSY INTELLIGENTSIA (NIHILISM AND ANARCHISM)

I

BY THE second part of the nineteenth century, new changes were taking place in the economic relations as well as in the political and class structure of the Czardom. First of all, the process of disintegration of the old order under the impact of the industrialization and bureaucratization was rapidly coming to an end. Serfdom was abolished and with it there came the disastrous ruin of manorial estates which were not prepared to cope with the difficulties of a money and market economy. The result was that the number of impoverished and pauperized gentry was greatly increased.

At the same time the new laws tended to place emphasis on property. Thus, for instance, in the local assemblies of the noblemen the elective franchise was granted only to noblemen possessing a certain amount of land or a certain value of industrial establishment. This difference in civil rights according to the amount of property introduced a sharp cleavage into the gentry class. Earlier all dvorianstvo and all chinovnichestvo were considered equal in rights and had at least theoretically an equal chance to rise in power or to win the favor of the Czar. But now the new laws disfranchised and declassed a large part of the gentry. Similar laws favored the richer class among the merchants which meant that even in municipal affairs birth and education decreased in value in comparison with wealth.[1]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

In the new secularized and urbanized society also, the position of the clergy became increasingly precarious. Like other institutions of the Czardom the Russian Orthodox Church was organized along the lines of sharp social differentiation and dominance-submission relationships. Russian Orthodox clergy as a whole formed a closed caste institution. All lay clergymen and many monastics were recruited from among the members of the families of lay clergy. Endogamous marriage was practiced within this caste. The church maintained its own schools for both the sons and the daughters of clergymen. In this manner the clergy had been separated from the rest of the society and had developed a sub-culture of its own. The clerics were set apart from others not only by their priestly garb, but by their manners, and even by their names.

Internally, however, within the ranks of the Orthodox clergy there was a sharp distinction between the monastic order (black clergy) and the secular priesthood (white clergy). The monastic order was rich in land donations and other possessions and all the Church hierarchy was recruited from among its ranks. The secular clergy was not only subordinate to the monastics, but also poor. Among the secular clergy sharp class distinction existed between the city clergy and the village priests. This differentiation was manifested in the differences in income, education and prestige, as well as in the lack of intermarriage between these strata. The difference was also reflected in the attitudes of the laity. While the city clergy were socially accepted by the middle and lower urban layers, the village priests were rather isolated from the rest of the population.

However, the sharpest difference and social distance existed between the Church hierarchy and the rank-and-file clergymen. The heads of monasteries, for instance, behaved like real magnates. They took in large revenues, kept servants, horses and carriages, and hardly shared in the life of their monastic brothers, even though these Church dignitaries resided in monasteries. In the same way, the bishops were inclined to belittle the lay clergy under their control. They treated them with a great want of respect. They would abuse them, insult them and then even flog them.

[i.e. developing in the second half of the XIXth century — Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

Pensa gubernia rose against the landlords with the slogan "Liberty and Land" (*Zemlya i Volya*).[4] Ever since they had been enserfed and bound to the land, the peasants kept in cherished memory the *Yuriev den*, St. George's day, the day when in earlier times each peasant was allowed to leave his landlord (*vykhod*). The peasants' demand for freedom from bondage was as strong as their demand for land. When the ideas of personal, economic and political freedoms started to penetrate Russia from the European West, also, the Russian peasants, owing to a growing contact with the city and the intelligentsia, became affected by them and in consequence revolts were increasing in number. Between 1826 and 1830 there were 41 cases of peasant rebellions and between 1858–1860 there were 284 such uprisings.[5]

It is significant to note that these peasant rebellions became especially prominent and especially widely spread each time the ruling class had suffered loss of prestige, such as in case of defeat on the battlefield. During the Crimean War in 1854 and 1855 widespread peasant uprisings took place on the shores of the Volga, and in central and southwestern gubernias, the Vladimir, Ryasan, Tambov, Pensa, and Voronezh.[6] In these provinces the mir institution prevailed and periodical redistribution of land was practiced. Here also reaction against abusive and humiliating conditions of serfdom was very intense and demand for land became very strong. In these provinces the traditions of earlier revolts were fresh in the memory of the peasantry. In addition, growing density of population and increasing land shortage tended to strengthen the revolutionary attitudes of the peasants. Their hostilities turned against the landlords whom they blamed for all their ills and misfortunes.

II

The defeat in the Crimean War and the internal disturbances which followed that war forced the Czarist government to undertake measures to reorganize its armed forces and to stabilize the regime internally. After being defeated by technologically and politically superior enemies, the Czarist government finally realized that in order to improve Russia's fighting effectiveness vis-a-vis the West, higher state revenues were needed and these

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could be achieved only if Russia was to change radically its economic structure. As a result of such a trend of events and of thought the government passed a decree in 1861 according to which the peasants were set legally free from their masters.

As a consequence of his legal emancipation, the peasant found himself in the possession of less arable land than before, and he was still bound to it. He was overburdened even more than before because he was obliged to pay high redemption dues in addition to the heavy taxes that were imposed on him. Moreover the peasants in land communes not only remained jointly responsible to the government for the payment of taxes, but they were also made jointly responsible for redemption payments. The commune's authority over the peasants was increased and the peasant found himself under an even more exacting and more despotic commune regimentation than the one that existed before the "Emancipation Act."

At the same time the peasant still did not have sufficient arable land. He also lacked pasture grounds and timber which were of special importance in his technologically backward and extensive agricultural economy; most of such land was left in the hands of his former masters. The acuteness of land shortage was especially felt because of lack of artificial fertilizers, need for draught animals, and primitiveness of farm equipment. Many peasants did not even possess a wooden plow.

But though the emancipation act of 1861 still kept the peasants bound to the land, and did not provide them with sufficient land, it did open up opportunities for their economic advance and political activation. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, the peasantry became generally recognized as a potentially very significant force, both politically and economically. It was this prospect of the peasant masses as the leading political power of the future in combination with the Slavophil idealization of the peasantry that gave rise to the ideology of *narodnichestvo* (populism). This ideology idealized the virtues and the creative potentialities of the peasantry, and just as the Slavophils, the narodniki claimed that the reconstruction of Russian society, even of the whole world, will come from Russian peasantry.

By the end of that century a faction of Russian radical intel-

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565 The speeches of the peasants' deputies
423 in the second Duma unmistakably show that the peasants con-
[646] sidered that the land belonged to them and to nobody else and that the times of degrading oppression were over. They declared themselves in favor of the free distribution of all the land that was in the possession of the nobility, the Church, and the state:

> We are talking of land these days as of nothing else. We are told it is a sacred, inviolate possession. I think if the people want it, there can be no inviolateness about it. Gentlemen of the nobility! You think we have forgotten the time when you used us as stakes in playing at cards and exchanged us for dogs! We know we were your sacred inviolate property. But the land has been stolen from us. The peasants who have sent me here have said that the land is ours! We have come here not to buy but to take it.[14]

669 Because of such beliefs and ideas which were intensified by
565 systematic revolutionary propaganda of professional conspirators
425 and agitators, any rumors concerning the land always found a
627 ready response among the peasantry. It is for the same reason that often only a vague rumor about a government land decree was sufficient to convince the peasants that the land was given back to them by the Czar, but that it was the lesser government officials, bribed by the landlords, who kept the land out of their hands. Such land-hungry peasants, already inclined to rebel against age-long and humiliating dependency, were ready to take the law into their own hands, to seize the manorial lands, to loot the estates and to kill the landlords whenever they felt that the power of the existing authorities was crumbling.

178 The professional conspirators among the Russian revolution-
565 ary intelligentsia took full advantage of such inclinations. Their revolutionary plans were especially favored by the growing differentiation in the Russian villages. In the first decade of the twentieth century economic and social differentiation in the Great-Russian village was already well advanced. It was favored by a series of government measures (Stolypin reforms)[15] which were aimed at developing a stratum of independent and prosperous peasantry and destroying the system of communal landholding. As a result of such measures the Great-Russian village became by the first decade of this century composed of a number

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of strata, whose interests were often conflicting. There were the *obshchiniki* (the communal landholders), the *otrubniki* (the peasant private property owners), the *khutoriane* (isolated homestead owners), the *bednyaki* (the poor and indebted peasants), the *serednyaki* (the middle peasants), and the *kulaki*. Finally, there were still the pomeshchiki who owned manorial estates with arable lands, timber-forests and pasture grounds. These were, however, gradually selling their land to the better-off peasants.

The peasant private landholders prospered better than those in the communes. The yield per acre on communal lands has always been much lower than on the private lands. The communal landholders had to rely for a part of their income on wages. These they got as seasonal industrial workers or as agricultural laborers on the lands of the landed gentry. They also worked on the lands of better-off individual peasant property owners whom they resented and called *"novye pomeshchiki"* (the new squires). The poor, landless, and indebted peasants antagonized the better-off peasants. The lower and the middle peasants resented the kulaks and the pomeshchiki.

At the same time the individualization of the Great-Russian peasantry was proceeding very slowly in spite of government help and encouragement. By 1912 the proportion of consolidated peasant holdings, as compared to those remaining in the communal system, was less than 11 percent. Between 1907 and 1915 only about 20 percent of the peasants left land commune.[16] This slow decommunalization did not, however, indicate lack of desire for private land ownership. The reasons for the persistence of the old communal land system lay in the shortage of land, in peasant poverty, in vested interests within the village commune, and finally in traditional lack of self-reliance among the peasants.

As long as a large part of the Great-Russian peasantry remained in the system of communal landholding where lack of initiative and primitive techniques of cultivation prevailed, no great general improvement in land cultivation and in the standard of living of the peasantry could have been expected in spite of all government efforts. Thus, economically insecure and

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hungry for land, resentful of degrading dependency and inclined to be hostile to the existing authorities, many peasants were ready to follow the leadership of professional conspirators and demagogues who incited them to revolt and promised them "land and freedom." Such feelings and attitudes were of decisive importance in the revolutionary days of 1917, as well as later in the civil war.

20
ASCENDENCY OF BOLSHEVISM

I

WHEN the Czardom in the eighteenth century embarked on its policy of industrialization, the newly built industries, both those state owned and those owned by the landed nobility, were based on serf labor. Also the non-noble entrepreneurs purchased or rented serfs to work in their mines and factories.[1] In such conditions the technical equipment and the production output of Russia's industries remained at a very low level. There was no incentive to introduce technological improvements as long as the labor was abundant, and its cost low. Only a few industries, such as the cotton industry which was in the hands of non-noble owners, and which from its start was based on free labor, had introduced modern machinery. Thus since the Russian industries did not advance technologically and were unable to compete with the European industrial products, they had to be protected by high tariff barriers, by grants and subsidies. This situation kept the level of prices of manufactured goods high in comparison with the buying power of the industrial workers, of peasants and of middle urban strata. The resulting lack of buying power of these broad strata of the population made the progress of industrialization in Russia very slow, uneven, unstable, and chronically affected by crises

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and unemployment, a situation that was well exploited by the professional conspirators, particularly the Bolsheviks.

By the end of the nineteenth century the first wave of strikes swept the country.[4] At first the strikes were spontaneous, local and purely economic in character. The workers wanted higher wages and better working conditions. But since many industries were located in Petersburgh which was the center of heavy industry, and in Moscow which was the center of the railroad system and of the textile industry, the revolutionary intelligentsia and professional conspirators and agitators who were also concentrated in these two capitals could not fail to see great political opportunities, both in the concentration of the industrial proletariat, and in its economic plight. But there were differences among the revolutionary factions of the intelligentsia in regard to revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

The ideological differences as to propaganda policies and revolutionary strategy was one of the factors which led to the split of the Socialist Democratic Party into two factions, the *Bolsheviks* (the majority), and the *Mensheviks* (the minority). Being mostly of urban middle class origin the Mensheviks were inclined to advocate gradual advance of the country toward democratization. They also proposed an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie. Accordingly also in internal Party organization the Mensheviks were in favor of a policy of liberalism and democracy. The Bolshevik faction, on the other hand, was recruited from among the raznochintsy who were affected by Anarchism and were inclined toward extremist solutions and recognized no compromise. They proposed an alliance with the revolutionary peasants and an armed rebellion staged by the workers and peasants as the most effective means of seizing power.

Following the ideas and practices of the Anarchists and the Terrorists (Narodovoltsy), the Bolsheviks claimed that the immediate seizure of power was of paramount importance while the work of educating the masses could begin later. That end, the seizure of power, to the Bolsheviks no less than to their political predecessors, the Anarchists, sanctified everything. Deliberate instigation of hatred, planned deceit, individual killing, armed uprising, and systematic terror were all equally approved

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is therefore said to be necessary as a means to completely eliminate "exploitation of man by man" and to bring about stateless and equalitarian society in the future.

In this manner any signs of opposition to the Party policies have been construed as "class struggle" and "counter-revolution" which made it possible for the self-seeking and mistrustful ruling faction of the Bolsheviks to eliminate all opposition to its rule, including the opposition within the Bolshevik Party itself. These means and justifications of self-perpetuation in power have been supported also by the contention that the counter-revolutionary schemes of the overthrown and dying classes are encouraged and fostered by foreign capitalist powers.

These imperialist states are said to tend to encircle the "only Socialist country" seeking to destroy it.[2] Contrary to the early Socialist promises that the state will tend to "wither away" after the proletariat had seized power, the Bolsheviks asserted that, after the proletarian revolution the state must become even more powerful because it must be used as a "special machine of suppresion."[3] Thus, instead of satisfying the traditional demands for acceptance in an all-human and stateless brotherhood, the Bolsheviks established relationships of absolute rule and unconditional obedience by monopolizing all social power in their hands. Each and every subject was made dependent for his life and livelihood upon the ruling faction. In this manner, planned economic regimentation, strict political conformity, control of thought and feeling, as well as police rule became intrinsic to the Soviet system of power.

In their compulsive drive to concentrate all power and all social control in their hands, the Bolsheviks dispossessed not only financial capitalists and large land owners, but even small farmers, fearing that these might eventually oppose and challenge their rule. "The medium peasantry is a self-sufficient class; the only one which, after the obliteration and expulsion of squires and capitalists, remains capable of opposing the proletariat," said Lenin.[4]

The need to regiment the peasantry, to break their group solidarity and make them completely dependent upon the government was supported also by other considerations. Owing to lack

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of foreign loans and investments the process of industrialization and of economic autarchy, which was needed to develop military potential necessary to withstand internal and external threats, was proceeding at too slow a pace. This situation made it imperative for the impatient and insecure ruling class to have at hand goods available for quick export in order to buy foreign machinery and to industrialize and militarize the country at a higher speed.

The peasants in the meantime were busy in making improvements on their possessions and in raising the amount of food for home consumption. Increased peasant consumption of food however meant decrease of the crops available both for export and for the needs of fast growing urban strata which were being created as a result of a speedy industrialization. Also lack of regulation of agricultural production meant that planting and sowing were designed to a large extent to satisfy the home needs of the peasant, and only to a lesser extent those of the national or foreign market.

This meant that as long as a large section of the peasantry remained as independent producers there was always a danger that the ruling class might not have at its disposal sufficient quantities of marketable products. And the more the ruling faction felt insecure in its power, the more this potential threat of an economically independent peasantry seemed real and close. This feeling of insecurity and mistrust of the Bolsheviks was manifested in their hatred of the peasantry. "The peasant who has two cows is already an enemy," they would say. Hence the Party hierarchy made the decision not only to abolish the economic independence of the peasants, but also to "destroy peasantry as a class" by means of collectivization.

In their determination to "destroy peasantry as a class," the Bolsheviks first incited the poor and the medium peasants against the "kulaks" and then the landless against the small peasant owners. The Bolshevik agitators took advantage also of the traditional tensions within peasant families and aroused son against father and brother against brother. Thus inciting and exploiting resentments and hostilities between various peasant strata and taking advantage of family antagonisms, the Bolsheviks were able

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to force the peasants to join the collectives and the state farms. Those who opposed such policies were resettled or banished to convict labor camps. Many were massacred. According to Stalin ten million peasants became victims of this "class war."[5]

In order to insure their complete control over the farming population, the Bolshevik leaders sent the most trusted Party people from the city to the village to manage the newly formed *kolhozes*. These *novye bary* (new lords), as the peasants called them, installed themselves in the mansions of former estate owners and kept themselves at a considerable distance from the rural population, not unlike the former serf-owners. And not unlike the former gentry the new masters were also bent upon extracting maximum labor from the peasantry with minimum reward.

Under such conditions, the peasants, in the first outbursts of their reaction against this state of abusive submission resorted to outward aggression in the form of traditional uprisings. They burnt their crops and slaughtered their cattle rather than collectivize them. It is estimated that almost two-thirds of the entire livestock and a large part of the crops were destroyed.[6] Such a situation affected even the Ukraine, the "granary of Russia" and greatly contributed to the famine of 1932–33 in which hundreds of thousands of people died of starvation and epidemics. It was by such active rebellion that the peasantry forced the Party into a temporary retreat. The Party had to appease the peasants by giving each peasant household the right to retain in private use a small plot of land, and also in private possession a limited number of livestock. Also, private trade in agricultural products was restored in a limited degree.[7]

These were however only temporary concessions, since the Bolsheviks were determined to completely "industrialize" the peasantry as a means of political and economic control. Following such aims the highest possible degree of specialization in farm operation has been fostered and the members of the same family have been assigned to different, spacially separated activities. In this manner the agricultural brigade instead of the peasant family became the basic unit of agricultural production. For the same reason the highest possible degree of mechanization of

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241 178 agriculture, centered in Motor Tractor Stations, has been fostered.[8]

474 465 463 At the same time differences in individual income levels have been encouraged by means of a differential wage system based on the degree of specialization, the amount of work, the quality of labor and the quality and quantity of production. There is also a tendency to train each kolhoz member for one specialty only. In this manner differentiation is increased, family self-sufficiency and family bonds are being destroyed, a greater degree of dependency upon the Party is achieved, group solidarity is weakened and the development of organized peasant opposition is prevented.

241 463 178 The "industrialization" of the peasantry seeks to eliminate the old type of peasant farmer who was self-sufficient, had manifold interests and possessed a variety of skills needed to manage his economy, of which he was the owner and the manager. By fostering specialization and wage differentiation the Party hopes to develop a type of agricultural worker and specialist who is skilled in one activity only, and cannot be self-sufficient. Since in this manner every agricultural worker becomes entirely dependent upon others, and upon the Party, it is expected that as a result of such conditioning the drive to own farm property will disappear, that all land property will then become governmentalized and that agricultural labor will become in all respects and for all purposes the same as industrial labor, that is, completely divided within, dependent economically, and better amenable to Party control.

474 178 It is along such lines of thought that the Party has recently endeavored to amalgamate kolhozes into large collective units. In small collectives the Party's control was weak or non-existent and the peasants were enabled to maintain a degree of group solidarity and to put up a certain resistance to government agrarian policies. According to the Party's admission "small collective farms blocked the progress of socialist farming."[9] Therefore, in order to "strengthen their directing personnel" the Party decided to amalgamate small farms into large ones. The management of these amalgamated collectives is to be put entirely in the hands of non-peasants.[10]

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This trend to expropriate the peasants and to overspecialize them as a means of political and economic control found its expression in the recent development of Bolshevik ideology. In the utterances of Party leaders and in the Soviet press it is being stressed that the conditions in the Soviet Union are already so advanced that the Soviet state is ready to move from socialism into the first levels of a limited Communism. This first phase of Communism will consist of the elimination of differences between industrial and agricultural work, between industrial workers and the peasantry ("Liquidating the contrast between the city and the village"). Thus it is pointed out, the old opposition between the country and the city will vanish and also cultural and psychological differences between these two strata will disappear. Every person will become engaged in a special "technical-engineering" task and all will be equal and like brothers.

As a result of such development, it is said that even the differences between the manual laborer and the intellectual worker will eventually be abolished and thus the classless and anarchic society envisaged in socialist writings and rooted in the traditions of the Slav culture will be finally achieved.[11] Productive forces will develop an abundance of all consumer goods whose distribution will be on the basis of exchange and according to one's needs. There will be no monetary relations and no differences in social status.

It is clearly and repeatedly emphasized, however, that nobody should mistake this change from socialism to communism as a "withering away" of the state. The state, say the Bolsheviks, must remain "strong" for the needs of defense,[12] until the Soviet system spreads over the entire earth.

II

Total power concentrated in the hands of Bolshevik conspirators as a means of perpetuation of their rule led to compulsory regimentation of all labor, to speed-up system, and to intensified differentiation in skill, income, and status within the working classes. The aim of these measures is to increase production and to control the working classes by breaking their group solidarity and by tying the laborer to his machine and the office worker to

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dissenters, in the civil wars as well as in the struggle between the Czarist police and the revolutionary intelligentsia; it was even formulated as an ideology and became a credo of Anarchism.

In the Bolshevik ideology this anti-humanism is justified by representing the "enemies" as not being human beings. Just as in the folk attitudes toward enemy aliens, the oppositionists and the adversaries, actual and potential, real and imaginary, are identified in Bolshevik writings with "gnats," "insects," "reptiles," "dogs," "wild beasts," and "beasts of prey." It is by such ways of reasoning that the Soviet pedagogists have come to the assertion that indoctrination of the people with "burning hatred" of the enemy does not contradict the ideas of humanism, because, they claim, the ideas of humanism and humane feelings do not apply to beasts. In this manner even acts of cruelty toward the "enemies" are condoned and encouraged:

> Hatred of the enemies of the socialist Motherland by no means contradicts the principles of humanism, since it is devoted to the protection of the rights and liberty of the worker from the designs of beasts of prey.[24]

The need for such an appeal to extreme animosities against the adversaries is in itself an indication of instability of the Bolshevik system. The ruling faction had to resort to such a means in order to promote complete identification with and fanatical devotion to the Cause and to the Leader. Here, however, we see a noticeable difference between the Czardom and the Soviet Russia. Though the Czarist system often exhibited aspects of extreme ruthlessness, the whole ideological and intellectual development of the Czarist Russia, especially in the last century of its existence, was in the direction of increasing Westernization and humanization. This trend coincided with certain gains in the field of personal, economic, and cultural freedoms in the Czardom.

As a result terrorism and acts of violence, though widely practiced, were not openly advocated as official Czarist policy. Many moderate and conservative factions of the intelligentsia strongly denounced all acts of terror performed either by the government or under the auspices of the revolutionary intelligentsia. One

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792 One of the outstanding tenets in the philosophy of Russian monas-
829 577 ticism whose history is even longer than that of the Czardom was
[795] charitable love. Many sects of the *Raskolniki* propagated and practiced principles of humaneness. The Slavophils were espe-
829 577 cially prominent in advocating the return to an idealized state-
less society of benevolent paternalism where brotherhood, Chris-
[177] tian love, and compassion would reign. The "Westerners" endeavored to introduce into Russia Western concepts of justice and tolerance, and a humanistic, libertarian and juridical state. Russian belles-lettres, Russian school textbooks, as well as laws and regulations in the nineteenth century and up to the beginning of World War I, bear witness to this trend toward Westernization and humanism.

178 661 In Soviet Russia, on the other hand, after a brief initial period of reaction against the old regime which led toward an emphasis on all-human values and equalitarian brotherhood, soon the trend of events pushed the Bolshevik ideology in the opposite direction. The determination of a ruling clique of professional conspirators to maintain themselves in power by any and all means dictated the emphasis on the internal and external "threats" which would justify the intensification of internal "measures of security," and of external aggression. Thus vigilantism and war preparedness, and expansion of internal and external Bolshevik power, became the main base of the policies of the ruling class.[25] Such policies had to be constantly reinforced by a deliberate incitement to hatred and destruction.

661 642 The image of Soviet society as being in a constant state of war, not only against foreign enemies but against internal oppositionists, deviationists, spies, saboteurs, and remnants of bourgeois mentality has been determined by a social structure which the Bolshevik rulers themselves have created, but which makes their own power uncertain and precarious. In such circumstances Lenin's idea of a life and death struggle with the "class enemies," the idea that "it's them or us" (*Kto kogo*) has provided the main motivating force of the Party's internal and foreign policies. Fearing to be annihilated unless they themselves destroy their enemies, conscious that they have "either to rule or to die," the Bolsheviks have ruthlessly applied the principle of "obedience

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and Eastern Siberia. In the Middle Volga Region live the Mordvinians and the Mari of the Finno-Ugric group and the Tatars and the Chuvash of the Turkic group; on the western slopes of the Urals are, from north to south, the Komi, the Komi-Permyak, and the Udmurt, all belonging to the Finno-Ugric group, and the Bashkirs, members of the Turkic group. On the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus live a wide variety of peoples, including the Avars, the Darghins, the Lesghians in the east, and the Circassian tribes in the west. These national elements belong to the Caucasian linguistic group, of which Georgian is also a member. The Ossetians, who live in the central part of the Greater Caucasus, belong to the Iranian group. In Western Siberia, in the valleys of the Altay system, are other representatives of the Turkic group: the Altay tribes (a group of several small national elements), the Khakass, and the Tuvinians. In Eastern Siberia, the two principal nationalities are the Buryat-Mongols of the Mongolian group and the Yakuts of the Turkic group. A large number of small elements in the extreme north of the Russian SFSR belong to the Finno-Ugric, the Tungus-Manchu, and the Paleoasiatic linguistic groups.

Prior to the Bolshevik Revolution, industry within the present confines of the Russian SFSR was located in the Central Industrial Region between the Volga and the Oka, with specialization in the milling of cotton, silk, woolen, and linen textiles. The Petrograd (now Leningrad) industrial district was the chief area engaged in machine construction, while the metallurgical industry in the Urals was still on a small scale. During the Five-Year Plan period industrialization progressed rapidly throughout the republic, with particular emphasis on the Volga Region, the Urals, Western Siberia and the Far East. The Central Industrial Region largely developed heavy machinery construction, the manufacture of precision tools, and the production of chemicals, while maintaining its previous importance as a textile-milling region. The Leningrad industrial district continues to be a machine-construction center. However, in contrast to the prerevolutionary period, when raw materials were usually imported, it now uses local mineral resources, that is, copper, nickel, apatite, nephelite (an aluminum ore), from the Kola Peninsula; coal and petroleum, from the Pechora River basin; bauxite, lignite, and oil shale from the vicinity of Leningrad itself. Power is obtained from hydroelectric plants on the Volkhov and the Svir' rivers. An entirely new industrial region was created on the Volga. This river serves as one of the principal transportation routes of the Russian

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SFSR, linking the Moscow industrial district via the Oka River and its own upper course, the Ural industrial district on the Kama River, the lumbering region along the Vyatka, the grain-producing areas along the middle Volga, the Donets coal and metallurgical district, west of Stalingrad, and finally the rich fisheries of the northern Caspian Sea. Among the principal goods transported on the Volga are: downstream, machines, textiles, fertilizers, metal from the Urals, and lumber; upstream, petroleum and cotton from Transcaucasia and Central Asia, fish, salt, melons, pumpkins, and grain. By rail, coal and iron arrive at the Volga from the Donbas, and coal, iron, and nonferrous metals from the Urals and Siberia. Recently extensive petroleum fields ("Second Baku") and natural gas deposits have been developed along the Volga, furnishing the basis, in addition to the goods brought by rail and water, for the establishment of important machine construction, chemical, woodworking, and food industries.

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In recent years the Urals have been turned into one of the largest industrial and mining regions of the world. Huge metallurgical establishments have been built at Magnitogorsk, Nizhniy Tagil, and other cities. Other mills process copper, zinc, aluminum, magnesium, and nickel ores. Large chemical and paper mills have risen along the Kama River. Important rail centers, such as Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Molotov, and Ufa, have turned into top-ranking machine-construction centers. One of the longest high-voltage power lines of the USSR links the several power plants and industrial sites of the region.

The main industrial district of the Siberian realm is the Kuznetsk Basin. On the site of extensive coal mines, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and machine construction have developed to a very great extent. The iron and steel mills of the Kuzbas work on the basis of local coal supplies and iron ore, partly of local origin, partly from the Urals. The once all-important Ural-Kuznetsk *kombinat*, involving the exchange of coal and iron ore between the two industrial regions, is gradually losing its importance as local iron ore deposits are being further developed in the Kuznetsk Basin. The principal industrial sites are Stalinsk (steel milling and machine construction), Kemerovo (coal and chemicals), Novosibirsk (machine building), and Belovo (zinc metallurgy). Another industrial region has been created in the Far East, with the principal centers at Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, and Komsomol'sk. Shipbuilding, oil refining, and machine construction are the principal activities.

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ooo ably well the nature of the historical process, the drama of the perpetual dissensions and crises, and the very possibility of development.

● 181 157 If today, in exile, we ask this or that émigré of the rank and file to describe the Russian character, we are sure to be offered two contrasting pictures. As often as not these different images correspond to the political camp of the émigré. To those of the Right and to those of the Left, Russia and the Russian show a different face.

Let us have a look at the left-wing image. This Russian is a lifelong seeker after truth, an enthusiast serving ideals with self-sacrificial ardor but frequently changing his gods and idols. He is utterly devoted to the people, to art, to ideas; eager to become a martyr for some noble cause; an irreconcilable foe of dishonesty, of compromise. An extremist in his dedication to ideas, he lives in the clouds and is estranged from reality—rootless, yet a saint in the full meaning of the word, a saint above material interests. Of the four elements, he is closest to fire and most alien to the earth—and yet he wishes to serve the earth, envisaging this service in terms of flame, conflagration, molten metal. In terms of religion, his is the eschatological type of Christianity—without a terrestrial home, but thirsting for the City of God. Or rather in search of a "New Heaven" and a "New Earth." He loathes nothing so much as moderation, regularity, the virtues of restraint and reasonableness, the smugness of a self-complacent culture. Culture, as the realm of consummate form, leaves him cold; he dreams of remolding all forms in his own crucible. The process of creation is more important to him than its product, the search for truth more important than truth itself, heroic death more important than a life full of labor. Usually he regards Belinsky as his ancestor and (today!) Dostoevsky as his supreme spokesman. It is not difficult to recognize in this image the self-portrait of the Russian intelligentsia,—not of the Russian educated class as a whole, but of that "order" whose origin goes back to the eighteen thirties.

181 517 However, the intelligentsia, this latest layer of Russian culture, is not entirely lacking in national roots—or, more exactly, counterparts. For here we have to do not with the direct influence of deep popular forces but with the obscure subconscious play of the folk-soul, which in the destiny of these pseudo-renegades of nation and country repeats the features of another type, deeply embedded in the national psyche. Apostates, runaways, seekers, pilgrims—are

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found not only on the upper level but also in the lowest stratum of the people. We meet them among the adherents of the numerous religious sects as well as among the wider circle of spiritually disturbed Russian men and women, restless seekers after religious truth. They embody the kenotic, Christ-centered brand of Russian religiosity, eternally opposed to the prevailing ritualism in liturgy and customs. These kenotic forces of folk religiosity were released by the schism of the seventeenth century, when the Church lost its former unity. The quest for a new spiritual haven began with the first doubts about the absolute orthodoxy of the Muscovite-Petersburg tsardom. Thus this national type, so vividly brought to life by the Russian literature of the nineteenth century, while comparatively of late formation, is yet much older than the intelligentsia and approximately coincides with the Empire. This does not mean that it did not spring from more ancient sources: it had a forerunner in the kenotic type of ancient Russian holiness. But its estrangement from reality, its restlessness, stamp it as a spiritual phenomenon belonging to modern history.

It is interesting to note that the Russian intelligentsia, beside its popular counterparts, has still another parallel, ever more noticeable towards the close of the nineteenth century. It is the Jewish parallel. It is not an accident that ever since the eighties, with the beginning of the exodus from the ghetto, an intimate fusion of the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia became apparent—not only in the common revolutionary struggle but in all spiritual aspirations and the essential attitude towards life: the ardent rootlessness, the eschatological prophetism. It was a spiritual atmosphere which in its intensity recalls early Christianity—deprived, however, of the central pivot of faith and therefore apt to breed aberrations of the most fanatically sectarian kind. Russian reactionaries are right in linking the intelligentsia with Judaism. But they distort the historical perspective in representing the Jews as the seducers of innocent Russian youth. The "order" of the Russian intelligentsia had long been in existence and had taken up the fight against autocracy at a time when the influx from the ghetto—attracted by spiritual affinity—had hardly begun. It is this affinity that makes the short-sighted Western observer describe the "âme slave" in Jewish terms. While many are inclined to view the Zionist endeavor in Palestine as the work of Russian intellectuals, Spengler regards the coteries of the Russian intelligentsia—which he abhors—as reflecting the spirit and tradition of the Talmudists. There certainly

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181 517 was prevalent a specific Russian-Jewish atmosphere, of which a Jewish poet has said: "Blessed he who ever breathed that air."

000 And yet, only a foreigner may be forgiven for not distinguishing between Slavic and Semitic features in the amalgam of the intellectual-sectarian type. Surely there was nothing Jewish in Belinsky; and when Tolstoy spoke of Dostoevsky's Jewishness, he meant it, of course, in the widest metaphorical sense. The difference is subtle but plainly perceptible—rather one of style, of aesthetic pattern, than of ethical contents—which, after all, is true of most national distinctions. The kinship between the intelligentsia and popular sectarianism, on the other hand, is a primary phenomenon, sufficient in itself to establish this type of intellectual as one of the historical formations of the Russian soul.

181 157 I believe that many, and not only among the right-wingers, will refuse to acknowledge the intelligentsia as the deepest manifestation of Russianness. To myself, whenever today, in exile, I try to conjure up a pure image of the Russian, he presents himself under a different aspect. Profound calm, taciturnity, on the surface even apathy. An organic aversion for anything high-flown, high-strung, extravagant. Simplicity often carried so far as to shun a word, a gesture too much. "Silence is golden." Serene, self-confident power. The silence reflects profound Oriental experience absorbed in the blood. Hence a strain of fatalism. Hence also the humor—the tolerant smile at the foreground of life, at the ceaseless fretting and fussing of the intellect. Humor and restraint are features this type of Russian shares with the Anglo-Saxon. In the opinion of some, by the way, only the Russians and the English possess a genuine sense of humor. Tolstoy and his set—the "high society" of Anna Karenina—in all of Europe felt most at home in the Anglo-Saxon world, the only one they respected. However, this superficial similarity covers a vastly divergent experience—Western activism and Oriental fatalism; but in both worlds the violence of elemental forces was tamed by centuries-old discipline.

I shall not attempt here to define the moral aspect of this type of Russian. I believe that, as a rule, one should avoid over-precise moral characterizations of national types. The good and the wicked, the vicious and the pure are found among all of them, probably in the same proportion. What matters are the shades of goodness, of purity etc., the "how" and not the "what,"—which means definitions rather in aesthetic (in the widest sense) terms. Is the Russian kind? Quite often he is. When he is, his kindness combined with

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his own peculiar quiet wisdom, produces one of the finest human types. How we long for it in our warped life, swayed as we are by all kinds of passions—and be it spiritual passions! But the Russian can be cruel too—this we know well by now—and not only in a brief flare-up of fury but in a smugly callous, ruthlessly selfish way. Most often he amazes us by a kind of Oriental indifference to the lot and the sufferings of others—coupled with gentleness and superficial compassion (Karataev!). There is something Chinese in the impassive attitude of the Russian peasant towards his own and his fellowmen's death. This kind of wisdom takes us beyond the limits of Christianity. Tolstoy was profoundly aware of the primeval, prehistoric roots of this indifference ("The Three Deaths").

Nor is it easy to generalize about the volitional nature of the Russian. Is he indolent or active? More often than not he appears lazy; he works under pressure, pulling himself together only at the very last; but then he does not spare himself and is capable of making up in a few days for months of idleness. But there are also Russians of dogged industry, performing their tasks with restrained but intense passion; such were to be found among kulaks, inventors, scientists, even administrators. The amorphous mass of the people readily submits to the leadership of this sturdy élite, while seldom respecting it. Without this ruthless and strong-willed type the creation of the Empire, and even of the Muscovite state, would have been unthinkable.

In mentioning the Muscovite state, we are offering a clue to the understanding of this second brand of Russian. Its embodiment is the Muscovite, as his hard historical destinies have shaped him. For two or three centuries rough hands had been at work kneading the Slavic dough, knocking, bruising, breaking in the recalcitrant stuff, molding it into an extremely tenacious form. The Petrine Empire overlaid the Muscovite tsardom with a varnish of European culture, but it was still the Muscovite type that remained the real mainstay. To this type belong all those classes that were little touched by the Petersburg culture. All the clergy, the merchant class, the thrifty part of the peasantry (insofar as it was not undermined by spiritual restlessness). We meet this type again in the great Russian literature, where it is, however, pushed into the background by later spiritual formations. It is reflected most vividly in the regional literature—the writings of Aksakov, Leskov, Melnikov, Mamin-Sibiriak. And Tolstoy, of course. Although he cannot be fitted altogether into the Muscovite mold, he stemmed from it, had a

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181 157 538 deep fondness for this type, and was apt to idealize it. Karataev, Kutuzov, Levin are Muscovites; and so are Captain Mironov and Maxim Maximovich—Muscovite state servants who have survived the Petrine upheaval. The plodding official under Nicholas I, so ill-treated by the satirical literature of the time, represents the last layer of the Muscovite formation. We meet this type also on the highest cultural level: Pososhkov, Bolotov, the Aksakovs, Zabelin, Kliuchevsky—all these are authentic Muscovites. Here is the source of Russian creative power—which, however, like all things ultra-national, is rather limited in outlook. The narrow-mindedness of Tolstoy and Mussorgsky can assume truly tragical forms.

181 157 Such are the two polar types of Russianness, to whose conflict the high drama of the nineteenth century is largely due. They may be regarded as the expression of the basic dualism inherent in the Russian soul. They are, however, only the latest historically conditioned manifestations of this duality. Of all the successive cultural layers of the Russian soul, they represent the Muscovite stratum and that latest formation, the intelligentsia, born in the eighteen-thirties. But the historical approach to the problem of the Russian character makes it imperative to look beyond the limits of this duality. Between Muscovy and the intelligentsia there lies the Empire. Nor did Russia begin with Muscovy. What remains today of the Russian of the Empire, the Russian of the Kievan era, of Novgorod?

When, basing our claim on Pushkin, we assert with Dostoevsky that the Russian is a universalist, and that in this lies his national mission, it is actually the imperial Russian we have in mind. Universality is characteristic neither of the Muscovite nor of a true representative of the intelligentsia. On the contrary, the distinctive feature of both is narrow-mindedness, sectarianism. The Petrine reform, however, had brought Russia out into the open spaces of the world, had placed her at the crossroads of all the great Western civilizations and had brought into being the species of the Russian-European. His main attribute is freedom and openness of mind—such as to set him apart not only from the Muscovite but also from the European of the West. European culture, taken as a whole, was more intensely alive on the banks of the Neva or Moskva than on those of the Seine, the Thames, or the Spree. It is this imperial upper-class stratum that has given rise to the myth of the Russian's peculiar gift for foreign languages. Actually the average Russian,

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whether Muscovite or of the intelligentsia, is totally devoid of linguistic ability and finds it hard to adjust himself to strange countries and alien surroundings. But the Russian-European felt at home everywhere.

Throughout the two centuries of his existence, we have known him in two incarnations: the wanderer and the builder. Weak natures were easily crushed by the wealth of the alien culture. The conflict between the traditional Russian values and those of the new Westernized life was apt to generate skepticism, shallowness and premature weariness. Beginning with the "petits-maîtres" of the eighteenth century, "whose hearts belonged to the French Crown," a long chain of so-called "superflous people," including the Onegins, Rudins, Raiskys, stretches across Russian literature. Not so long ago it was customary to regard this as the basic trend of Russian life. This is a stupendous misunderstanding, a historical-literary aberration. We are well acquainted with another type of Russian-European—one that had retained the strong will of the Muscovite, his bond with the motherland, and sometimes even his religious faith. It was men like these who built the Empire, who fought its wars and made its laws, who sowed the seeds of enlightenment. Such were "the fledglings of Peter's nest," although in fairness it must be admitted that this type had come into being before Peter's time. Its genealogy begins with the Boyar Matveev, with Ordyn-Nashchokin, maybe even with Kurbsky. They reached their culminating point in the era of Alexander I. Under him they occupied the highest government posts. There was no rift yet between government and culture. Pushkin, "the bard of Empire and of freedom," was the last great embodiment of that imperial type. It did not, however, completely disappear even after the break between monarchy and culture under Nicholas I. In the "Era of the Great Reforms" the "Russian-Europeans" for a time came again into their own. We saw "the last Mohicans" of the type ourselves in the Senate and the Imperial Council under the last two tsars; deprived of power and influence, they still retained their rich experience, their political wisdom, alas! no longer needed by the degenerate dynasty. But on a lower level, within the administration, the courts, the liberal professions, the local self-government, and, of course, the universities, it was largely the "Europeans" who carried on their shoulders the whole burden of cultural activities under excruciatingly difficult conditions. Nearly always they shunned politics in order to concentrate on the only tasks open to them.

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181 157 Hence their lack of popularity in a country that for generations had been breathing the exhalations of civil war. Nevertheless, in every city, every district, these zealots of culture left some achievement behind them—here a school, there a learned society, a model farm, or just the memory of a dedicated physician, a humane judge, a noble man. It was they who preserved Russia from stagnating and freezing up at a time when every effort was made from above to put her on ice, and from below to set her aflame. While the Muscovite formed the backbone of Russia, the Russian-European was her builder. However, as we have pointed out, this creative, constructive type derived itself from Muscovite roots. While his lifework often compelled the "European" to wage a tenacious fight against the Muscovite's inertia and indolence, he yet shared with the latter a common moral ideal, a common love of Russia and her "soul." Kliuchevsky's history and Russian music were his link with Moscow. Whenever this link crumbled away, he would become a rolling-stone, no longer capable of constructive work. Under certain circumstances he might turn into an "intellectual"; this is the upper-class source of the intelligentsia, quite distinct from its democratic springs. But so long as he stood at his post, performing some vital task, he remained loyal to Russia and to the Muscovite principle of service. In the beginning of the twentieth century, notably after the revolution of 1905, the creative Russian-European element showed signs of impetuous growth at the expense of the intelligentsia. It looked as if the future belonged to it. . . . Fate decided differently.

181 What features of the Russian may be traced to the early Russia of warring principalities and free city-republics? Fully aware that we are embarking upon arbitrary and even fantastic speculations, we yet venture an answer: that aspect of the Russian character usually called its "largeness"; its unruliness; its rebelliousness—neither ideological nor sectarian—but rooted in a deep organic aversion to any kind of rigid form. Even today, the Russian heart still responds to the ancient chronicles, to the "Lay of Prince Igor." To state it boldly: it is not the stern builders of Empire, and not the statesmen, who most strongly appeal to Russian national emotions, but the knightly princes, the dare-devil Mstislavs, the Viking Sviatoslav, the tumultuous freedom of Novgorod. Muscovy certainly never succeeded in wholly disciplining the Slavic unruliness. It erupted in the free Cossack communities, in the sporadic uprisings; in the nineteenth century it found an outlet in debauchery and high living, in fantastic dissipation, in the bohemianism and

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artistic trend of the Russian character. This side of the Russian soul finds a most adequate expression in the gipsy song and dance. Russian debauchery is often somber and heavy, an effect, maybe, of Tartar blood and Muscovite oppression; but it can also be gay, generous, magnanimous. Such were the revelries of Pushkin, who combined Europeanism with Russian reckless freedom. Many talented Russians have succumbed to their nature (A. Grigoriev); and yet this characteristic, so long as it is to some extent held in check by self-discipline and education, is inseparable from Russian genius. "How fond I am of drunks!" Tolstoy once inadvertently confessed.

Gloom and childlike gaiety are the two poles of Russian unruliness. In the mood of youthful light-heartedness, generosity, sparkling high spirits, the Russian character is at its most attractive. This gaiety, however, is ephemeral. Unaccountable joy does not satisfy the Russian for long. He is likely to come to a grim and tragic end. If he fails to settle down in time (Muscovite fashion), his end is a ruined life, or a monk's hood.

Is it possible to penetrate still deeper into the Russian soul—beyond Kiev and Novgorod, beyond the threshold of history? If we remove, like skin after skin from a bulb, the successive cultural layers deposited by history, shall we find in the Russian a central irreducible core? It may be that our question is not posed correctly. The national soul is not given in history. The ethnic psyche serves only as the raw material of history. That psyche, moreover, is not all of a piece: Slavs, Finns, Turks,—all have gone into the making of the Russian soul. A nation is not a tree or an animal whose potentialities are all enclosed in the seed. The nation is rather to be compared to a musical or poetical work whose first measures or lines do not necessarily convey the main theme. Sometimes this theme is not revealed until the very end. It may be that in this sense (as revelation of an idea) the nineteenth century was more truly national than Kiev or Muscovy. Without assuming in any way that Slavic paganism contained in embryo the idea of Russianness (how could we differentiate here between Eastern and Southern Slavs—between Russians and Bulgars or Serbs?)—we yet believe it worthwhile to peer into this mysterious depth. Better than other civilized peoples we have preserved the organic, pre-Christian foundations of the national soul. Deep at the root of the greatest masterpieces of Russian literature there is something akin to the primitivism of folklore. Tiutchev, Tolstoy, Rozanov have distilled, as it

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were, in the apparatus of high spiritual pressure, the primordial stuff of Russian paganism.

Where shall we look for a key to it? We cannot go here beyond a few suggestions, the first steps leading down into the subterranean galleries of the Russian soul. Some time ago W. W. Weidlé (*Sovremennye Zapiski*, No. 64) attempted, rightly so in my opinion, to link this Russian essence with the family principle. As late as the nineteenth century, the Russian-Slav was not yet wholly estranged from Mother-Earth. His intimate union with the world of nature makes individual existence difficult and strange. Nature for him is not landscape, not a background for his daily life, and still less, of course, an object of conquest. He is embedded in her as in the maternal womb; he responds to her with all his being; apart from her he dries up and cannot live. He has not realized yet the frightfulness of her ruthless beauty, the frightfulness of death—since there is nothing in him that can die. All that is valuable and lofty in the human being is generic, communal, indestructible. And that which is individual is not worth immortality. The moral law of the individual, his right to his own conscience, to self-determination—these things have no validity in face of the law of life. In the moral sphere this attitude leads to communal, collective ethics based on the principle of mutual responsibility. In art it generates an enormous power of sensuous perception and suggestion (derived from Gea, the Earth), which is offset by weakness of form and of individual creative design. In the pursuit of knowledge it leads, of course, to irrationalism and reliance on intuition. In work and social life it leads to distrust of all planning, system, organization. The Slavophile ideal, for all its consciously Christian character, is strongly imbued with this pagan element of the Slavic psyche. In the life of the common people, however, we find it already sublimated by the Church and, this has led to the widely held assumption that it forms the very essence of Eastern Christianity. Actually it has nothing to do with Christianity; rather it takes us far eastwards. Another step, and we are in India with her total obliteration of the individual.

The question arises: where in this historically stratified scheme of the Russian soul is its Christian, its Orthodox layer? The truth is that there is more than one such layer, since there are actually as many brands of Russian Christianity as there are historical types of the Russian, and maybe more. Just as every nation experiences Christianity in its own way, so every cultural stratum of a nation

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has its own key to Christianity, or at least its own nuances of it. There is no need, however, to distinguish between fine shades of Christianity in the Russian soul; all the contradictions stand out with stark boldness. Just try to express in one formula the religiosity of St. Sergius and the Archpriest Avvakum, that of the Metropolitan Philaret and of Dostoevsky. For good measure, add to these Greek-Orthodox folklore and the religion of Tolstoy!

The opinion is widely held that the Russian people are set apart from other European peoples by the peculiar intensity of their religiosity. Actually this impression derives from the fact that the twentieth century finds Russia and the rest of Europe in different acts of the religious-historical drama. In Russia, among the great mass of the people, the Middle Ages lived on right down to the middle of the nineteenth century. The Europe of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries would offer a closer analogy to imperial Russia. But the collapse of Russian medievalism was stormy and destructive in the extreme. Today the attitude towards religion, both on the part of the masses and of the intelligentsia, is not markedly different from that in other European countries.

. . . And now let us turn to our basic problem: which historical layers of the Russian soul have been destroyed by the Revolution and which will survive it? The answer now should be clear. The extermination of the old educated class and the suppression of all the sources that fed it were bound to remove the two uppermost strata from the spiritual structure of Russian society. The man of Empire and the intellectual perished together with the "bourgeoisie," the upper layer of the old society. As to the imperial type, the Russian of universal culture, some relics of it still survive within the ranks of the "specialists." Some time ago, the [Soviet] government belatedly realized that the liquidation of the upper cultural stratum was doing irreparable harm to technical progress. The surviving old-timers became the object of special attention. However, they were valued only in their capacity of specialists in some narrow field; as has been wittily said, golden watches were used to drive in nails. Their broad culture, no longer needed by anyone and even offensive to the new ruling class, still subsists within some tiny groups or even families. The new educated class produces exclusively specialists who often lack the rudiments of a general culture, even plain literacy. On the other hand, never since the Muscovite tsardom has Russia been fenced off from Europe by such a high wall. This wall has been erected not only by censorship and

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178 the ban on foreign travel, but also by inordinate conceit and out-
● 181 right contempt for decaying bourgeois Europe. Here lies the es-
517 sential difference between the semi-literate technical intelligentsia of Tsar Peter and a similar intelligentsia under Stalin. That of Stalin has deliberately turned its back on Europe and in so doing has cut short the line of the "universal" Russian.

More complex was the fate of the intelligentsia proper. By the time the revolution broke out, this extraordinary formation had already lost its former vitality. After 1905 the intelligentsia began to dissolve, losing its identity within the whole of the "cultured" class. It was unable to survive the collapse of its political mysticism, desecrated by the pathetic Russian constitutionalism; the new brilliant religious-philosophical culture of the Russian renaissance of the twentieth century demoralized it with its many seductions; the war drew it into the stream of a national consciousness new to it. By 1917 the revolutionary enthusiasm of the intelligentsia was already a warmed-up dish. Its roots did not go deep, and the size of this social group, the only one to give loyal support to the Provisional Government, had shrunk considerably. The October Revolution hit it with all its weight. Dedicated to principles and uncompromising, the intelligentsia was utterly unable to acquiesce in the triumph of brute force. No wonder that the struggle against the new rulers bled it white. The few who survived either went into exile or filled Soviet prisons and concentration camps. Some managed to adjust themselves to the conditions of Soviet bureaucracy and turned into "specialists," gradually losing the last features of their noble "order." The mills of a brutal way of life were grinding without mercy. In the words of a Russian proverb—"to live with wolves one has to howl with them." Those unable to adjust themselves were cast out of the new life. The new intelligentsia now emerging is organically devoted to the Soviet régime; it feels a blood kinship with both the people and the ruling class. And for this reason it can never—not even in opposition, not even (let us anticipate the future) engaged in a revolutionary struggle against those in power—degenerate into that rootlessly-ideological, extremist, and eschatological type, let alone the dedicated fraternity we call the Russian intelligentsia.

However, this defunct Russian type is not entirely without successors. Sectarianism and spiritual journeying have not died out in the people, as insistently testified by the "godless" press. The Revolution has even given rise to some new sectarian formations,

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usually of an eschatological nature. On the other hand, part of the old intelligentsia have found a spiritual foothold in the Church. Here the last remnants of the vanished "order" can quench their spiritual thirst from the same spring that, unknown to them, had generated it. Within the Church they have, of course, preserved their psychological characteristics: their restlessness and extremism, their thirst for an integrated, consecrated life. Here they find themselves on common ground with the searchers and pilgrims of the people. One should keep in mind that the spiritual barrier between Church and dissenters is no longer what it was before the Revolution. Persecution has brought the various creeds closer together. The remnants of the old intelligentsia act as a ferment upon the whole religious mass. So far, however, this force has either been completely eliminated from all constructive cultural work or else has voluntarily turned away from it. Insofar as Russian culture of the immediate future is concerned, the old type of intellectual is definitely extinct.

What remains is the Muscovite with his vague ancestral heritage. The masses of the people who, molded by Soviet schools, produce the new human being, until quite recently lived and thought after the Muscovite pattern. The most radical ideological upheaval is powerless wholly to remake a spiritual mold. In the internationalist, the Marxist of today, whoever he may be, it is easy to recognise the village lad, the factory worker, as we remember them from the turn of the century. Paradoxical as it may sound, *homo Europaeo-Americanus* seems closer to Muscovy than to the more recent Petersburg era. The paradox is easily explained. *Homo Europaeo-Americanus* has little claim on the rich heritage of Europe's culture. He emerged in Europe in the period of her barbarization and assimilated a civilization already narrowed down to its athletic, technical, military contents. The savage of our time, technician or athlete, is the product of the disintegration of ancient culture going hand in hand with the absorption of barbarians into the civilized world. The Muscovite who, biding his time in rural Russia, outlasted two centuries of imperial culture, does not need any great effort to keep step with a Europe that has come to curse the last two centuries of her history. What might seem really amazing is the ease with which religion has been repudiated. But this is a special, highly complex theme. As to everything else, the Muscovite lout only had to be shaken up and kicked around for a while, to be jolted out of his indolence and sluggishness. What the tsarist barracks once did to

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● /8/ the recruit, the Party and the Komsomol are doing today—training country bumpkins and turning them into disciplined soldiers. The Muscovite provides admirable material for discipline, military discipline in particular. He formed the backbone of the old imperial army, the best in the world, maybe, in quality of manpower. The age-old habit of obedience, the weakness of individual consciousness and of the desire for freedom, the greater ease of living within a collective body and of working in a team—all this forms a bond between the Soviet citizen and Muscovy of yore. Muscovy had by no means been poor in social forces, rather the reverse; they had been so strong as to smother the individual; it was not without reason that the Muscovite national economy had a semi-socialist character. Stalin today consciously strives to establish himself as the successor of the tsars and the hetmans. Tsar and Pugachov in one. . . . The transfer of the capital back to Moscow is a symbolic act. The Revolution has failed to destroy the Russian national type but has appallingly crippled and impoverished it.

The Russian unruliness is, of course, indestructible. It was strong in the Muscovite tsardom; it is still there under Stalin. It ran riot in the violence of the first years of the Revolution; it finds a blatant outlet today in the debauchery which constantly undermines the foundations of Communist discipline; it is alive in the reckless daring of Russian fliers and arctic explorers. All that is colorful today in Russian life and Russian art is reminiscent of the heroic periods of Russian history. Russian unruliness, while not the same as freedom, still saves the face of contemporary Russia from the universal, uniform stigma of slavery. Strong natures still seek and find outlets for their energy. And the presence of these forces strengthens our hope of liberation—however remote it may still appear.

000 And what about the deepest—Slavic-pagan—layers of the Russian soul? To what extent have they been preserved? This we do not know. The powerful process of rationalization ruthlessly destroys all that is subconscious and elemental, fills up all the deep wells, renders the Russian character shallow and transparent. But is the process completed? Are there no remote corners left where ancient beliefs are still alive, where the primordial bond with Mother-Earth has not been broken? After all, village sorcery and shamanism are by no means dead, as we are informed from time to time by Soviet ethnographers. Why should there not be traces somewhere of the dimmer and subtler complexes of the tribal pantheistic psyche? We know that something of this must be there; surely Prishvin does not

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121 voke changes in the system of political relations (power structure) and hence in the social structure.

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181 Two contrasting cultures, that of the power-seeking and self-oriented nomadic horsemen of the Eurasian steppes, and that of the anarchic and group-oriented tillers of the land in the river basins of eastern Europe, provide valuable data for an understanding of the formation of political elites in Russian society, and particularly for identification of conflicting orientations which have been at the root of its social instability and political aggression throughout ages of its growth. There were other sources of conditioning circumstances which have provided significant elements to the content of Russia's culture and its social structure and which have affected the recruitment of political elites and the formation of ideologies. Such were, for instance, the Byzantine system of the administration and of the Church-State relations, the conditions of serfdom and the retarded growth of middle classes, and Western European technology and political and social philosophies. There were also "external" pressures which—in conjunction with Russia's geographic location—have influenced its social and political development. Such, for instance, were the quality of Russia's soil and climate, the moving of the trade routes from the Dnieper valley toward the West in the late middle ages, the sudden growth and disintegration of the Mongol empire, the formation and the expansion of Western European and of Pacific imperial systems. A number of these agents, however, have tended to perpetuate the initial basic structure and to intensify the clash of views of life which was introduced into Russian society through the imposition of the rule of the steppe nomads over the tillers of the land in the ancient past.

[157] One of the basic traits in the interpersonal and institutional relationships of the horse-breeders from the steppes consists of an apparent want of lasting emotional attachments, of social trust and of ties of moral unity. There is a lack of stability in loyalties and therefore a system of power which is self-oriented, that is, based on personal drives for aggrandizement. Only continuing conquests and lasting threats of common external enemies can assure the perpetuation of this predatory system

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of rule. The defeat or death of the ruler, as much as lack of constant external pressures, are likely to bring about a sudden disintegration of a political structure based on such foundations. 121 181

Want of human attachments in the society of these steppe marauders might have been brought about by a strong feeling of insecurity which seems to be rooted in the physical as well as in the social environment of these people. Nomadic horse-breeding in the steppes and deserts, abusive dominance and humiliating submission in a despotic family organization, autocratic political system, sharply stratified social structure, and predatory warfare of enemy tribes present constant physical and emotional threats which breed deep fears, anxieties, lack of trust and violent hostilities. These conditions are harmful to the growth of social intimacy and to the development of group identifications and solidarities; they are likely to favor formation of a self-centered personality and to foster an urge for extreme power-seeking and destructive action as a means of personal survival. [154]

Contrasted to the society of these power-oriented and predatory warriors of the steppes, was the group-oriented and anarchic culture of the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators, spreading since remote times over the forest plains and along the river valleys between the upper Volga and the Carpathians. This society represented a stable system of self-contained and autonomous small agricultural communities with equalitarian social and family organization, diffused social power, lack of central political authority, lack of sharp economic or social stratification and lack of coerciveness. Interpersonal and institutional relationships in these communities promoted group intimacy and social cohesion; they discouraged self-seeking, destructive aggressiveness and warlike qualities. But as the nomadic warriors, in the course of their centuries-old invasions, were imposing their rule over this egalitarian and stateless social system, significant changes were taking place in the Old-Slavonic world; these have formed the basis for the formation and the growth of Russian society. [156]

One of the most important innovations consisted of the formation of a ruling class of conquerors whose whole view of life was in complete contrast to the social and political philosophy of the

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[IX century]

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subjected agricultural population. In the ruling class of conquerors—who were marrying the native women—the steppe traditions of an unlimited paternal power, centered in a God-like, distant and strict father, tended to prevail. The principles of seniority, of priority of the male sex and of super-ordination and subordination among brothers and sisters favored sibling rivalry in this family system. At the same time, the mother, following her native traditions, tended to assert her marital equality, to maintain separate property rights, to teach her children the native speech and customs, and to protect them against the caprice and wrath of a domineering and warlike father.

[155]

It is likely that children in such families of clashing marital and social philosophies might be exposed to alternating experiences of rejection and over-protection; they might develop an exaggerated self-concern and power-orientation, as well as feelings of inadequacy and dependence. Extremes in emotional reactions ranging from blind submission to destructive aggression and violent revolt tend to develop in such circumstances.

Such traits which contain a core of emotional instability and perpetual strife did not seem to be favorable for the growth and consolidation of State. Instead, a number of small principalities were formed, whose ruling strata were torn by internal rivalries and splits, and by never-ending parricidal and fratricidal feuds. Moreover, these petty princes and war chieftains, following steppe tradition, were interested in waging warfare more than in promoting agriculture or industry—which was contrary to the view of life and the social philosophy of the subjected population. There was, therefore, a lack of common culture, lack of common interests and want of social solidarity between the subjects and their warlike lords. Such a situation fomented social unrest; local riots and mass uprisings, which in turn promoted increasing rigidity of controls, centralization of power, never-ending internal splits and never-ending warfare.

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By the ninth century A.D., these turbulent warriors came into conflict with the Byzantine Empire which had a political interest in the same area. This contact with Byzantium was of far-reaching consequence, because it introduced the Eastern Church into the social and political structure of Russian society. This institu-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

175 642 cratic Czar. By the time of Ivan the Terrible, the power of the independent landed aristocracy was suppressed, and the autocratic power rested now on a service nobility who were given lands in conditional possession depending upon their service and their loyalty to the Czar. These people therefore found themselves in a slave-like dependency upon the ruler who was likened to God, a situation that promoted political and social regimentation and fostered domineering-subservience relationships, thus intensifying the existing incompatibilities between the upper and lower strata of the Czardom.

[157] Domineering-subservience relationships are likely to breed humiliating experiences of self-abasement and feelings of wounded self-esteem which in turn might foster intense hostilities as well as compensatory ideas of grandeur. Thus in new circumstances, both self-seeking and power-orientation were reinforced in the upper strata, and manifested themselves in the oppressive rule of the nobility, in their extreme factionalism, and in their ruthless struggle for personal power and for the favors of the Czar.

[566] This trend of events, by the second part of the sixteenth century, led to establishment of serfdom and to direct interference of the service nobility and of the government in the communal and family relations of the peasantry. From this time on, the Church, the State and the landlords joined hands in strengthening the power of the Father and of the village elders and sponsoring in the peasant family and in the village community, dominance-submission relationships, absolute power and dependence, blind obedience and self-abnegation.

• 181 [579] The inevitable clash of this new power-oriented social philosophy with the old stateless and equalitarian values, was reflected in intense family and community tensions and in mass restlessness. Thus a weakening of power and of controls on any level—family, local, or national—opened the way to urges of destructive aggression and revolt against all the holders of power: the fathers, the village elders, the landlords, the Church and the Czar. Outbreaks of such extreme enmity were manifested in frequent communal riots, in mass vagrancy, in bloody revolutionary uprisings, and in widespread dissent from the official

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

Church. In these protest movements on the folk level, demand for acceptance on equal terms in an all-human brotherhood of men was emphasized. 181

In the meantime, with the increasing technological, economic, and intellectual advance of the West, the Western pressures against the Czardom were intensified. In order to meet this challenge and withstand the threat, the Czardom, by the time of Peter the Great, embarked on a series of reforms aimed at Westernization of the Empire, such as secularization of the State, bureaucratization, industrialization and mass education. As a result of such developments, a new elite of parvenu salaried bureaucracy, and of parvenu salaried military, distinguished by the rank and not by the possession of land, was gradually taking the place of the old service nobility as the main pillar of the Czardom. At the same time, the old nobility who were freed of their obligatory service to the State, became hereditary owners of their estates. [177] 565

In this manner, the old service nobility evolved into a class of economically independent landed squires, even though losing their former political status and privileges, such as monopoly on land and on service. This new gentry however, were by tradition, upbringing, and personal traits, interested in ruling, in political and military careers, not in land cultivation or industry. Many of them, when without office, tended to lead a life of leisure, and to emulate Western manners and styles, to cultivate arts and letters and to indulge in philosophical speculation and formulation of political theories. Few showed an inclination to identify themselves with the productive strata of the population and to devote time and energy to improve techniques of economic production and management. [517]

Such an attitude of the nobility was an important agent in the retarded economic growth of Russia and in the lack of development of a numerically strong and influential middle class, which might have served as a cementing force in a culturally and ideologically split society. And it was from among this leisured class of rural gentry who had lost their status as the main pillar of the Czardom, but who had also emancipated themselves from their economic dependency upon the Czar, that the first

1 [i.e. from the second half of the XVI century -- Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

174 to maintain a system of economic self-sufficiency which was restricted to small villages or groups of such villages.[1]

175 181 In early documents these Old-Slavonic plowmen are described as peaceful, moderate, mild, and humane, patient and sober, disinterested in power, hard working, living in social and political democracy. They are pictured as being opposed to subjection, but unable to offer much resistance to a foreign aggressor since they were not skilled in warfare. Procopius (6th century), for instance, said that "these people are not ruled by one man, but they have lived from of old under a democracy, and consequently everything which involves their welfare, whether for good or for ill, is referred to the people."[2] And Emperor Leo (9th century) stated the following:

> . . . jealous of their liberty they have always refused to submit themselves to the Empire. . . . even those who have accepted Christianity keep as much as they can the forms of their ancient freedom. . . . This is a numerous nation, patient in difficult times, and very industrious. Heat, cold, hunger, and want of all things do not beat down these people. . . . They used to be very hospitable and still maintain with great care this virtue. They are affable people and receive travellers with much kindness, show them the way, and protect them against insult. If a traveller would not be well treated by his host because of host's fault all the people would attack the host. They behave with much gentleness also toward their slaves; they do not condemn them to perpetual slavery, but fix a time of service . . . after which time . . . they free them. The women are well-behaved, and attached to their husbands. . . . These people are very frugal . . . they prefer to live with much freedom. . . . They like to take refuge in the woods or in inaccessible places.[3]

175 631 [565] The people of Polesie seem to have been politically organized in a system of smaller groupings of self-governing villages or even in single autonomous villages connected among themselves, not in the form of a central authority or state, but rather as a loose confederation of independent units. Apparently, there were no marked social distinctions or differences in class and rank in this society. There was no aristocracy, no separate class of priests or warriors, no cities, no temples. There was, therefore, no class or clique which sought power and expansion over others,

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

II

The Slavonic soil cultivators, depending upon economic self-sufficiency and cooperative effort in marshy and forest regions, as well as in the steppes, practiced a system of joint-family ownership of land (zadruga system). But when nomadic warriors imposed their rule over the tillers of the soil, the invaders considered the land over which they ruled to be their property and forced the peasants who were settled on it to pay them tribute in grain and other agricultural produce. According to the expanded version of the *Pravda Ruskaya,* for instance, after the death of a *smerd* (peasant) his sons would inherit the land, but if there were no sons the property went to the prince.

It is possible that already at that time some of the Asiatic conquerors occasionally divided and redistributed the land among the peasants according to the changing size of their families, the ability to till it and pay taxes and tithes. This might have been the most expedient way by which the conquerors sought to increase the income from the lands which they controlled. At the same time the peasants that formed a land commune were held jointly responsible by their over-lords for a predetermined amount of tributes, as well as for criminal acts committed on their territory.

The system of joint community responsibility was a well-known practice in the society of steppe nomads. It was especially applied as a means to procure fines and force the payment of debts. In that social system if a wrong-doer was unable to pay a fine, his nearest relatives, and failing them, the whole camp, had to provide it.[10] Therefore when these predatory herdsmen imposed their rule over the farming folk, they might have introduced the principle of joint responsibility as the most expedient way to collect the tributes and to exploit economically the subjected peoples.

It was by such social processes that the non-warlike and stateless society of the Old-Slavonic agricultural folk was incorporated into a military society of power-oriented horsemen of the Eurasian steppes.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

From its very inception the Russian state was a military Soc i-
721 ety. The military campaigns and territorial expansion were
565 needed in this society to provide land to pay for the services of
181 a class of military nobility whose chief occupation was state service and warfare, not land cultivation. War gave the Czar an opportunity to distribute land grants, to bestow ranks and offices and to win the support of the nobility. At the same time warfare offered an opportunity for the nobles to exert more personal power, to release their destructive urges, and to compensate for indignities and humiliations to which they were constantly exposed on the part of superiors in rank and office. Thus, by engaging these people in constant warfare the Czars directed their aggressive impulses against the enemy instead of against the ruler. The wars were not only a means of occupying a potentially restless and turbulent military class, but they were necessary to enhance the Czar's prestige, to solidify his rule, and to impress his subjects with the idea of his might and invincibility.

723 In such circumstances, prolonged and costly wars were to be avoided. The military nobility, whose loyalty to the Czar was conditioned upon his power and favors, could not be completely depended upon to remain loyal to the Czar under adverse conditions or in defeat. Therefore, in military campaigns the em-
725 phasis had to be put on numerical superiority over the enemy. Another way of fighting the enemies was to frighten them into retreat by sudden and unexpected attacks from ambush combined with wild sounds of the drums, trumpets and shouting, in Mongol fashion. Soldiers and officers were ready to flee if the enemy showed considerable resistance. Their preference was fighting from a distance, or from a place of advantage from where they could annoy the enemy, but hurt themselves least.[16] Hence their most common way of taking cities and fortresses
[726] was by a siege, in the course of which they would force the population to surrender by means of mass starvation, or by provoking internal dissensions and treachery.[17] Small, weak and unprotected adversaries would be threatened into submission by "psychological warfare" methods without even resorting to an open war.[18]

727 In earlier days, the means employed to keep conquered people
1036 in submission were the same as those practiced toward Russian

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

a self-protection on any sign of hostility a preventive war or feud must be initiated.[14] Hence also craftiness and cunning, readiness to lie and to commit perjury[15] and a general wiliness and wariness might easily develop.[16] When a society is to a large extent governmentalized and regimented, such traits are reinforced because in such conditions the feeling of insecurity and lack of trust favor ruthless domineering and coercive submission on all levels of social organization.

In circumstances where power-seeking, extreme self-concern and lack of mutual trust prevail there is a readiness of many people to spy on one another and to inform. There is also an inclination to caluminate as a means of revenge and personal malice.

Destructive aggressiveness and feeling of insecurity, as well as need for succor, may explain the passion for hazardous games and intoxicating drink, and the inclination toward lechery. That liquor is used as a compensatory device which provides a feeling of power and security as contrasted to a reality in which one is cowed into submission is well expressed in folk philosophy. According to a proverb, "When the peasant is drunk, he feels equal to a nobleman; when he is sober he is afraid even of a pig."[17] Hence, in a society in which people find themselves subdued, degraded, and oppressed and where their needs for attachment and acceptance are thwarted, a safe way to rebel against such conditions or to find a convenient substitute may be in drunkenness and debauchery. The early Church documents, as well as the recent evidence, point to the perseverance of such practices:

> Numerous are the sermons devoted to invectives against drunkenness and the pagan character of banquets . . . This wild debauch of popular feasts was preserved until the twentieth century, with the same scenes of drunken fighting and killing as are depicted in this document of the thirteenth century. Orgiasm . . . unrestrained emotional outbursts, stimulated by alcohol, dancing, fighting, or sex, always has been an outstanding feature of Russian temperament.[18]

1 [Sic -- Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Top ruling circles themselves often exhibited a great lack of self-control. A number of rulers showed a tendency toward excesses and extremes that bordered on insanity. Even the Czars of the nineteenth century, in spite of many Western moderating influences, showed tendencies toward instability and extremes in their behavior. Not seldom a new monarch would completely reverse the policies of his predecessor. The rulers tended to show great instability also in attitudes toward their advisers. They would turn suddenly against the old councilors and find new favorites. As a result often "the mighty of yesterday were sent to Siberia or the scaffold." But also barrack and bedchamber revolutions were frequent, reflecting the suddenly changing extremes in moods within the ruling cliques.

Lack of moderation and emotional instability was one of the favored themes of Russian belles-lettres of the nineteenth century. The heroes in these works often display an extremely unbalanced type of behavior. Feodor Chaliapin, who himself took part in producing such types on the Russian stage, states the following:

> . . . When I think of the characters I have created on the Russian stage, I am conscious not so much of the characters themselves as of an all pervading sense of the Russian temperament that is all extremes. . . . It seems as though Russian temperament is entirely devoid of moderation. . . . The fact remains that their contradictions are far more harsh and violent than those of most mentalities. . . . The Russian heart is infinitely pitiful and tender, but at the same time what gross and often completely aimless cruelty and tyranny are to be found in Russian life. The Russian soul is extraodinarily sensitized, but what brutality and lustful suspicion and vulgarism are to be found in human relationships. It is only too true that neither in good nor in evil can the Russian steer a middle course . . .[8]

In *Khovantchina* it is religious fanaticism, and how profound and powerful is that fanaticism! A normal mind could not possibly comprehend that perfect serenity which enables men to die for their belief. They stand on the sheer rampart, utterly oblivious of the stairway by which they might descend to safety. They batter their heads against the wall, unconscious of pain . . . In Rimsky-Korsakov's *Pskovitane* I take the part of Ivan the Terrible. He, the Tsar, cares nothing that the river runs red with blood, so illimitable is his knowledge of

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Speaking of the character of the peasants Mr. Karnovitch observed, that whoever has to exercise authority over them must above all things guard against indecision, whether in word or act. The Russian always requires a definite command; and in disputes, if the settlement be distinct and pre-emptory, he will be satisfied, whether the sentence is favorable or unfavorable, wise or unwise. If there be hesitation, he immediately becomes intractable, while a resolute command has a magical influence which he cannot resist.[21]

In such a society which is kept together by naked force rather than by moral bonds, breakdown of controls easily results in revolt and upheavals, in widespread bloodshed and destruction. On such occasions, just like the raznochintsy intelligentsia, the peasants, too, tended to revolt against all forms of humiliation and oppressive submission and demanded reestablishment of the old community relations, in which truth and justice and equalitarian brotherhood of man prevailed.

Such forms of peasant protest, which were directed against all the authorities, the family, community elders, the landlord, the Church and the state, will be discussed on the following pages.

18
RELIGIOUS REVOLT OF THE PEASANTRY

I

THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH which in the course of its history came to be completely subjected to the state and was made an instrument of governing, supported the lay authorities in their policies of enserfment. But the state had meagerly rewarded the Church for such services. The revenues from the land donations given to the parishes by the state or by the landlords were not sufficient to maintain the parish priests and their families. The village priests therefore depended for their living upon the fees which the peasants

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples
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CHAPTER VII

RUSSIA

181 THE important fact about Russian civilization is that it is Byzantine in its origin, and that in spite of what Toynbee refers to as Russia's "fits of Westernization", its convulsions due to the injection of ideas from the West, (e.g., under Peter the Great), and again in its adoption of Marxism, Byzantine it has remained.

If anyone cares to dispute this about Russian civilization as a whole, he can hardly do so about the Russian Church in particular. In the eleventh century the Russians, or rather their Scandinavian rulers, took over Orthodoxy as one whole thing from Constantinople. It was the reverse process of what happened in the Roman Empire when the State adopted Christianity after it had largely won the people. In Russia the princes accepted Christianity and then gradually imposed it upon their subjects. Christianity had a thousand years' experience behind it, and Orthodoxy had reached its final form when Russia embraced it. No disputes about fundamental Christian doctrines disturbed the Russian Church. The Trinitarian and Christological controversies were settled, the marriage of Christian revelation with Greek philosophy had been consummated, and the conflict to settle the relations between religion and art had been fought out. Together with the liturgical books and all the external apparatus of worship, Russia took over a fixed body of doctrine, a monastic system, a style of building and ornamenting churches, and a body of legal principles.

In all these matters Russia was to introduce modifications and to set a Russian stamp upon them, for in spite of its method of adoption Orthodoxy entered into the soul of the

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

ple, in the plains between the Drava and Sava rivers, showed cultural and personality traits similar to those of the Old-Slavonic plowmen.[30]

In their migration, these early Slav soil cultivators were often able to Slavicize the natives among whom they had settled and even to absorb the numerically small bands of steppe raiders who had conquered them. These assimilated invaders were then often employed to fight against new nomadic incursions.[31] It was in the course of such acculturations, due to migrations and conquests, that in the regions between the Volga and the Dnieper a peculiar fusion of contrasting cultural patterns of the steppe horsemen and of the tillers of the soil had developed. Structural relations, personality traits and the religious, social and political ideologies that resulted out of this blend of the two conflicting worlds formed the basis of Russian society and have been at the root of its political instability throughout centuries.[32]

4
TURCO-MONGOL INVASIONS AND FORMATION OF RUSSIAN SOCIETY

I

THE MOUNTED warriors of the steppes were accustomed to covering great distances on their raids and migrations. After they had devastated and annihilated much that was in their way, they would impose their rule with ease over whatever was left. Then they would proceed to organize nomadic federations, principalities and empires.[1] The political systems which thus arose in the area between the Ural mountains and the Carpathians apparently followed the pattern that had been originally established by the Scythians and Huns in the same territory.[2]

Being extremely self-centered and insecure, a strong driving

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

force behind the war expeditions of these predatory warriors might have been their need for self-assertion and dominance, as well as an urge for destruction. They were therefore likely to indulge in sadistic cruelty and in mass plunder, in lechery and debauchery.

It is important to notice, however, that in these conquests the mounted nomads would often invade and settle distant areas without their womenfolk. Therefore, when these womenless, predatory, patriarchal and polygynous horsemen invaded the plains and river valleys between the Ural mountains and the Carpathians, where the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators, Fino-Ugric hunters and other folks were settled, the newcomers not only imposed themselves as political rulers, but it became necessary for them to abduct native women *en masse*, to buy them, or to demand them as a tribute, and make them their wives, concubines, and slaves. Not only the historical records but the Great-Russian marriage customs, folk poetry and other oral literature testify to this trend of events. Marriage by capture, bride price and the use of women as slave laborers figure prominently in all these documents.

At first a great cultural diversity in the society at large resulted out of such a situation. Many early observers of the peoples of this area noticed this phenomenon. Often the customs of the peoples that went under the same name were very dissimilar. The same names covered a conglomeration of tillers of the soil, pastoral nomads, nomadic hunters, and warlike tribes. Some of these people were matriarchal, others patriarchal. Some of them lived in wagons and tents, others built houses. Some cremated their dead, others practiced inhumation. Some were cannibalistic, others vegetarians.[3]

It is for this reason that early observers when speaking of "Slavs" sometimes give contradictory data.[4] Such accounts are likely to confuse a student of early Slav society unless he keeps in mind the ethnical mixture and blending of cultures that was taking place in that area in the course of many centuries. Tacitus, for instance, noticed that "The Veneti [Slavs] have borrowed largely from Sarmatian character; in their plundering expeditions they roam over the whole extent of forests and mountains. . . ."[5]

3 [i.e. of the Turko-Mongols — Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF] Great Russia RF]

In a similar manner the old Kiev Chronicle points out the cultural differences between a number of Slavic-speaking tribes, such as the Polians—the "field-people," and the Drevlians (Drevlyane)—the "inhabitants of the forests," in the middle Dnieper basin. While the former are described as peaceful and mild, organized along egalitarian lines, the latter are represented as ferocious and wild, organized along monarchial, predatory, warlike, and polygynic principles. The Drevlians, says the Chronicle, ". . . lived like beasts; friends killed one another (*ubivahu drug druga*) . . . no marriage took place amongst them, but they captured young girls on the banks of the rivers."[6] And as for some other tribes, such as the Radimichi, the Vyatichi, and the Sever, the Chronicle says that ". . . shameful things occurred amongst them between fathers and daughters-in-law . . . there was no marriage . . . but the villagers would get together for dancing and satanic games, and there they captured their wives . . . they had generally two or three wives . . . they burned their dead."[7]

It is to be expected that under such circumstances cultural dualism and internal conflict and tension occurred within many individual families in this area. A Slavonic woman as wife or concubine of a Turco-Mongol horse-breeder and warrior might know nothing about his nomadic and predatory way of life, about horses and mares, about weapons, wagons and tents. She might therefore introduce into her new family agricultural techniques and a more settled way of life.

Being raised in an equalitarian society with some matriarchal traits, and with emphasis on self-respect and personal autonomy, a Slavonic woman would not be inclined to be completely submissive to her Turco-Mongol husband. Following child rearing customs of her own society the Slavonic woman would tend to remain close to her children, would teach them Slavonic speech, and might even be in a position to give them protection from the arbitrariness and impulsiveness of their warlike father. Such a situation reinforced and even magnified the traditional distance between the Turco-Mongol father and the members of his family.

At the same time the invader would insist on a subordinate

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

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They used to go starke naked, save a clout about their middle, with their haire hanging long and wildely about their shoulders, and many of them with an iron coller in chaine about their neckes or middles, even in the very extremity of winter. . . . Among others at this time they have one at Mosco that walketh naked about the streets, and inveyeth commonly against the state and government. . . . Another there was, that dyed not many years agoe . . . that would take upon him to reproove the olde emperour, for all his cruelties and oppressions done towards his people. His body they have translated of late into a sumptuous church neere the emperours house in Mosco, and have canonized him for a saint. Many miracles he doth there. . .[15]

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Another form of protest or of reaction against the existing conditions consisted of mass vagrancy. Many thousands of these restless people were roaming the roads, the forests, and the deserts, as beggars, as pilgrims or as agricultural nomads. Many of them spent whole lives wandering, unable to find peace and rest.

IV

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Conditions in which abusive dominance-submission relationships, self-concern, lack of trust, and destructive aggression thrive do not favor unification and stability of an empire. Yet the Czardom showed a steady and remarkable development in spite of such unfavorable circumstances. In the course of several centuries it had grown from a small principality into a great world power. Just as in the states of steppe nomads, the social agents which were responsible for self-seeking, power-orientation and internal restlessness and explosiveness encouraged also external expansion. But unlike the empires of the steppes, there were in the Empire of the Czars several circumstances which fostered ideological and moral unity, such as the politico-religious philosophy of the Orthodox Church and conditioning on the family and community level. It was perhaps this combination of the explosive and unifying tendencies which was responsible for steady expansiveness and growing consolidation of the Czardom.

[182]

From its very inception the Russian state was a military soci-

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6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[Ivan the Terrible]

In this manner popular religious ideas and practices which might have developed as a response to the interpersonal relations in the family and in the Czardom in their own turn tended to perpetuate the existing social and political order, its institutions and practices. There were, however, other aspects of interpersonal relations intrinsic to that social organization which provoked responses that tended not to perpetuate it, but to undermine it and to destroy its very foundations. These important agents of structural change in Russian society will be discussed on the following pages.

11
POWER-SEEKING, MISTRUST, AND DESTRUCTIVE AGGRESSION

I

A CHILD who has been rejected and humiliated by a stern and scornful father, but who has been spoiled by an overindulgent mother might respond to such a situation by developing an exaggerated concern for his own ego, and an extreme intolerance for privations and denials. And in case the mother cannot serve as a satisfactory substitute for rejection by the father, complete detachment from the group, and pity for an abandoned, degraded and suffering self might develop. In such circumstances also a deeply rooted suspicion of others, an unbridled desire for power, and an overwhelming hate and urge for destruction of all those who stand in one's path might take place.

The life histories of a number of Russian rulers and intelligentsia apparently show such an effect of their family environment.[1] Childhood experiences and character traits of Ivan the Terrible, for instance, provide an outstanding example. There is sufficient evidence for the contention that the strange behavior of this Czar was rooted in rejection and in alternating mistreat-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

665 tion which had developed in Russia after the February revolution and to achieve their main objective.

II

182 Just as earlier, in Turco-Mongol empires, the great weakness of the Czardom lay in its low degree of emotional and ideological unity And it is this basic vulnerability of the Czardom which has enabled a small, but determined, well disciplined and ruthless faction of professional conspirators to seize power. Like its patriarchal family the whole Czardom was torn by internal dissension and strife. The abusive and humiliating power relationships at all levels of social organization of the Czardom encouraged self-orientation and destructive aggressiveness which precluded tolerance, compromise and social cohesion.

In such circumstances it was difficult to develop a set of common values that would serve as a focal point of unity of all subjects and keep the society unified in face of all threats to its existence. Orthodox religion, as well as Russian nationalism, failed in its role of unifying ideologies in a society in which interpersonal and intergroup relationships provoked feelings of rejection, mistrust, emotional instability and extreme factionalism. Thus, instead of developing itself into an integrated community unified by common feelings and identification and common interests, there grew within the Czardom a number of separate and inimical worlds with confiicting expectations and demands and with differing images and visions.

184 There was the world of the peasants, the world of the landlords,
565 the world of the lower urban folk, the world of the clergy, the world of the bureaucracy, the world of the military, the world of the intelligentsia, the world of a small upper commercial and industrial class, and finally the separate worlds of ethnical, religious and national minorities. Since Russia had not developed a numerically strong and influential middle class to link and unify all these strata, there was little contact, less understanding and no mutual sympathy between these contrasting worlds. There were deep tensions and conflicts also within each one of these worlds and all were in a perpetual state of hostility and warfare among themselves.[11]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia: RF1

side. The gulf between these two leading groups of the Czardom became impassable.

The intelligentsia themselves were far from being unified or having a common purpose. They were a restless and unstable crowd. They were split into numerous parties, factions and cliques which were in a perpetual state of feuding and warfare among themselves. Since all tended toward extremes and all sought absolute power, each party, faction, and clique considered itself to be the only repository of the Truth and therefore anathematized all others. Dogmatic intolerance and neverending feuding constantly fostered new schisms and heresies, new renegations and treacheries, bitterness, hostilities and extreme factional strife.

Both the peasants and the intelligentsia resented the military. The officers kept apart from the rest of society as a separate caste, and were therefore alienated from the common people. Within the military ranks there was a great deal of distrust and suspicion of common soldiers toward officers. The revolutionary intelligentsia considered the armed forces to be the main bulwark of the autocracy, showed a passionate hatred toward them and were waiting for the first chance to destroy this pillar of the old regime. All the strata of the population equally loathed the dreadful political police. The revolutionary intelligentsia were also distrustful of the clergy and Church hierarchy. Most of them were openly atheistic.

In want of an integrating middle class and a unifying ideology, all these warring strata, groups and factions were held together by the authority of the Czar, which was sanctioned by the Church and rested on the bureaucracy, the police and the armed forces. The influence of the Church, however, was greatly shattered, the bureaucracy was inefficient, self-concerned, full of internal tension, and not fullheartedly behind the existing regime, and the police were resented by all. The fate of the Czardom therefore depended exclusively upon the discipline and the loyalty of the military.

In such conditions, if the support of the armed forces would fail, both the Czar and the Czardom were doomed. This was well realized not only by the opposition, but by the Czar him-

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self. And after the army which Czar Nicholas personally commanded in 1917 had suffered defeats at the hands of the enemies, and the chiefs of the armed forces suggested to the Czar that he should resign, he realized that his prestige had fallen and his authority gone. As out of spite he abdicated not only for himself but for his heirs as well. And as it has already happened in Russia's past, when the central authority suffered defeat and loss of prestige, all seething internal forces of revolt, relieved of the controls that kept them under check, burst out in violent eruptions. In such circumstances everybody deserted the Czar, even the Orthodox Church:

> Even the Orthodox Clergy, that class that had been an integrated part of the Czarist system deserted the Czar in the hour of his doom. Showing as much lack of a sense of proportion as the other classes of Russian society the official hierarchy went as far as to pass a decision according to which all lines containing the word "king" in the Psalms of David were to be deleted.[13]

III

All these circumstances, combined with the extreme factionalism within the intelligentsia, greatly facilitated the seizure of the power by the Bolsheviks. All the four national *Dumas* which were convoked since 1905 were composed predominantly of the intelligentsia and semi-intelligentsia. The same situation existed in the leading circles of all political parties.[14] But in each party, self-centeredness and lust for power led the intelligentsia into constant bickering among themselves and neverending fighting for leadership, a situation that manifested itself in numerous party splits.

It was only in the Bolshevik Party that the Party's Central Committee was well disciplined and unified under one leader who had absolutist and dictatorial powers. This situtation spared the Party too many splits. This Bolshevik system favored the reduction of Party leadership to a rather small number of intellectuals who relied on the semi-intelligentsia and industrial workers in local Party work. It was this dictatorial, centralistic and "aristocratic" organization of the Bolsheviks, as well as the extreme ruthlessness and aggressiveness of its leaders and fanat-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

jects as a means of permanent control. It is felt that only by Russifying the non-Russian parts of the Soviet Union and convincing them of the benefits of close ties with Russian people and Russian institutions[55] a common culture will be developed; on such a basis a feeling of unity, of common interests and of common objectives will grow.

It is in light of such circumstances that the earlier Marxian theory of linguistics had to be revised to suit the new situation. Present language is not considered any more to be just a "superstructure" destined to give way to a completely new language of Socialism. On the contrary, Russian language and even Russian script is looked upon now as the basic language and basic script of Soviet socialism. Contrary to earlier Marxian theory, Russian language is now looked upon as an agent of unification and control under Soviet rule.[56]

Myths of national and racial superiority, however, do not appeal equally to all strata of the population. The toiling multitudes, if dissatisfied with their status, might remain deaf to such calling unless convinced that in different conditions their situation would become worse and even more precarious. It was to strengthen the latter feeling that the Bolshevik Party undertook to propagate a myth of the inferiority, rottenness, and damnation of the non-Soviet world. Building on anti-Latin and anti-Western traditions of the Orthodox Church and of Slavophilism the Bolshevik propaganda has attempted to develop attitudes of horror, disgust, and utter contempt of the capitalist world and of Western culture. Accordingly the Western society has been pictured as exploitative, war-mongering, decadent, decaying, full of internal conflicts and contradictions, and therefore self-destructive. The miserable, exploited, toiling multitudes in Western countries and their dependencies have been pictured as living in inhuman, deplorable and destitute conditions, exposed to constant unemployment and hunger, and heartlessly exploited by pitiless capitalists.

Because of this inherent and unsurmountable conflict of interests between labor's demand for higher standards and the capitalist's demand for higher profits, there is an intrinsic self-destroying tendency in the very nature of capitalism, the Bolshe-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

178 In the new secularized and urbanized society, also, the position
565 of the clergy became increasingly precarious. Like other insti-
793 tutions of the Czardom the Russian Orthodox Church was organ-
ized along the lines of sharp social differentiation and domi-
nance-submission relationships. Russian Orthodox clergy as a
whole formed a closed caste institution. All lay clergymen and
many monastics were recruited from among the members of the
[582] families of lay clergy. Endogamous marriage was practiced
within this caste. The church maintained its own schools for
both the sons and the daughters of clergymen. In this manner
●[184] the clergy had been separated from the rest of the society and
had developed a sub-culture of its own. The clerics were set
apart from others not only by their priestly garb, but by their
manners, and even by their names.

792 Internally, however, within the ranks of the Orthodox clergy
793 there was a sharp distinction between the monastic order (black
554 clergy) and the secular priesthood (white clergy). The monastic
order was rich in land donations and other possessions and all
the Church hierarchy was recruited from among its ranks. The
secular clergy was not only subordinate to the monastics, but
also poor. Among the secular clergy sharp class distinction ex-
isted between the city clergy and the village priests. This dif-
ferentiation was manifested in the differences in income, educa-
tion and prestige, as well as in the lack of intermarriage between
these strata. The difference was also reflected in the attitudes of
[369] the laity. While the city clergy were socially accepted by the mid-
dle and lower urban layers, the village priests were rather iso-
lated from the rest of the population.

However, the sharpest difference and social distance existed between the Church hierarchy and the rank-and-file clergymen. The heads of monasteries, for instance, behaved like real magnates. They took in large revenues, kept servants, horses and carriages, and hardly shared in the life of their monastic brothers, even though these Church dignitaries resided in monasteries. In the same way, the bishops were inclined to belittle the lay clergy under their control. They treated them with a great want of respect. They would abuse them, insult them and then even flog them.

1 [i.e. developing in the second half of the XIXth century — Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

tion which had developed in Russia after the February revolution and to achieve their main objective.

II

Just as earlier, in Turco-Mongol empires, the great weakness of the Czardom lay in its low degree of emotional and ideological unity And it is this basic vulnerability of the Czardom which has enabled a small, but determined, well disciplined and ruthless faction of professional conspirators to seize power. Like its patriarchal family the whole Czardom was torn by internal dissension and strife. The abusive and humiliating power relationships at all levels of social organization of the Czardom encouraged self-orientation and destructive aggressiveness which precluded tolerance, compromise and social cohesion.

In such circumstances it was difficult to develop a set of common values that would serve as a focal point of unity of all subjects and keep the society unified in face of all threats to its existence. Orthodox religion, as well as Russian nationalism, failed in its role of unifying ideologies in a society in which interpersonal and intergroup relationships provoked feelings of rejection, mistrust, emotional instability and extreme factionalism. Thus, instead of developing itself into an integrated community unified by common feelings and identification and common interests, there grew within the Czardom a number of separate and inimical worlds with confiicting expectations and demands and with differing images and visions.

There was the world of the peasants, the world of the landlords, the world of the lower urban folk, the world of the clergy, the world of the bureaucracy, the world of the military, the world of the intelligentsia, the world of a small upper commercial and industrial class, and finally the separate worlds of ethnical, religious and national minorities. Since Russia had not developed a numerically strong and influential middle class to link and unify all these strata, there was little contact, less understanding and no mutual sympathy between these contrasting worlds. There were deep tensions and conflicts also within each one of these worlds and all were in a perpetual state of hostility and warfare among themselves.[11]

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The landed gentry had for ages kept the peasants in slavery, misery and contempt. The peasants, feeling humiliated and wronged, had risen against the landlords, burning manorial mansions, looting estates, and massacring their masters whenever the power of the nobility appeared to be waning. Since the traditions of Russian landed squires were those of service nobility, not of manorial aristocrats, their interests and ambitions did not prepare them to take a personal interest in either their lands or serfs. The mansions on the estates of these rural gentry were located on the outskirts of the peasant villages and except for the house servants there was little if any contact with the world of the peasantry. Since Peter the Great the differences between these two worlds became also very visible in dress, manners, standard of living, as well as in views of life, education, ideas and morals. When, after the reforms of Peter the Great, French ways were aped by the dvorianstvo, and French language accepted by them as a means of social intercourse, the abyss between the two worlds became even more unbridgeable.

Similarly the bureaucracy and the revolutionary intelligentsia were two violently opposed camps with little possibility of cooperation between them. And while secondary schools and the universities were producing increasing numbers of lawyers, teachers, architects, journalists, artists, and literati, the tension between the bureaucracy and these intelligentsia developed into an intense and open enmity. Extreme emotionalism nursed on the family level was only heightened in such conditions. Each of these groups therefore showed a great deal of dogmatism; they tended to be implacable, irreconcilable, and full of malevolent criticism of each other. To the revolutionary intelligentsia the bureaucrats were the "corrupted lackeys of the dynasts to be killed like beasts." To the government officials all the liberal intelligentsia were the "mortal enemies" of the Czar. They represented the "sedition" and had to be "mercilessly annihilated."[12] Thus while the intelligentsia relentlessly attacked the bureaucracy in a spirit of destructive criticism, the bureaucracy responded by persecuting the liberals and the revolutionaries with such a blind passion and hatred that the opposition had to go underground or emigrate abroad and organize its war from out-

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6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

in that family, the new circumstances call for more leniency and more intimacy on his part toward his wife and his children. The mother at the same time, because now closer to her husband, is in no need to become over-attached to her children. Such well-balanced family relations come to closely resemble those in the Old-Slavonic family.

It is the children with such close family ties in an emotionally balanced family atmosphere that develop traits of moderation, self-control, responsibility, group orientation and humane feelings. It is in such families that patriotism, idealization of the past and longing for a more humane and more equalitarian political system are nursed.[28] In such families skepticism concerning Bolshevik mythology and opposition to Soviet system may be safely expressed. In such families also religion is cultivated or secretly practiced.[29] In such families apparently numerous anecdotes which ridicule Soviet regime circulate and are spread throughout the Soviet Union.[30] It is to break such family intimacy and solidarity which breed opposition to their regime that the Bolsheviks have shown increasing concern for the control of family relations.

But if the opposition to the Bolshevik regime centers in such families of patriots and humanists, the fate of the Soviet system might rest upon them, in the final analysis. These people might be reluctant to support a Soviet war of aggression led by careerists and fanatics, but ready to defend their Mother Country in the event of hostile aggression from the outside. However, in a war against the Soviet Union which the patriots and the humanists would interpret as a war of liberation from the oppressive, inhuman and destructive policies of Soviet rulers, they might be inclined to take the side of the invading liberators. Inasmuch as such people already find themselves at the fringes of Soviet power structure as specialists and experts in economic management and government administration, in times of crisis the shift of power to these people could easily take place.

Such a trend of development will be even more emphasized among the oppressed, but nationally-conscious minorities, than among the dominant Great-Russians. Millions of Soviet subjects who willingly gave themselves up to the German invaders and

[CONSTITUTION as of 1949]

185 471 Art. 11. The economic life of the Russian SFSR is determined and directed by the State National-Economic Plan with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily improving the material and cultural level of the working people and of consolidating the socialist independence of the country and strengthening its defensive capacity.

461 Art. 12. In the Russian SFSR work is a duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The principle applied in the Russian SFSR is that of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Chapter II. The State Structure

642 Art. 13. For the purpose of mutual assistance among the Union Republics along economic and political lines, as well as along the line of defence, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic voluntarily united with the other equal Soviet Socialist Republics, namely:

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic and
The Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic

in a federal state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Proceeding from the aforesaid, the Russian SFSR ensures to the USSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, the rights defined in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR.

Outside of the spheres set forth in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Russian SFSR exercises state authority independently, retaining its sovereign rights in full.

631 Art. 14. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic consists of the Altai, Krasnodar, Krasnoiarsk, Maritime, Stavropol and Khabarovsk Territories; the Archangel, Astrakhan, Briansk, Velikie Luki, Vladimir, Vologda, Voronezh, Gorky, Grozny, Ivanovo, Irkutsk, Kaliningrad, Kalinin, Kaluga, Kemerovo, Kirov, Kostroma, Crimean, Kuibyshev, Kurgan, Kursk, Leningrad, Molotov, Moscow, Murmansk, Novgorod, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Orel, Penza, Pskov, Rostov, Riazan, Saratov, Sakhalin, Sverdlovsk, Smolensk, Stalingrad, Tambov, Tomsk, Tula, Tiumen, Ulianovsk, Chelyabinsk, Chita, Chkalov, Yaroslav and Amur Regions; the Tatar, Bashkir, Dagestan, Buriat-Mongolian, Kabardinian, Komi, Mari, Mordovian, North Ossetian, Udmurt, Chuvash and Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics; and the Adygei, Jewish, Oirot, Tuvinian, Khakass and Cherkess Autonomous Regions.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

leaders of an organized opposition to the Czarist autocracy were recruited.

By the nineteenth century, this landed gentry opposition to the Czarist regime took two main forms. One was pro-Western, seeking the reconstruction of the Czardom along humanistic, libertarian and juridical lines, brought about by the ideas of Humanism and Renaissance, by the Reformation and by the French and American Revolutions. The other was anti-Western, reacting against Western rationalism and materialism, against Western "heathenism" and cosmopolitanism, and against the Western system of impersonal formalism and open class strife which was beginning to infiltrate Russia.

In an attempt to bridge the widening cultural and ideological chasm between the ruling classes and the common folk, the anti-Westerners exalted the anarchic community relations and equalitarian and humanist values of the Old-Slavonic world and of the Russian peasant commune. But they also emphasized the value of the Church-State unity, and sought a Messianic redemption of the whole world through the absorption of the State by the Orthodox Church and reestablishment of a paternalistic system of community relations ruled by collective conscience and based on Christian love and compassion.

In the meantime, that is, by the second part of the nineteenth century, with the growing impoverishment of the rural gentry and with increasing educational opportunities for all strata of the population, the ranks of the educated classes (*intelligentsia*) were being swollen by many declassed people as well as by increasing numbers of young people from the families of clergymen, of lower government employees, of petty tradesmen and other lower classes (*raznochintsy*). Even though Czardom at the time was still governmentalized to a high degree, it was not totally regimented. Moreover, by the second part of the nineteenth century, under the pressure of the West, and in order to match the military, the educational, the industrial and the social levels of the Western world, Czardom abolished serfdom and made other concessions in the direction of a libertarian and a juridical state. This trend of events reinforced the penetration of Western political and social philosophies which tended

5: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[Constitution as of 1949]

666 in elections to district Soviets - one deputy for every 1,000 of its population; a district with a population below 25,000 elects 25 deputies; a district with a population above 60,000 elects no more than 60 deputies;

In elections to city Soviets or city district Soviets - one deputy for every 350 to 1,000 of the population depending upon the size of the city; in a city or city district whose population does not exceed 12,000 35 deputies are elected;

in elections to the city Soviets of Moscow and Leningrad - one deputy for every 5,000 of their population;

elections to village and settlement Soviets - one deputy for every 100 of the population; rural localities (stanitsas, hamlets, auls) and settlements with a population below 1,000 elect 9 deputies; those whose population exceeds 2,500 - no more than 25 deputies.

The basis of representation for each Soviet of Working People's Deputies of territory, region, Autonomous Region, National and administrative Area, district, city, village and settlement is fixed in the Ordinance concerning Elections to Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Territories, Regions, Areas, Districts, Cities, Villages and Settlements of the Russian SFSR within the range of the bases of representation indicated in the present article.

Art. 146. Candidates for elections are nominated according to electoral districts.

The right to nominate candidates is secured to public organizations and societies of the working people: Communist Party organizations, trade unions, co-operatives, youth organizations and cultural societies.

Art. 147. It is the duty of every deputy to report to his electors on his work and on the work of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies, and he is liable to be recalled at any time upon decision of the majority of the electors in the manner established by law.

Chapter XIII. Arms, Flag, Capital

●186 Art. 148. The arms of the Russian SFSR are a sickle and hammer of gold placed crosswise, handles down, against a red background in the rays of the sun and surrounded by ears of grain, with the inscriptions "RSFSR" and "Workers of All Countries, Unite!"

Art. 149. The state flag of the Russian SFSR is of red cloth with a gold sickle and hammer and the gold letters "RSFSR" placed in the upper corner near the staff.

Art. 150. The capital of the Russian SFSR is the city of Moscow.

Chapter XIV. Procedure for Amending the Constitution

642 Art. 151. The Constitution of the Russian SFSR may be amended only by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the Supreme Soviet.

000 This translation was made from a Russian text, with amendments through March 13, 1948, published by the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR in 1948. Additional amendments were incorporated from texts published in Izvestia through May 27, 1949.

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[XVth century]

175 allies were also the local boyars who were traditionally always ready, at the critical moment, to abandon their own local princes and rush to join the ascending power.

[795] In the middle of the fifteenth century, the representatives of the Church of Byzantium, in the hope of obtaining the Pope's help against the Turks, agreed to a union with Rome. However, in Moscow, whose power was ascending in the face of the disintegrating Mongol Empire and where the Turks were not considered a threat, no need was felt for any Latin help. Thus the Metropolitan of Moscow who gave his approval for the union with Rome was deposed and the Russian Church was declared autocephalous and independent of the Greek Patriarch. This break with the Byzantine Church was of far-reaching conse-

[659] quences. It placed the Russian Church into a completely dependent position on the Grand Prince of Moscow. From now on, the objectives of the Russian state and those of the Russian Church became inseparable.

175 Another international event, the fall of Constantinople (1453),
795 removed the last ideological barrier to the growth of the Muscovite Principality into a world empire. Since the seat of the Greek Patriarch had fallen into the hands of the infidels, Moscow became the strongest and the leading Eastern-Orthodox state thus inheriting the Messianic ideology of world salvation and of a Universal Orthodox Empire.

In accordance with such traditions the Russian clergy began to consider Moscow as the only true successor of the first and of the second Rome, as the only depositor of the True Faith, and as the center of a Messianic politico-religious Orthodoxy. By the beginning of the sixteenth century this ideology of the "Third Rome" was fully developed. The Grand Prince of Moscow had already adopted the title of Czar (Caesar). At that time a monk of one of the old monastaries of Pskov stated this idea in a letter to Czar Vasili III, in the following manner:

● [186] Two Romes have now fallen, and the third one, our Moscow, yet standeth, and a fourth shall there never be. In thy puissant Empire the council of our church doth shine throughout all the world with the light of holiness which is greater even than the light of the sun. In all the world thou alone art the Christian Tzar.[8]

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was invested with the most extensive powers and was given as its special mission the task of looking after the safety of the state and overseeing the doings of all departments, of all public functionaries, and of all people. The security police was an omnipotent and all-powerful body before whom all subjects were considered guilty unless they proved the contrary. This institution—developed in the course of centuries—became of paramount importance to its rulers. It became one of the most essential wheels of the government and one of the chief cares of the ruling class.[16]

III

Hierarchical relations of strict superordination and subordination in the military and bureaucratic ranks might foster feelings of identification with the mighty and the powerful. It is on such grounds that imperialistic nationalism and ideas of national superiority and grandeur thrive. And when state is fused with the Church in a system of theocratic militarism then nationalism might acquire also the aspects of religious fanaticism.

Expansion, greatness of the state, ideas of grandeur and Messianic ideas of world redemption or world domination might provide also compensation for humiliations, self-abasement, feelings of inferiority and unworthiness and other frustrations which are fostered in a system of abusive domineering-subservience relationships. As a result love of show, display of military might and need for conquests preoccupied the ruling strata of post-Petrine Russia as much as those of the Muscovite state. The Czar's court, the nobility, the military, the bureaucracy, the Church, the cities and the villages tended to display a grandeur that was in sharp contrast with the poverty of the country.[17]

This tendency toward exhibitionism and ideas of greatness was manifested also in the glorification of Russia, and the belief in the sacredness of its exalted mission in the world. Such attitudes and feelings which were rooted in the rigidly hierarchical military and bureaucratic structure were supported also by the Third Rome traditions of the Russian Church according to which Providence itself had bestowed upon Russia's rulers the role of the redeemers of mankind. According to these traditions and teachings Russia was a God-chosen country, the only country

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where true Christianity was preserved. In the official statements, in the prayers, in the Church sermons and school textbooks, the Russian Empire was represented as a Holy Land (*Sviataya Rus*).

Accordingly, official geographic studies and statistics tended to magnify everything within the frontiers of the Empire. Russian possessions and might, the resources and riches of the Czar, the progress and virtues of the country were pictured in the school textbooks in a fabulous way. A steady and imposing territorial growth of the Czardom in the course of many centuries at the expense of the East and the West undoubtedly supported these feelings of greatness. In this manner successes in policies of external expansion promoted desires for further conquests.

As long as the authority of the Church remained unshaken the power of the Czar rested on solid foundations. The Czars were able to increasingly concentrate and monopolize all social power while the Czardom expanded territorially in all directions, in spite of all its internal weaknesses.

In the meantime, however, the economic, educational and religious reforms introduced since the eighteenth century tended to undermine the sacredness of the Church as well as the power of the Czar. It was in such circumstances that feelings of revolt bred on all levels of social organization had an opportunity to come into the open, challenging the Czarist regime and all the institutions on which it was based. The people who were treated like wards and minors and were kept in oppressive dependency in the family, in the local community and on the state level rebelled against the system which kept them in perpetual bondage, a trend of events which finally brought about the downfall of the Czardom. The family roots and the development of this personal and social revolt which had shattered the Czardom will be discussed on the following pages.

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women as stupid and nasty, conceited and licentious, and as the mainspring of all calamities of the world.[10] But Tolstoy, too, like the Russian popular view of life, did make a distinction between the woman and the mother.[11]

Hostile drives, mistrust and destructive aggression might be revealed also in attitudes towards strangers. These are sometimes likened to animals, especially dogs. Comparing people with beasts indicates an inclination to abase them and to mistreat them. Such an attitude is shown especially toward those who are considered to be "enemies." When talking about the Tartars, the people would say "the dog of a Tartar." In a like way, xenophobia was manifested in the attitudes toward the "thrice accursed Latins," that is, the Western, non-Orthodox peoples.

Perhaps this need to abuse and to destroy in order to demonstrate one's power was manifested also in treatment of those who were abandoned and helpless, such as prisoners in foreign wars, as well as prisoners in rebellions and civil wars at home, or convicted criminals. In the rebellions and civil wars atrocities were committed by both sides, the government troops and the rebels, the Orthodox and the Dissenters, the Whites and the Reds. In a similar manner convicted criminals, domestic servants and serfs were often used as targets of destructive aggression.

Tendency to abuse was manifested also in the relations between merchants and customers, capital and labor. In the lowest strata ruthless self-seeking took also the form of begging. There was a great number of beggars; begging became a widely spread business. Some of the beggars became people of considerable means. Leaders among the beggars would mutilate, deprive of eyesight, and deform healthy men and boys to use them as their instruments in begging. Entire villages, and even some regions were said to have made begging their regular profession.[12]

II

In circumstances where power-seeking, destructive aggression and mistrust prevail any accident may be interpreted as a sign of another person's hostile intentions. The other person tends to be looked upon as a potential enemy. "You mustn't stroke anyone's head—you might get your hand bitten off," said Lenin.[13] And as

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inclined to take a defeatist attitude and who in their defeatism tended to acknowledge little in the achievements of Russia. They took a very negative attitude toward Russia's social and political system, demanded a break with Russia's past and wanted a thorough Westernization of the country.[4]

Another group of this landed gentry tended to idealize the values of the Old-Slavonic culture and those of the pre-Petrine, pre-bureaucratized, pre-secularized, and Holy Russia. These people, who were highly learned according to Western standards, were aware of many of the inadequacies and deficiencies of the Russia of their times. At the same time they feared the expansionistic designs of the West and the infiltration of Western thought, institutions and practices. They were extremely sensitive to the criticism of Russia and the Russian people prevalent in those days among Western scholars and other Western observers.

Apparently as a reaction to such a threat and criticisms, and perhaps also because seeking compensation for their wounded pride, these people resorted to a flight into Russia's past and projected an idealized image of former values of Russia and of Slav people into the future. They were inclined to criticize the political and social system which Peter the Great had introduced and in which he followed Western patterns; they demanded a return to pre-Petrine and Orthodox Russia reestablished in all its former glory. Such a visionary image of Russia enabled these well off landowning intelligentsia to see also themselves regaining the grandeur, the self-respect, the social prestige and the political power which they were rapidly losing to a parvenu military and bureaucratic hierarchy.

These people reacted aggressively against a challenging Western world by over-stressing what they thought were superior qualities of Slavs and superior values of Russian and Slav culture. It was in this manner that a romantic view of Slav folk society and of the Russian man was developed. These ideas left a strong imprint on literature, art, philosophy and political thinking both of the nineteenth and of the twentieth century Russia and became known as "Slavophilism."

Brought up in a patriarchal family system which had condi-

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tioned them to dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships, but yearning also for the Old-Slavonic anarchic and egalitarian justice, the "Slavophils" tended to idealize especially those institutions in which paternalistic, as well as equalitarian, relationships were well established, but which they saw distintegrating in new circumstances. Such was, for instance, the *mir* institution, according to their view.

According to the Slavophil interpretation, the old Russian and Slav community was founded on the principles of obedience, mutual responsibility, social justice and equality, Christian love and humility.[5] They asserted that the Russian land commune was the foundation of an original and highly satisfactory culture which was exempt from the vices of the Western civilization, untainted with proletarianization, pauperism, and the problem of wages. The mir was an institution in which man felt as an organic and integral part of his community. There was no uncertainty, no insecurity, and no frustrations in that social system since in it the values were absolute and unchallenged.[6]

The Slavophils idealized Russia's patriarchal relationships based on absolute and unchallenged values, on faith and on total fusion of man and community, as contrasted to Western individualism, cosmopolitanism, rationalism and skepticism. They contended that reason, if separated from faith, introduces doubts, splits and conflicts between man and his society. They stressed the organic totality and harmony of the Old-Slavonic and pre-Petrine Russian society in contrast to the materialism and class strife of the West.[7]

The old pre-Petrine order which the Slavophils idealized had greatly depended upon Church support and religious sanction for its perpetuation. The Slavophils therefore feared that Western liberalism which was beginning to penetrate Russia would undermine its religious foundation. As a defense against such demoralizing influences, the Slavophils pointed out that the Western world was rapidly disintegrating because of the spreading of free thought and because of the decline of the faith. The West was a prey to Roman heathenism, they said, and it was from this traditional anti-Christian spirit that revolutions, free thought, the papacy, and the Reformation had sprung.

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According to Slavophils the doom of the Western civilization was sealed when rationalism was allowed to destroy faith. It was then that the human spirit became divided against itself, which meant its disintegration. God and man, intuition and reason, beauty and truth are one, they claimed. As soon as man does not possess such a mystic unity with the absolute, he is plunged into skepticism and disbelief, his reason is separated from his soul and he becomes a "split man."

Owing to the organic totality of his body and soul, of his faith and reason, the Russian man possessed the "inner truth," which is the real truth, as against the "outer truth" or superficial truth of the Westerner, the Slavophils said. Therefore in contrast to the "split man" of the West, the Russian man was a "total man" (*vsechelovek*).[8] In this manner, the Russian man who has achieved his unity with God has achieved also the unity of his nation with God. The Russian nation is therefore a "God-bearing" nation (*Bogonosets*):

> . . . do you know who are the only 'god-bearing' people on earth, destined to regenerate and save the world in the name of a new God, and to whom are given the keys of life and of the new world . . . Do you know which is that people and what is its name?[9]

Aware that without strong religious feelings such a man and society could not exist, and fearing the decline of the old Orthodox-patriarchal values in a bureaucratized and secularized Russia, the Slavophils demanded a return to the old pre-Petrine theocratic system, one in which the Church would absorb the state. In accordance with such an ideology the Slavophils asserted that when the Church has absorbed the state, then the state will ascend and become a Church over the whole world, a Church kingdom ruling over all the earth which is the "glorious destiny ordained for the Orthodox Church."[10]

The Slavophils asserted that the political organization as developed in the West was a system of conquest and force. Being therefore an instrument of oppression, such a political organization was foreign to the Slavs and to the Russian people, and it should not be maintained.[11] In accordance with the anarchic and egalitarian traditions of the Old-Slavonic society, the Slavophils

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They believe that politics is the business of the government, the business of the Central Committee, and as for the writers that their business is not to interest themselves in politics. They believe that if a man wrote well, artistically, and beautifully, one should let it go, in spite of the rotten passages which disorientate our youth and poison it. We demand that our comrades, both the supervisors of literature and the writers themselves must be guided by something without which the Soviet regime cannot exist, and that is politics. Lenin wrote: "Literature must become Party-minded . . . Against bourgeois literary careerism and individualism . . . socialist proletariat must put forward the principle of party literature . . ." Comrade Stalin described our literati as the engineers of human souls. It is necessary therefore that our literature, our literary magazines, . . . should help the Party and the people to educate the youth in the spirit of supreme devotion to the Soviet regime . . .[16]

Special attention is paid in this respect to dramatic art because of its popularity and effect. It is stated therefore that "a playwright must be a politician" and that the producer and actor must be "politicians" of the same stature. Appointment of a group of actors for a Soviet play "is a political question for the producer . . . and how the hero must be played in a Soviet play is a political question for the actor."[17] In the same manner in painting, sculpture and music the Party demands "Soviet realism" which means that the artists and the musicians must have recourse to "topical themes and images of contemporary Soviet reality" and must discard "formalistic trickery and subjectivist insularity."[18]

Accordingly any alien, especially Western, influence on Soviet thinking must be completely eliminated. Western philosophy of liberalism and free individual expression could undermine Bolshevik endeavors to create a completely regimented and submissive "new man." Hence a crusade against "cosmopolitanism, objectivism and other manifestations of bourgeois ideology"[19] has been initiated together with the severance of all closer contacts of Soviet intellectuals with the Western world.[20]

Such policies of complete subordination of one's thoughts, feelings and behavior to the needs of the Party demand not only strict censorship of all published matter[21] but dictate even the use of statistics to suit the objectives of the ruling class. A ruling

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Comrade Stalin is the best friend of us children, of all the children of the world. It is he who builds for us the best schools, palaces of culture, stadiums and camps, where we can become strong and healthy, so that we can study more and better in the winter time, when we go to school. We must grow up as fighters worthy to take the place of those now present here (*Applause*)—as fighters devoted to the cause of the Party, devoted to the cause of the Communist International (*Applause*). Long live our beloved Stalin! (*Applause*).[40]

Accordingly the study and imitation of the life of the two deified Soviet leaders, Lenin and Stalin, is considered to be one of the primary duties and a sacred obligation of every Pioneer and Komsomol. The aim of the Party is to form the conscience of the young according to an idealized image of Lenin and Stalin. Young people are told to think constantly of their leaders, to be inspired by them, to follow them, and to love them. It is often pointed out that the reason that Stalin became so great and achieved the leading position in the Party was because he was such a faithful follower and loyal disciple of Lenin. "We must do everything so that our life is such as the unforgettable Iliich wanted it to be."[41] "In the soul of each one of us there is one and only one image which governs all of us. That is the image of the great Stalin."[42] And if a Pioneer or Komsomol is relaxing in his duties and vigilance, he is instantly reminded: "Comrade Iliich would not have approved of you." Stalin himself in his speeches often stressed the need to imitate Lenin:

> Remember, love, study, Iliich, our teacher, our leader. Fight and defeat enemies, internal and external—like Iliich. Build a new existence, a new mode of life, a new culture—like Iliich. Never refuse to do even the smallest jobs, because out of little things the great things are constructed—this is one of the important legacies of Iliich.[43]

IV

The apotheosis of Stalin did not seem to have sufficient appeal among sophisticated and disaffected intelligentsia, nor among dissatisfied and apathetic laboring masses who tended to blame Stalin for their ills. Nor was the identification of the Party with Mother sufficient to inspire faith in Bolshevik system. It was

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208 186 therefore imperative from the point of view of the survival of the Soviet power and self-perpetuation of the ruling faction to find new mass identifications and symbols. These were readily found in ideas of grandeur and perfection, and in ethnocentrism, rooted in Czarist traditions, in Slavophilism and in the Third Rome ideology. These feelings and attitudes were reinforced in [152] the structure of Soviet society in which, just as in the Czardom, dependency and subservience are likely to foster in the higher strata compensatory feelings of superiority and desire to dominate.

In Bolshevik ideology, however, self-apotheosis expressed in ideas of grandeur and in myths of social and national superiority, and in plans of conquest reached much higher proportions than in the Czardom. Thus the language of Bolshevism became saturated with words and phrases which convey the image of grandeur, perfection, holiness and eternity. Words and phrases, such as grandiose (*velichayshy*), life-giving (*zhivotvoryashchy*), invincible (*nepobedimy*), the most perfect (*naybolie soversheny*), limitless (*bezgranichny*), legendary (*bogatyrsky*), epoch-making, holy (*sviatoy*), miraculous (*chudotvorny*), immortal (*bessmertny*) and eternal (*vechny*) are regularly used to depict the achievements of the Soviet state. The Soviet state is referred to as the "magnificent Soviet State," as "the most perfect political form of power" which has already achieved "world-wide historical victories," and still contains "inexhaustible possibilities." There is today no such force "which could surpass its might."[44] Such a mighty and powerful Socialist state "shows a profound influence on the whole international life, on the hearts and minds of all liberty loving people," thus initiating a "new era in the history of human kind."[45]

The Soviet people themselves are said to be unique and to excel in their personal qualities. The Soviet man, as pictured by the Communist press has in every respect attributes superior to the man of any other society. Having "unheard-of opportunities for education," he is said to be at the head of all "progressive humanity." It is pointed out that he is the one who possesses "the only correct orientation" and absolute knowledge of the past, present and future given him by the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

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Unbounded faith in the victory of Communism gives the Soviet man and woman the strength to withstand otherwise unsurmountable difficulties. It is for this reason that his "unmatched heroism" has deserved the respect of all humankind. He has the interests of the state at heart as if they were his personal affairs, he shows an "infinite attachment" to the Communist Party, has a "most holy" respect for Lenin's legacy, and an "inexhaustible love" for his country. He is endowed with "limitless creative energies" and is ready for any sacrifice, including his own life, for the Soviet cause. He is a perfect man in a perfect society:[46]

> Where do you find such people and such a country as ours? Where do you find people with such superb qualities as manifested by the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War and as displayed by them in their toil which is at the head of the peaceful development and reconstruction of economic production and culture? Every day our people get higher and higher . . . We are not the same as we were yesterday. We changed and grew together with those majestic transformations which changed our country in its very roots.[47]

The grim Soviet reality, however, contradicts this mythology. There is therefore an imperative need to offset the demoralizing effects of such a contrast and to bolster the self-confidence of the people and the prestige of the ruling faction by concentrating all the efforts to achieve some spectacular accomplishments at home and abroad. The Soviet leaders are therefore tireless in magnifying any of their achievements in the field of technology, science, war or diplomacy. By emphasizing the monumentality of these deeds the Bolsheviks expect to leave on their subjects an ineradicable impression regarding the ability of the rulers and the greatness of the system. This line of thought and feeling explains the emphasis on many imposing prestige undertakings in addition to mythical projects that are said to have moved mountains, made oceans out of deserts, produced new species and conquered death. Also pyramidal monuments to Soviet victories, frequent military parades, demonstrations in which hundreds of thousands of people take part, and other mass pageantry are designed to make the people experience a feeling of invincibility, grandeur, and unsurpassable might of the Soviets.

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V

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this self-deification is found in the systematic endeavors of the Bolshevik leaders to emphasize the superior qualities of the Great-Russian people as compared to other peoples of the Soviet Union. The Great-Russians form less than half of the population of the Soviet Union, but they are the dominant nation in the state. The top Party bodies and the government and the managerial hierarchies, are overwhelmingly composed of the Great-Russians or of the non-Russians who have been thoroughly Russified. The Great-Russians constitute a majority in the branches of the Soviet armed forces deemed essential to the internal security of the Soviet Union. The Great-Russians predominate in the security police and its militia as well as in the air force and in the tank divisions and other mechanized troops. And the infantry units when composed of other ethnic groups always include a sufficient number of Great-Russians as a cementing force.[48]

There is strong emphasis on Russification in all schools of the country, especially the Party schools. In all constituent Republics, autonomous republics, and autonomous territories and regions, Russified natives or the Party members of Great-Russian origin figure as Party leaders, as top bureaucrats and top managers, or as advisers and experts.

In order to justify this policy of Russification and to accustom the non-Russians to the dominant position which the Great-Russians occupy in the Soviet Union, a myth of Great-Russian superiority has been developed by the Bolsheviks. At the Kremlin victory banquet on May 25, 1945, Stalin gave a toast "first of all" to the Great-Russian people. He referred to them as "the most outstanding of all nationalities forming part of the Soviet Union." According to Stalin, the Russian people "merit general recognition in the Great Patriotic War as the leading power among all the peoples of our country . . . they have a clear mind, steadfast characters, and endurance."[49]

A textbook on pedagogy asserts that "the history of the Russian people proves to all mankind their political wisdom, their military values, and their genius."[50] Other Soviet writings claim

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that "All the peoples of the Soviet Union recognize and appreciate the tremendous historical mission which the Great-Russian people is performing, as the outstanding people of the Soviet fraternity of nations."[51] In the same manner Grekov, a Soviet academician and one of the most outstanding Soviet historians, claims that the Russians, owing to their fighting ability and their readiness to sacrifice themselves for a good cause, saved the Western European civilization from barbarism and destruction even in the middle ages.[52]

Innate superiority of the Great-Russians is said to have manifested itself in an unsurpassable inventive genius. Hence the Russian military strategists, scholars and technicians are credited with a number of outstanding inventions which have been heretofore generally regarded as being developed in the Western countries. It is claimed, for instance, that the "Soviet Military science" developed by the Great-Russians is superior to any bourgeois concept of war. Also, most of the basic technological discoveries and inventions, from the spinning wheel to the nuclear nature of the atom, are said to have been the result of the "creative work of Russian genius,"[53] but "wrongfully ascribed to Germans, Englishmen, Americans, and Italians."[54]

Dominance of the Russians over the other peoples of the Soviet Union contradicts both the Socialistic doctrines and the Bolshevik myth of equality of all national and ethnic groups. As a result of Bolshevik policies of rigid centralization of power which promotes Russian hegemony, national and ethnic autonomies provided for by the Constitution became illusory. Reaction to such a situation has provoked dissatisfaction among subjected nationalities, resulting sometimes in open rebellions. To stamp out such revolts the Bolsheviks had to resort occasionally to resettlement and extermination of the whole recalcitrant populations, just as the Turco-Mongol rulers did before them. As a result a number of ethnic and national groups disappeared as separate entities, such as the Volga Germans, the Crimean Tartars, the Kalmyks and others.

The Bolsheviks realize, however, that these are means only to be used in extreme cases and in emergencies. Their aim is therefore to promote Russification among all their non-Russian sub-

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jects as a means of permanent control. It is felt that only by Russifying the non-Russian parts of the Soviet Union and convincing them of the benefits of close ties with Russian people and Russian institutions[55] a common culture will be developed; on such a basis a feeling of unity, of common interests and of common objectives will grow.

It is in light of such circumstances that the earlier Marxian theory of linguistics had to be revised to suit the new situation. Present language is not considered any more to be just a "superstructure" destined to give way to a completely new language of Socialism. On the contrary, Russian language and even Russian script is looked upon now as the basic language and basic script of Soviet socialism. Contrary to earlier Marxian theory, Russian language is now looked upon as an agent of unification and control under Soviet rule.[56]

Myths of national and racial superiority, however, do not appeal equally to all strata of the population. The toiling multitudes, if dissatisfied with their status, might remain deaf to such calling unless convinced that in different conditions their situation would become worse and even more precarious. It was to strengthen the latter feeling that the Bolshevik Party undertook to propagate a myth of the inferiority, rottenness, and damnation of the non-Soviet world. Building on anti-Latin and anti-Western traditions of the Orthodox Church and of Slavophilism the Bolshevik propaganda has attempted to develop attitudes of horror, disgust, and utter contempt of the capitalist world and of Western culture. Accordingly the Western society has been pictured as exploitative, war-mongering, decadent, decaying, full of internal conflicts and contradictions, and therefore self-destructive. The miserable, exploited, toiling multitudes in Western countries and their dependencies have been pictured as living in inhuman, deplorable and destitute conditions, exposed to constant unemployment and hunger, and heartlessly exploited by pitiless capitalists.

Because of this inherent and unsurmountable conflict of interests between labor's demand for higher standards and the capitalist's demand for higher profits, there is an intrinsic self-destroying tendency in the very nature of capitalism, the Bolshe-

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viks say.[57] The bourgeois countries are therefore inescapably crippled and inevitably doomed beyond any hope of recovery whatsoever.[58] The only way out of such an unbearable situation for the capitalists is to "turn the whole planet into a police station, under American supervision."[59] Hence the capitalists prepare for war and imperialistic expansion as the only way to maintain their power. They tend to encircle the Soviet Union and attack it. Therefore, sooner or later "a series of the most frightful collisions between the Soviet republic and bourgeois states is inevitable."[60]

Propaganda concerning the inevitable doom of capitalism is aimed at discouraging hopes for change in the Soviet system. Such propaganda supports the myth of the infallibility and invincibility of the Soviet system; the inevitability of the coming economic crises in the capitalist world, especially in the United States, will lead to the final breakdown of the capitalist system, the victory of the Soviets, and the establishment of a World Soviet Republic.[61] At the same time the claim that the capitalistic powers will resort to aggression as a last hope to save their dwindling system functions as a justification for aggressive diplomacy and strategic expansion; it strengthens the demands for greater sacrifices and deprivations in favor of police measures and war preparedness. The emphasis on the inevitability of war justifies also the increasing centralization of power and "iron discipline" within the Party ranks.

VI

Following Turco-Mongol and Czarist traditions, Bolshevik leaders believe that training in unconditional submission to superiors, identification with the powerful and faith in victory can be best achieved if the whole society is militarized. Militarization is looked upon as the best morale builder. When militarily organized, people are more amenable to control. Also a powerful army under the Party's control strengthens the confidence of uneasy and mistrustful rulers in their ability to check internal opposition and withstand external pressures or attacks. A powerful army is also a necessary instrument for aggressive diplomacy and territorial expansion; it becomes an instrument

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strengthen the control of the Party over that fundamental social institution. This intent to completely subject the family to the Party's aims is expressed in Bolshevik ideological parlance as "the cultural-educational influence of the socialist state upon family relationships in the direction of strengthening socialist principles."[21]

II

Following Russian traditional attachment to the Mother Country, Soviet pedagogical principles demand that love for the *Rodina* should be emphasized in the training of children. Building on traditional mother-child attachment in the Russian family, the Party instructs teachers to point out to their pupils how Lenin was attached to his mother.[22] It also emphasizes the tender relations between Stalin and his mother. Teachers are told that this natural attachment of a child to his mother should be used as a means to instill in the child love for his Mother Country.[23]

At the same time in the school textbooks, in the daily press, in the speeches of Party leaders and all other means of mass communication, it is the Bolshevik Party that is represented to be the Mother of the Komsomols, Pioneers, and Octobrists, and the "mother of the Soviet people." The love for the Rodina is, therefore, interpreted as being conditioned by and subordinated to the primary duty of love for the Party or the Leader with whom the Party is identified. Hence, even when mother-attachment remains strong in a Soviet child, the attempt is made to transfer that attachment to the Party and to raise loyalty to the Leader and to the Party above loyalty to the country. Thus Party loyalty precedes both family and national loyalty in the Soviet educational philosophy. "Party is above everything else," the Bolsheviks say. And it is this loyalty to the Leader, Party or Cause which precedes all other loyalties that forms the core of Bolshevik internationalism and the basis of its world appeal, not unlike the appeal of a universal church.

Most children of elementary school age and a greater part of those on secondary school level belong to Party auxiliary organizations, the Octobrists, the Pioneers and the Komsomols. In the great variety of activities in which these organizations are ex-

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one's helplessness, feeling of rejection, and dependence upon the controlling power is especially keenly felt. In such conditions even a slight deviation might provoke a feeling of guilt, need for self-punishment and suffering; it might call for public self-humiliation, confession of errors and pledges to repent and to correct the wrong done, especially when such practices are supported by the inherited traditions. There is therefore a certain degree of truth in the assertion of the Bolsheviks, that "Criticism and self-criticism is a great driving force in the development of Soviet society."[10]

II

In a "prison and barracks" society privileges of power and ideas of grandeur do not sufficiently compensate for lack of acceptance, isolation, humiliations, feelings of insecurity, and sense of inferiority and rejection. In an atmosphere of suspicion, intrigue, degradation, and lack of intimate personal and intellectual contact and of social support, anxieties, fears, extreme self-concern, and deep antagonisms easily flourish. Such a situation tends to magnify feelings of destructive aggression developed on the family level and is therefore likely to become overcharged with extreme hostilities and hatreds; it is likely to become full of potential explosiveness which may be directed against the ruling class itself unless convenient channels for discharge of aggressiveness are found.

In a society in which overt expressions of emotional behavior are under the control of a ruling clique, accumulating aggressions are readily directed against internal and external "enemies" of the regime, be they real or invented for the occasion. In this manner the feeling of hostility against the regime might be redirected against its opponents. It is therefore in the interest of survival of the ruling faction in such a society to cultivate hatred and destruction of the "enemy" by all means of public pressure, propaganda, agitation, education, as well as lawmaking.

These are the reasons why attitudes of extreme animosity against the "enemies of the Soviet Motherland" are propagated in the Soviet daily press and in the school textbooks. Stirring hatreds is one of the main tasks of Party agitators.[11] Accordingly

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in the political philosophy expressed in Soviet writings and in the speeches of outstanding Party members, extreme hatred of the internal and external adversaries is considered as a precondition of Bolshevik victory and of survival of Soviet society. Thus, for instance, in a May Day Order of the Day, Stalin, as People's Commissar of Defense declared: "You cannot defeat any enemy without having learned to hate him with all the power of your soul." In Soviet writings Lenin is hailed as a man who had "a holy hatred of the oppressors of the people . . . "[12]

Just like the Anarchists before them, the Bolsheviks claim that a deliberate cult of hatred is a precondition for the development of a "revolutionary passion." They justify hatred as a means to achieve their revolutionary goals. Following the same traditions the Bolsheviks insist that fanatical devotion should be instilled in people as a means to arouse passionate hatred. Therefore deliberate cultivation of hate together with the training in extreme identification with the Leader, the Party, the Motherland, and the Communist cause must start with kindergarten and with school training of Soviet children. Passionate hatred and passionate love are expected to mutually strengthen each other. According to pedagogical teachings, the Soviet children should be "saturated with irreconcilable hatred toward the enemies of socialist society," as well as with "passionate love of the Motherland." But here too just as in the Anarchist precepts, hatred appears to take the first place and love the second:

> Hatred gives birth to class revolutionary vigilance and creates a feeling of irreconcilability toward the class enemy; the weakening of such vigilance undermines the cause of the socialist revolution. It is necessary to learn, not only to hate the enemy, but also to struggle with him, in time to unmask him and finally, if he does not surrender, to destroy him . . . to vanquish the enemy is impossible without the most burning hatred of him . . . Passionate love of the motherlands breeds inevitably strong hatred of the enemy.[13]

Many outstanding Soviet novelists in their writings emphasize this cult of destructive aggression. Maxim Gorki, for instance, wrote an essay entitled "If the enemy does not surrender, he must be destroyed." Konstantin Simonov, another outstanding Soviet

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has been made between "imperialist war of aggression" and "national and class liberation." The first is said to be an "unjust war" of imperalists, exploiters and war mongers, the latter is a movement of the peoples to liberate themselves from the capitalist yoke or from colonial oppression. It is said that in this "just struggle" of the peoples of the world against oppressors the Soviet Union will unselfishly interfere with its armies to help the people to liberate themselves and also to protect liberated peoples from counter-revolution. It is therefore the duty of the working class and of "progressive-minded people" all over the world to strengthen the might of the Soviet Fatherland as "the center of international revolution":

> Being the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of Socialist construction, the land of great working class achievements, of the union of the workers with the peasants, and of a new culture marching under the banner of Marxism. . . . the USSR inevitably becomes the base of the world movement of all oppressed classes, the center of international revolution, the greatest factor in world history. In the USSR, the world proletariat for the first time acquires a country that is really its own, and for the colonial movements the USSR becomes a powerful center of attraction.[32]

In order to make Communist parties a tool of this new "Third Rome" ideology all these parties had to follow in their internal organization the Bolshevik pattern of rigid centralism and of unconditional obedience of all the subordinate organs to the higher bodies.[33] Each local Party had to be centralized in such a manner that its leadership was "endowed with complete power, authority, and ample rights" which would enable it to impose "an iron discipline" over its members.[34] All members were expected to accept such centralized Party leadership with absolute power and to "submit to its dictates."[35] This was possible only if "the strictest military discipline" and "unconditional subordination" were established within the ranks of each Communist Party:

> . . . The Communist Party should be organized on the basis of strict proletarian centralism. In order to lead the working class successfully during the long, stubborn civil war, the Communist Party must

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people the road to democratic development. Coming to power after severe struggles with the lords and defenders of the old order, the Hungarian working class, in union with the working peasants, rebuilt our war-destroyed country with the unselfish support of the Soviet Union. Under the guidance of the working class hardened in decade long struggles, benefiting by the experience of the 1919 social revolution, depending on the Soviet Union, our people began laying the foundations of socialism.[40]

To emphasize the superiority of the Soviet Union, its undisputed leadership and dependence of the satellites upon it in the struggle for world revolution, an important distinction has been made in regard to the social and political structure of the dependencies in comparison with that of the Soviet state. Though both are said to be the "dictatorships of the proletariat,"[41] the Soviet state is said to be carrying out the transition from Socialism to Communism; the "people's democracies," on the other hand, are said to be carrying out only the transition from capitalism to Socialism.[42]

Complete political and economic dependence of the satellites upon the Soviet Union is ideologically justified by the claim that the general objectives of world revolution presuppose an industrially as well as a militarily powerful Soviet Union as a base. To this primary objective of all Communists local interests of the satellites must be subordinated. Therefore, any opposition to such plans or any hints that the "fraternal assistance" offered by the Soviet Union in the interest of the revolution might not be completely unselfish is immediately castigated as "nationalism," as "opportunism," and as "treason":

> The essential task, that of laying the foundation of Socialism in Poland, can be carried only in close alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union . . . Any tendency to weaken cooperation with the Soviet Union is directed against the very foundation of the People's Democracy . . . Anyone who imagines that the people's democratic state can be formed merely as a self-sufficient body, on a national scale, isolated from the class struggle on an international scale . . . will inevitably sink into the slough of nationalism and treachery.[43]

This system of political, military and economic dominance of the dependencies implies an elaborate system of watching, super-

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its own appointees and trusted agents in all the key positions in the Yugoslav Communist Party and in the Yugoslav state administration.[48]

Even during this short stay of the Red Army in Yugoslav territory, the relations between Communist-Partisan rulers of Yugoslavia and their Soviet liberators became tense. The tension resulted from the "haughty attitude" of the liberators and the hostility that this attitude provoked among the liberated.[49] And later when the Soviet Union attempted to infiltrate Yugoslavia with advisers and experts, the Yugoslav officers began "to abuse" the Soviet military advisers[50] and Yugoslav authorities showed such a "lack of hospitality and lack of confidence" that their security organs "controlled and supervised the Soviet representatives in Yugoslavia."[51] The Yugoslav Communist authorities also refused economic information to the Soviet trade representatives and resented the Soviet Ambassador in Yugoslavia collecting information about the conditions within the Yugoslav Communist Party. And when the Yugoslav Communist leaders and their agents prevented the attempt of the Soviet Union to establish a net of its intelligence agents in the country and within the Yugoslav Communist Party,[52] the final break could not be avoided any longer.[53]

Two totalitarian controls cannot exist in one and the same territory. Thus, when the Soviet Union had realized that Yugoslavia was under the firm control of the Yugoslav Communist Party and police. that they could not liquidate its leadership which became too challenging and could not therefore bring the country to a state of complete dependence, subordination and vassalage, the next alternative left was to expel Yugoslavia from the Cominform.[54] A Communist state out of the Kremlin's hold, if allowed to remain within the Soviet orbit, could undermine the very foundations of the Kremlin's dominance over other satellites.

Similar resentment, antagonism, and lack of trust that developed between the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the Russian Politburo has always existed in all other satellite states in various degrees and forms.[55] Many Communists, particularly the "idealists" and patriots resent the presence of Russian

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experts, advisers, representatives, and agents occupying positions of power and control in each satellite country, especially their haughty and insulting behavior, constant tutoring and sermonizing on the part of Moscow and need to accept the Kremlin's dictates with humility and gratitude. Also economic exploitation of the vassal countries in the interest of the Soviet Union, the imposition of Russian language and Russian culture, the danger of military occupation and the threat of resettlement of whole sections of the population to Siberian mines and lumber camps, all of these cannot but provoke anxieties, fears, and hatreds on the part of the subjected peoples:[56]

We are finding out that not only lack of knowledge and ability is displayed in the Czech Army toward the Soviet military science and Soviet war experiences, but that we encounter even a direct distaste and resistance based on hatred toward everything Soviet.[57]

For this reason "Titoism" in one form or another has appeared in all satellite countries. A "Titoist crisis," for instance, took place twice in Outer Mongolia, in 1924 and in 1930–32.[58] In other satellite states the same crises were manifested in a number of "spy trials" and execution of outstanding satellite leaders. But purges and trials do not eliminate the sources of dissatisfaction and hostility. Since the causes remain and constantly generate new feelings of destructive aggression, Bolshevik leaders have to constantly increase measures of security, vigilance, and control in all their dependencies. The Kremlin is therefore increasingly forced to rely on power-seeking careerists, on members of minority groups, on Russian subjects, and on children from dependent states taken to Russia and trained as "New Janizaries" to rule their own countries in a "Rokossovsky way."[59] The patriots and the humanists among the Communists have to make room for violent zealots and cynical careerists, "for such men who would not scruple any means in carrying out the orders. . ."[60] The leaders who fought with their people in underground movements against Nazi invaders have to give way to "a few individuals who spent the wartime in Moscow [and] were installed in a 'Rokossovski way' in the top positions . . . lacking the contact with the population and knowledge of its wishes, they mechani-

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cally apply methods which are in flagrant contradiction to our traditions and incompatible with them."[61] Such policies in turn only emphasize the feeling of insecurity, isolation and mistrust; they cause apathy and a slowing-down in economic and intellectual advance.[62]

In this manner the pattern of Bolshevik expansion which was designed to release and redirect the hostilities accumulated within Soviet society has only extended the area of strains and tensions. The addition of each new dependency therefore adds fresh pressures for more aggression directed outward. In such circumstances the Bolshevik leadership is forced not only to instigate its satellites toward external aggression but also to deliberately provoke and perpetuate international tension. By such means the Bolsheviks expect to maintain a constant external pressure that would work toward unity of the Soviet orbit and rallying of all dependencies behind Moscow.

In the meantime, however, such growth and expansion of Soviet power and Communist fomented unrest could not have failed to provoke increasing anxieties and fears in the countries which consider themselves threatened by Bolshevik advance. War preparedness in the West and formation of anti-Soviet military alliances has been the result. Mutual suspicions and international tension which have developed in these circumstances have increased to a point which has already taken the form of a "cold war" and of scattered localized warfare. Thus growing friction between these two increasingly hostile and aggressive worlds might eventually break into an all-out fighting on a global scale.

On the other hand increasing resistance to Soviet expansion on the part of Western powers might eventually completely seal the outlets for Soviet outward aggression. In such a case accumulating internal complexities and stresses generated by the structure of Soviet power might get out of the Kremlin's control and bring about disintegration of Bolshevism through internal conflicts, especially if these are widened and sharpened by means of planned external economic and psychological pressures.

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Russian people and became its very life. But the Byzantine character of Russian religion was conserved. As we have already seen the Russian Church was for long dependent upon Constantinople. Its literature consisted of translations or imitations of Byzantine writings. Its Metropolitan was a Greek consecrated in Constantinople and sent to rule the Russian Church. The two exceptions provided by the appointment in Russia of Hilarion in 1051 and Clement in 1147 are regarded as isolated cases which did not impair the theory and change the practice, which held good till 1448.

Politically the Russians lived for a century and a half under Mongol domination. From the battle of Kalka in 1223 the onslaughts of these mysterious, hideous and inhuman hordes, suddenly appearing from whence no man knew, burning, killing, capturing, had struck terror into the hearts of the dwellers on the Russian plain. Kiev, the cradle of Russian Christianity, the ancient and beautiful stronghold on the Dnieper, was sacked in 1240, and one by one the rest of the Russian towns speedily succumbed. Novgorod alone escaped, protected by its remote situation behind its marshes and forests, and by the courage, self-sacrifice and political wisdom of its prince, St. Alexander Nevsky. The Tartar rule bore less heavily upon the Church than upon the State. When their victory was assured the Tartars were at first, in matters of religion, easy-going pagans, and so long as they received their tribute, did not interfere unduly with the religion of the people they conquered. And as was also to be the case later on with the Balkan peoples under the Turk, it was their religion and their Church which, in the days of social and political disaster, saved the Russians from complete despair and preserved among them some sense of fundamental unity in spite of all their factions and divisions.

The Russian Church was the nurse of the growing national spirit of Russia. In the person of one of its great national saints, Sergius of Radonezh, who founded the Monastery of the Holy Trinity near Moscow, for centuries the citadel of Russian religion and national aspiration, it inspired the movement which thrust back the Tartar domination. In 1380 Dmitry of the Don, whose building of stone walls round Moscow had been a challenging gesture to which the Tartars were not slow

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795 to respond, came to seek the advice of St. Sergius and received the calm assurance: "Go forward and fear not, God will be with
• 186 thee." Everything was at stake, including Russian religion, for the Tartars had by this time embraced Islam, and their easy-going tolerance of Christianity was a thing of the past. The hard-fought wavering battle of Kulikovo Pole followed and ended in a Russian victory, and the beginning of the end of the Tartar dominance.

795 Much missionary activity was displayed by the Russian
1799 Church during the period of Tartar domination. Even among the Tartars themselves this evangelistic work was carried on, while many a lonely outpost of monastic life in the forests and swamps of the north spread the faith of Christ in regions where it had been unknown before. Few names of individual pioneers have been handed down, but among them is that of the energetic missionary bishop, Stephen of Perm.

After the fall of Kiev, the centre of gravity in Russian life, both political and ecclesiastical, had moved northwards, first to Vladimir and finally to Moscow, around which Ivan the Great and his son Vasili IV built up the Tsardom of Muscovy at the close of the Tartar period.

It was at first but a small area in the centre of what is modern European Russia. Kiev and the south were not under its control, nor did it extend to the Baltic. It had no port until the commercial enterprise of the Englishman, Richard Chancellor and his fellow traders, provided one at Archangel in the sixteenth century. But to the east expansion was to prove surprisingly easy, the counterflow to the Tartar invasion swept into Siberia under Yermak towards the end of the sixteenth century, and the colonists that followed bringing the life and religion of Russia were soon to reach the shores of the Pacific.

795 But to return to the fifteenth century, the Tsardom of Moscow was for long to remain the only Orthodox Christian realm free from foreign and non-Christian suzerainty, and it became aware of itself as the heir of Constantinople. Nor were the Russians unwilling to see their Church play the leading rôle in Orthodox Christendom. From their point of view Constantinople had deserved its fate, for its act of apostasy in accepting the terms of Union at Florence. A Greek named

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the Russians for ecclesiastical law as a further reason for the delayed independence of the Russian Church. For the canons require the consent of the mother Church before the daughter can become autocephalous, and Constantinople was reluctant to give this consent. "The income which Constantinople received from the broad and rich Metropoly of Russia formed a huge item in the Patriarchal budget." It is, however, not fair to assume that Constantinople was actuated entirely by mercenary motives. However that may be, in the end the Russians took the matter into their own hands, regarding themselves as absolved from their canonical obedience by the fact that in their view Constantinople had lapsed into heresy by accepting the Union of Florence.[1]

Thus the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the submergence of the Balkans beneath the flood of Turkish invasion, roughly coincided with the emergence of Russia from beneath the yoke of the Tartars. As Orthodoxy was eclipsed in the south, it arose with new strength and splendour in the north and Moscow picked up the torch which fell from the dying hand of Constantinople. The legend of "Moscow the Third Rome" came to birth as the inspiration and expression of this renewal of life and ambition among the Russians after their long experience of depression under the Mongols, and brought with it a sense of their responsibility for the future destiny of Orthodoxy in history and of a Russian mission to the world. The message of the monk Philotheus to the Tsar Vasili III (1505 to 1533) assuring him that although two Romes had fallen a third had risen in the north which should never pass away, and acclaiming him as the supreme and only Christian ruler in the world, long haunted the minds of the Russians, and was expressly endorsed by the Stoglav Council in 1551 (see below, p. 101). A surprising ancestry was discovered for the Russian ruler, whose line of descent was traced back to the imperial house of ancient Rome, if not beyond. Correspondingly he assumed the imperial title, he became Tsar (Caesar) and "autocrat".

[1] According to the writer just quoted the Russians did apply in due form for the consent of Constantinople to the consecration of their nominee Jonah as Metropolitan of Moscow in 1448, but there is no evidence that any reply was received.

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excommunicated the Old Believers, deposed Nikon himself and banished him into monastic seclusion.

The line of Patriarchs continued until 1700 when Adrian the last of the original succession died. By this time the dynamic personality of Peter the Great had appeared on the scene and inaugurated a new period in Russian history. In building the city on the Neva which bore his own name he opened his famous "window upon Europe" through which a hurricane blew which disturbed, scattered and rearranged many things in the life of the Russians. Peter admired all things Western and was determined to make Russia a great nation after the pattern of the West. So far as the Russian Church was concerned Peter's reforms had little if any effect in the sphere of doctrine, but he saw to it that bishops were appointed who sympathized or at least were ready to co-operate with his critical ideas on traditional Russian customs and who were willing to acquiesce in the subservience of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to his own autocratic will. Most important of all, he permitted no election of a successor to the Patriarch Adrian, and twenty-one years later abolished the Patriarchate altogether. The formal instrument by which this change was made was entitled the "Ecclesiastical Regulation". There were to be no more Patriarchs in Russia, instead the supreme authority in the Church was to be vested in a body formed on the German Lutheran model and known as the Holy Governing Synod.

This was no synod in the ordinary ecclesiastical sense of the word, but a committee whose members were appointed and dismissed at the will of the Tsar. In addition a secular official called the Procurator was appointed by the Emperor. This layman was not indeed a member of the synod, but his function was to supervise all its proceedings, and without his consent the synod could enact nothing, nor even choose what matters it should discuss. The bishops were dragooned into acceptance of this system, completely foreign as it was to the spirit of the Russian Church. Yet Peter's organization lasted until the collapse of the Empire in 1917.

It is an eloquent testimony to the dynamic force of Peter's personality that the impetus of his reforming movement survived his death. But it introduced deep cleavages and

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confusion into Russian life. The Court and governing classes in St. Petersburg became the least Russian of all sections of the nation, indeed they were more German than Russian, and for long the reform of Peter affected only the educated classes of society. Behind the St. Petersburg façade was the great mass of the people who continued to regard everything Western with suspicion and even abhorrence. Nevertheless, the movement gradually made headway and in due course the interplay of Western ideas and native Russian thought was to produce modern Russian culture and especially the astonishing achievement of Russian nineteenth-century literature.

The "Westernizers" who believed that the destiny of Russia was to follow the path of the West, and the "Slavophils" who put their faith in the Orthodox tradition of native Russian culture, sharpened their wits upon each other in drawing-room discussions and set forth their views in books. But behind all this and but little affected by it, the religious life of the Russian people went on as before. The official Church and the majority of the hierarchy supported the Government even if they disapproved of things Western. Tsar and Metropolitan needed each other, for each believed that in the preservation of the other his own well-being was involved.

But the schism inherited from the seventeenth century still continued and the "Old Believers", among whom was conserved much that was most profound and sincere in the traditional religion of Russia, would have no truck with the St. Petersburg Empire which was anathema to them, nor with the official Church which had come to terms with it. There were in course of time many groups of these interesting schismatics, some of whom had a clergy and some had not. If sections of them degenerated into sects which were psychologically abnormal, the bulk of them, consolidated by persecution and fanatically tenacious of their beliefs, upheld a high standard of conduct and their communities were a storehouse of many significant and beautiful elements of Russian Orthodoxy. Although after 1800 some availed themselves of more generous terms offered them for reconciliation to the Church, the Old Believers exist to this day as a well-organized body of some millions under their own bishops.

[For information pertaining to the languages of Great Russia, see 22: Matthews, R1 Soviet Union, category 116; pp. 115-117; 77-78 (Nogai); 78-79 (Bashkir); 79-80 (Kazan' Tatar); 80-82 (Chuvash).]

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jects as a means of permanent control. It is felt that only by Russifying the non-Russian parts of the Soviet Union and convincing them of the benefits of close ties with Russian people and Russian institutions[55] a common culture will be developed; on such a basis a feeling of unity, of common interests and of common objectives will grow.

It is in light of such circumstances that the earlier Marxian theory of linguistics had to be revised to suit the new situation. Present language is not considered any more to be just a "superstructure" destined to give way to a completely new language of Socialism. On the contrary, Russian language and even Russian script is looked upon now as the basic language and basic script of Soviet socialism. Contrary to earlier Marxian theory, Russian language is now looked upon as an agent of unification and control under Soviet rule.[56]

Myths of national and racial superiority, however, do not appeal equally to all strata of the population. The toiling multitudes, if dissatisfied with their status, might remain deaf to such calling unless convinced that in different conditions their situation would become worse and even more precarious. It was to strengthen the latter feeling that the Bolshevik Party undertook to propagate a myth of the inferiority, rottenness, and damnation of the non-Soviet world. Building on anti-Latin and anti-Western traditions of the Orthodox Church and of Slavophilism the Bolshevik propaganda has attempted to develop attitudes of horror, disgust, and utter contempt of the capitalist world and of Western culture. Accordingly the Western society has been pictured as exploitative, war-mongering, decadent, decaying, full of internal conflicts and contradictions, and therefore self-destructive. The miserable, exploited, toiling multitudes in Western countries and their dependencies have been pictured as living in inhuman, deplorable and destitute conditions, exposed to constant unemployment and hunger, and heartlessly exploited by pitiless capitalists.

Because of this inherent and unsurmountable conflict of interests between labor's demand for higher standards and the capitalist's demand for higher profits, there is an intrinsic self-destroying tendency in the very nature of capitalism, the Bolshe-

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author, wrote a well known poem under the title *"Ubey ego"*—kill him.[14] In a similar manner Alexey Tolstoy, a well-known Soviet novelist, has published an essay entitled *Ubey Zverya*—Kill the Beast. "Kill him," writes Alexey Tolstoy, "that is your sacred command."[15] Mikhail Sholokhov, another prominent Soviet writer, wrote a pamphlet entitled *Nauka Nenavisti*—The Science of Hatred—in which he stressed, in a like way as the early Russian Anarchists and contemporary Soviet pedagogists, the necessity of ardent love for the Cause as a source of passionate hatred of all the opponents. To him, too, love seems to be necessary primarily as a means of hate.[16] "Hatred for enemies of the land of socialism is an inseparable feature of socialist ideology and the ideology of Leninism," the Bolsheviks repeatedly say.

Under the label "enemies" are classed not only the foreign "capitalists, imperialists, and reactionaries," and internal non-Party oppositionists, but also Party members who deviate from Party ideology, and "all sceptics, opportunists, capitulators, scabs, and traitors." Hatred and struggle against these "enemies" within the Party must be as merciless and ruthless as against external adversaries. This is considered to be imperative in a mortal struggle against the capitalist world:

> The history of the Party . . . teaches us that unless the Party of the working class wages an uncompromising struggle against the opportunists within its own ranks, unless it smashes the capitulators in its own midst . . . it cannot perform its role of organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution . . . If, while it is carrying on a life and death fight against the bourgeoisie, there are capitulators and traitors on its own staff, within its own fortress, the working class will be caught between two fires, from the front and the rear. Clearly such a struggle can only end in defeat.[17]

This conscious fomenting of intense hostility and animosity against internal, as well as external "enemies" as a means of survival in a "mortal struggle" is manifested in the language of Bolshevism. The words "liquidation" and "purge" which are often synonomous with killing and extermination of opponents became outstanding in Soviet vocabulary. There is an increasing use of words which convey ideas of hatred and violence and stimulate such feelings and practices. In Bolshevik stereotyped termi-

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nology opponents are referred to as the "enemies of the people." They are said to be "groups of spies," "traitors to the country," "dregs of humanity," "fiendish criminals," "pigmies," "useless rubbish," "hordes of barbarians," "hangmen," "cannibals," "enemies of humankind."[18] These "instruments of oppression of the proletariat," full of "falsehoods and perverse lies," "narrow-minded petty-bourgeois with sickly mentality," have to be mercilessly "smashed," "annihilated," "crushed," "destroyed" with an "ever greater frenzy and ferocity."[19] They have to be "cleansed" from the Soviet society in order to ensure the consolidation of the rule of the Bolsheviks.

It was in order to justify ruthlessness in dealing with the opposition that labelling, denouncing and name-calling has become prominent in Bolshevik practices. Any softness toward the "enemies" is denounced as bourgeois "sentimentalism."[20] Instead, *besposhchadnost* (mercilessness), *surovost* (ruthlessness), *besstrashie* (fearlessness), and *zheleznaya volia* (iron will) are said to be the "Lenin ways" by which the political workers are to deal with all the "opponents, slackers, and deviants."

If in this "life and death fight," ruthlessness, pitilessness, and mercilessness have to be applied then also cunning, guile, craft, ruse and deceit are equally welcome as useful means. Lenin is often quoted as saying that the Communists, when necessary, must "resort to strategy and adroitness, illegal proceedings, reticence and subterfuge,"[21] that they must use any trick and veiling of truth; that they must dodge and maneuver. They must be ready in the interest of final success to suffer humiliation and self-abasement. In the interest of the cause and of final victory, they must know how to retreat and how to "crawl in the mud on their bellies."[22] According to the Bolshevik teaching, there is not an "absolute ethic." Every act is measured by how it corresponds to the interests of the group.[23]

III

Emphasis on extreme hatred, on ruse, and on mercilessness against those who do not conform is not new in the history of Russian society. Destructive aggression formed an aspect of the Czarist rule; it was manifested in the persecution of religious

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establish the strictest military discipline within its own ranks. The experience of the Russian Communist Party . . . has proved that the victory of the worker is impossible without a severe discipline . . . and unconditional subordination of subordinate units to the decision of those above them, and a strong Party central organ, whose decrees are binding upon all the leaders of Party life . . .[36]

In this manner, the principles of absolute dominance, unconditional obedience and ruthless discipline rooted in the political traditions of Russian society and reinforced by the structure of Bolshevik power were extended to all the parties on which the Bolsheviks imposed their control. In the same manner, also, the traditional filial attitudes of reverence, gratitude, love and humility have been established in relations of these parties to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Accordingly also, destructive aggression became one of the fundamental orientations of these parties. The Communist parties have been encouraged to use all means at their disposal, "including force of arms" in order "to overthrow the international bourgeoisie,"[37] and to "lay low the exploiters . . . completely defeat them . . . crush their resistance. . . ."[38]

As a result, the language of these parties, like that of Bolshevism, stresses hatred, destruction and war. For instance, in the Theses and Statutes and in the Program the emphasis is on extreme hostility expressed in many stereotyped phrases, such as "hatred and relentless aggression," "pitiless struggle," "persistent and merciless denunciation," "merciless contempt," "stubborn, armed and ruthless fight," "fierce and decisive battles," "ruthless war." These means against the "mortal enemy" are said to be necessary in order "to destroy the apparatus of the bourgeoisie," and to bring about the "violent overthrow" of bourgeois power, "at whatever cost." Each Communist party is expected to foster hatred and destructive aggression by all means of propaganda and agitation. The Communist press in all countries and popular Communist songs are especially significant in this respect.

Since the Communist parties outside the Soviet Union, just as the Bolshevik Party itself, stress hatred, pitilessness and destruction, they tend to attract into their ranks people who for one

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ture was detrimental to the development of trade and industry. For centuries its economy remained founded on a system of primitive agriculture. Lack of large centers of trade and industry adversely affected rural economy. There was no stimulation for agricultural improvements and for freeing of the serfs. Instead, the emphasis was on the exploitation of serf labor as the most expedient means to satisfy the demands of the landlords and of the state. The landlords were mostly absent on military campaigns or other state duties and were generally disinterested in land improvements. At the same time the system of using the land as a pay for military or other state services, in a country whose war campaigns and military contingents were increasing, tended to diminish the size of the donations and increase the burdens imposed on the serfs.

The lack of urbanization, together with the low standard of education of the service nobility, kept also the intellectual development of Russia far behind that in the West. Intellectual activity was limited mainly to the court circles. The ideology and practices of the Russian Church favored intellectual stagnation. Russia accepted Christianity from Byzantium after the Greek Church had already given up classical traditions of Hellenism. By the time Byzantine Christianity entered Russia, Byzantine literature had assumed an almost exclusively ecclesiastical character, and education consisted almost entirely of religious teaching and the reading of the lives of the saints. Art, too, became exclusively religious and stereotyped. All thought was regimented according to religious dogmas and political objectives of the power-holders.

In Russia this type of intellectual rigidity and inactivity was emphasized because of the use of the Old-Slavonic language in the Church, which resulted in neglect of Greek language. And it was considered a sin to learn the "thrice accursed Latin tongue." Thus, the Russian clergymen became isolated from the West because they lacked the possession of the only instruments in which human knowledge was communicated in those days. Moreover, Russian Orthodoxy, like the Byzantine Orthodoxy, was based on monasticism. But unlike the manifold monastic practices of the Western Church, the monks in the Russian Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.

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peared to enjoy every minute of the show . . . A final remark of the Generalissimo's while we were watching the sports spectacle was that mass athletics and exercises were fine because of their effect upon the populace. He said, "This develops the war spirit."[70]

In accordance with the Bolshevik need for morale building most Soviet institutions have been militarized, including the Party. Thus when a Soviet subject leaves his school and his Pioneer or Komsomol organization and enters a factory, a kolhoz, an office, a research laboratory, or becomes a Party worker, he has been already trained for work in a society which is in most of its aspects organized along military lines. Anywhere where he is assigned a job he might find military discipline and military relationships. In a number of civilian jobs he will wear a uniform with badges of his rank. In his factory or kolhoz he may become a member of a "shock brigade" or a "hero of labor" and therefore an important link in an all-embracing Five-Year-Plan whose main emphasis is on military preparedness. As a Party member he will take his position in the Party pyramid as a common soldier, as a petty officer, or as a higher officer:

> Three or four thousand men of the high command—the generals of our Party. Then 30 to 40 thousand intermediate commanders; these constitute the officers' corps of our Party. And further, 100 to 180 thousand of the leading elements of our party—these are, so to speak —the subaltern officers of the Party.[71]

In a militarized society military language is used in all activities. Military language has always been a tradition in the Bolshevik Party and has been always widely employed by Lenin, Stalin, and other Party leaders. Therefore when addressing a meeting, or when writing in a newspaper or in a literary or scholarly periodical a Soviet subject is expected to employ military phrases, and use analogies taken from military campaigns and military experiences. He will speak of "reconnoissance," "skirmishes," "encounters," "operations," "outposts," "fortresses," "citadels," "maneuvres," "camps," "cadres," etc. and he will be expected to do his duty on his own "battle post." If he rises to the top of the Party hierarchy and if he especially distinguishes himself in his civil activities he might be endowed

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The trend toward pauperization of the intellect which develops in such a society will be emphasized the more when that society is bent upon increasing war preparedness. In such a case, particularly when faced with low labor productivity, the ruling faction will need to mobilize all available intellectual resources for its political and for its military objectives; basic research and many fields of knowledge not directly related to such objectives will have to be neglected and might even be completely paralyzed.

But dogmatism and lack of free criticism, anti-intellectualism and vigilantism lead to stagnation not only in the fields of theory, basic research, and art, but also in the fields of applied science, including political and military affairs. Even if industry, state administration and military science could conceivably make substantial advance on the basis of regimented, conscripted, and convict labor, they must be constantly fed with new ideas and inventions both in the field of technology, and in the field of organization to keep pace with the industrial and military development in the free enterprise countries which are looked upon as potential enemies.

The Bolshevik rulers are well aware of this problem. In Soviet publications it is often pointed out that various scientific institutes established to develop applied science in the field of industry and agriculture do not fulfill their plans, fail to assure proper cooperation, work on "secondary problems" and neglect questions of "vital importance." High cash prizes known as Stalin Premiums have been offered each year to stimulate the work on such problems of "vital importance." Nevertheless the Bolsheviks had to a great extent to rely on acquiring essential blueprints from abroad either by purchase or by intelligence.

In Czarist Russia a certain degree of criticism in civil and military matters was allowed while a considerable degree of criticism existed in philosophical, literary, and historical fields. The all-powerful Czarist bureaucracy was often very anxious to accept the ideas put forward by the opposition. Many reforms in the Czarist administration in the direction of liberalism and democratization originated in the leading minds of the opposition. The opposition was often able to express their views in

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517 newspapers, books, and pamphlets, some of which were printed
204 abroad and circulated freely though often clandestinely among
626 the leading circles of the Empire.

517 The ruling circles of the Bolshevik Party themselves were
626 always aware that without criticism intellectual stagnation, lack of creative initiative, and bureaucratism would set in. But they could not afford to allow complete freedom of thought and of expression which might eventually undermine their own power. As a result the Bolsheviks introduced a system of "criticism and self-criticism," known as *samokritika.*

[461] According to this practice it is the duty of every Soviet subject to criticize his own work and the work of others in his shop or office as a means of stimulating alertness, initiative, and hard
[557] work, and as a way to correct errors. But among the officials who
[647] closely watch each other's activities, each hoping to rise on the cadaver of the other, samokritika is often used as a means of intrigue and ruin in jockeying and struggling for ranks, positions, and power. Samokritika therefore has developed into a weapon employed to detect the ideological deviations and diversions and to criticize any lack of sufficiently positive attitude toward the "Party line." In this manner "self-criticism" in the Soviet Union has become another instrument of regimentation and means to increase conformity.

626 Samokritika is also employed by the ruling circles to manipu-
661 late hostilities generated by the Soviet system and to direct them away from themselves and against the managers and bureaucrats located mostly on the lower levels of the Soviet social pyramid. These people conveniently function as scapegoats. It is such people who, together with a sprinkling from the higher echelons, are periodically offered as sacrifice and "purged" or "liquidated." Samokritika is therefore employed also as a check against abuses of power, though mostly on the local level.

626 In an atmosphere of complete dependence upon and subordi-
154 nation to an overwhelming and infallible power which instils
782 fear and awe, the slightest deviation from the line of thought and emotions as laid down by that distant and inscrutable force might easily provoke anxieties, and a strong sense of guilt. In circumstances in which one feels isolated and without support,

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517 668 to bring about an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men on a global scale. Seeking to realize these bi-polar objectives, the Bolsheviks have inherited and reinforced the basic contradictions and conflicts between the aspirations of the rulers and those of the subjects which have throughout centuries undermined the stability of Czardom.

668 661 In their effort to perpetuate themselves in power, the Bolsheviks had to remain organized as a ruling elite of professional conspirators and to reinforce dominance-submission relationships in a system of total power concentrated in their hands. To maintain such a political rule, the Bolsheviks had to introduce a system of total dependence of all upon the holders of power and thus to reinforce the attitudes of self-effacement. They also established a planned system of social differentiation and isolation to prevent social intimacy and group solidarity and hence the potentiality of organized opposition to their rule.

668 771 In such conditions, feelings of rejection and traditional longings for an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men have been greatly strengthened among the subjects. It is this situation that points out the fundamental weakness of the Soviet system. To counteract the effects of this basic vulnerability of their regime, the Bolsheviks have endeavored to deify the Soviet rulers, have resorted to the damnation and anathema of the Western world, and have embarked on a propaganda campaign for a Messianic redemption of all suffering and exploited humanity. In this manner, the Bolsheviks have been able to appeal to supra-ethnical and supra-personal loyalties and to all-human longings, not unlike a universal church.

• [208] The Bolsheviks have also endeavored to build up the morale of their subjects by means of prestige projects, by mythical undertakings, by mass pageantry, mass unanimous voting and large scale militarization. All these devices are conceived as ways to provoke emotional identification of the masses with the Soviet State and to find in this identification a substitute for their yearnings for a community of free and equal men.

642 665 Total dominance and total submission relationships which have to be maintained to perpetuate this conspiratorial system of power have introduced other basic strains and stresses in the

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hearts of the Soviet subjects and to exert unremitting pressure on them, so that they never relax in their striving to conform to the Party's will. The secret police, in Lenin's words, is "our weapon of assault upon innumerable conspiracies . . . innumerable attempts against Soviet authority."[30]

23
CONTROL OF THOUGHT AND FEELING

MONOPOLIZATION of all social power by the Bolshevik rulers and their failure to satisfy the traditional demands for equality and acceptance has been breeding both apathy and latent rebellion in Soviet society. Realizing that such a development might eventually undermine their power, early in their rule the Bolsheviks proceeded to indoctrinate the thoughts and to control the feelings of their subjects. It became imperative to evoke identification of the masses with Bolshevik leadership and gain their faith, enthusiasm and willing self-sacrifice in support of the Soviet system.[1]

In order to justify this need for ideological and emotional conformity, it became necessary to monopolize the Truth. The Bolsheviks therefore stated that all problems, those of the past and of the present, as well as those of the future, have found their answer in Marxist-Leninist theory. They asserted, however, that since this theory "is not a dogma, but a guide to action,"[2] the Bolshevik leadership is "able to enrich this theory with the new propositions and conclusions, . . . to *develop it and advance* it" and "to replace such of its propositions and conclusions as have become antiquated by new ones corresponding to the new historical situation."[3] And just as earlier the Russian Orthodox Church had claimed to represent the "true Christianity" centered in Moscow, the Third Rome, so now the Bolshevik rulers have usurped for themselves the right to represent the "true Marxism," centered in the Kremlin:

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Building on the traditional role of the Father in the Russian family the Party portrays the Party Leader as a strict and distant but also watchful and solicitous man who takes good care of his family. Following the traditional image of God and of the Father, the Party Leader is pictured as being benevolent toward those who submit to him unconditionally, but as being wrathful and merciless toward his foes and all those who disobey. And just like the members of the Great-Russian family, the Soviet people are expected to show "filial gratitude" to their Elder for his care and vigilance. Hence the supreme Party Leader is addressed as "our own father" (*rodnoy otets*), teacher (*uchitel*), leader (*vozhd*), friend (*drug*), and feeder (*kormilets*). Articles and letters of gratitude published daily in the Soviet press invariably mention his fatherly solicitude (*otecheskaya zabota*), his wise (*mudry*) plan and his genius (*geny*). Without fail they thank him ardently (*goryachee spasibo*) for what he has done for the well-being (*blago*), happiness (*schastie*), and world mightiness of the Soviet state (*velichaishaya derzhava mira*). On the occasion of the Leader's birthday numerous songs and musical compositions include titles which convey the idea of dependence upon and filial gratitude to an All-Powerful and All-Wise Vozhd.

It is expected that such identifications will reinforce in the Soviet people the feeling of guilt and make them redouble their efforts in building and supporting the Soviet system. Thus in the letters which various institutions, organizations and associations write to Vozhd, pledges are given to fulfill and overfulfill their quotas and to improve quality of products in gratitude for his unceasing "paternal care" and solicitude. And if they have failed, stayed behind, or have not come up to the expectations of their "father and teacher," they admit their guilt and promise to spare no efforts to improve, and thus arrest his wrath and rejection.[39] Not only lowly and humble folk from the bottom of the Soviet social pyramid, but men and women on the lofty peaks of Soviet arts and sciences, write such letters to Stalin in the same tone of religious reverence and humility, that strongly remind one both of the servility of Czarist official classes and of the prayers to an All-Mighty and wrathful God in the Russian Orthodox Church.

The ruling hierarchy realizes, however, that deification of the

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665 The ruling hierarchy realizes, however, that deification of the
•208 Party leader would not produce desired effects unless supported by rewards, that is, actual gains or hopes of gains ascribed to his wisdom. It is for this reason that Stalin's name is invariably linked with and symbolically attached to all the outstanding accomplishments of the Soviet system. Stalin is also pictured as incorporating in himself longings and aspirations, dreams and yearnings both of the Soviet people and of all the oppressed and humiliated in the world, of all those who are rejected and deprived of good things in life. Such an image of Stalin strengthens culturally and structurally rooted identification with suffering. He is therefore represented as a symbol of the interests and hopes of all hard-working and suffering mankind. Hence the epoch in which we live, the epoch that is renowned for the strivings of the working masses (of those who suffer), for acceptance in an equalitarian society is to be known as "Stalin's Epoch" (*Stalinskaya Epokha*).

869 643 But even this linking of Stalin's name with all significant achievements of Soviet society in the field of economy, government, science, and art is not considered sufficient to prevent doubts and skepticism. Deep faith in the Vozhd and identification with him which will be so strong that it will endure most adverse circumstances and make people ready for great and supreme sacrifices must be instilled early in childhood. Thus already in nurseries the children were given toys on which it was inscribed "Thanks to Comrade Stalin for happy and joyful childhood" (*Spasibo tovarishchu Stalinu z schastlivoe i radostnoe detstvo*). Small children are taught to recite stories which emphasize the dependence of the whole country upon Vozhd who is compared with the rising sun. The Soviet children are told that no child and no youth is so fortunate in any other place in the world. They are assured that Vozhd is doing everything in his power to make their lives prosperous and happy. The children are expected therefore to show a feeling of gratitude toward Vozhd, the Party, and the government and must grow up as worthy fighters to take the place of the present leaders:

> We, the children of the Soviet Union, the happiest country in the world, feel the constant solicitude for us by the Party, the government, and our beloved leader, comrade Stalin.

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Comrade Stalin is the best friend of us children, of all the children of the world. It is he who builds for us the best schools, palaces of culture, stadiums and camps, where we can become strong and healthy, so that we can study more and better in the winter time, when we go to school. We must grow up as fighters worthy to take the place of those now present here (*Applause*)—as fighters devoted to the cause of the Party, devoted to the cause of the Communist International (*Applause*). Long live our beloved Stalin! (*Applause*).[40]

Accordingly the study and imitation of the life of the two deified Soviet leaders, Lenin and Stalin, is considered to be one of the primary duties and a sacred obligation of every Pioneer and Komsomol. The aim of the Party is to form the conscience of the young according to an idealized image of Lenin and Stalin. Young people are told to think constantly of their leaders, to be inspired by them, to follow them, and to love them. It is often pointed out that the reason that Stalin became so great and achieved the leading position in the Party was because he was such a faithful follower and loyal disciple of Lenin. "We must do everything so that our life is such as the unforgettable Iliich wanted it to be."[41] "In the soul of each one of us there is one and only one image which governs all of us. That is the image of the great Stalin."[42] And if a Pioneer or Komsomol is relaxing in his duties and vigilance, he is instantly reminded: "Comrade Iliich would not have approved of you." Stalin himself in his speeches often stressed the need to imitate Lenin:

> Remember, love, study, Iliich, our teacher, our leader. Fight and defeat enemies, internal and external—like Iliich. Build a new existence, a new mode of life, a new culture—like Iliich. Never refuse to do even the smallest jobs, because out of little things the great things are constructed—this is one of the important legacies of Iliich.[43]

IV

The apotheosis of Stalin did not seem to have sufficient appeal among sophisticated and disaffected intelligentsia, nor among dissatisfied and apathetic laboring masses who tended to blame Stalin for their ills. Nor was the identification of the Party with Mother sufficient to inspire faith in Bolshevik system. It was

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208 186 therefore imperative from the point of view of the survival of the Soviet power and self-perpetuation of the ruling faction to find new mass identifications and symbols. These were readily found in ideas of grandeur and perfection, and in ethnocentrism, rooted in Czarist traditions, in Slavophilism and in the Third [152] Rome ideology. These feelings and attitudes were reinforced in the structure of Soviet society in which, just as in the Czardom, dependency and subservience are likely to foster in the higher strata compensatory feelings of superiority and desire to dominate.

In Bolshevik ideology, however, self-apotheosis expressed in ideas of grandeur and in myths of social and national superiority, and in plans of conquest reached much higher proportions than in the Czardom. Thus the language of Bolshevism became saturated with words and phrases which convey the image of grandeur, perfection, holiness and eternity. Words and phrases, such as grandiose (*velichayshy*), life-giving (*zhivotvoryashchy*), invincible (*nepobedimy*), the most perfect (*naybolie soversheny*), limitless (*bezgranichny*), legendary (*bogatyrsky*), epoch-making, holy (*sviatoy*), miraculous (*chudotvorny*), immortal (*bessmertny*) and eternal (*vechny*) are regularly used to depict the achievements of the Soviet state. The Soviet state is referred to as the "magnificent Soviet State," as "the most perfect political form of power" which has already achieved "world-wide historical victories," and still contains "inexhaustible possibilities." There is today no such force "which could surpass its might."[44] Such a mighty and powerful Socialist state "shows a profound influence on the whole international life, on the hearts and minds of all liberty loving people," thus initiating a "new era in the history of human kind."[45]

The Soviet people themselves are said to be unique and to excel in their personal qualities. The Soviet man, as pictured by the Communist press has in every respect attributes superior to the man of any other society. Having "unheard-of opportunities for education," he is said to be at the head of all "progressive humanity." It is pointed out that he is the one who possesses "the only correct orientation" and absolute knowledge of the past, present and future given him by the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

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Unbounded faith in the victory of Communism gives the Soviet man and woman the strength to withstand otherwise unsurmountable difficulties. It is for this reason that his "unmatched heroism" has deserved the respect of all humankind. He has the interests of the state at heart as if they were his personal affairs, he shows an "infinite attachment" to the Communist Party, has a "most holy" respect for Lenin's legacy, and an "inexhaustible love" for his country. He is endowed with "limitless creative energies" and is ready for any sacrifice, including his own life, for the Soviet cause. He is a perfect man in a perfect society:[46]

> Where do you find such people and such a country as ours? Where do you find people with such superb qualities as manifested by the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War and as displayed by them in their toil which is at the head of the peaceful development and reconstruction of economic production and culture? Every day our people get higher and higher . . . We are not the same as we were yesterday. We changed and grew together with those majestic transformations which changed our country in its very roots.[47]

The grim Soviet reality, however, contradicts this mythology. There is therefore an imperative need to offset the demoralizing effects of such a contrast and to bolster the self-confidence of the people and the prestige of the ruling faction by concentrating all the efforts to achieve some spectacular accomplishments at home and abroad. The Soviet leaders are therefore tireless in magnifying any of their achievements in the field of technology, science, war or diplomacy. By emphasizing the monumentality of these deeds the Bolsheviks expect to leave on their subjects an ineradicable impression regarding the ability of the rulers and the greatness of the system. This line of thought and feeling explains the emphasis on many imposing prestige undertakings in addition to mythical projects that are said to have moved mountains, made oceans out of deserts, produced new species and conquered death. Also pyramidal monuments to Soviet victories, frequent military parades, demonstrations in which hundreds of thousands of people take part, and other mass pageantry are designed to make the people experience a feeling of invincibility, grandeur, and unsurpassable might of the Soviets.

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jects as a means of permanent control. It is felt that only by Russifying the non-Russian parts of the Soviet Union and convincing them of the benefits of close ties with Russian people and Russian institutions[55] a common culture will be developed; on such a basis a feeling of unity, of common interests and of common objectives will grow.

It is in light of such circumstances that the earlier Marxian theory of linguistics had to be revised to suit the new situation. Present language is not considered any more to be just a "superstructure" destined to give way to a completely new language of Socialism. On the contrary, Russian language and even Russian script is looked upon now as the basic language and basic script of Soviet socialism. Contrary to earlier Marxian theory, Russian language is now looked upon as an agent of unification and control under Soviet rule.[56]

Myths of national and racial superiority, however, do not appeal equally to all strata of the population. The toiling multitudes, if dissatisfied with their status, might remain deaf to such calling unless convinced that in different conditions their situation would become worse and even more precarious. It was to strengthen the latter feeling that the Bolshevik Party undertook to propagate a myth of the inferiority, rottenness, and damnation of the non-Soviet world. Building on anti-Latin and anti-Western traditions of the Orthodox Church and of Slavophilism the Bolshevik propaganda has attempted to develop attitudes of horror, disgust, and utter contempt of the capitalist world and of Western culture. Accordingly the Western society has been pictured as exploitative, war-mongering, decadent, decaying, full of internal conflicts and contradictions, and therefore self-destructive. The miserable, exploited, toiling multitudes in Western countries and their dependencies have been pictured as living in inhuman, deplorable and destitute conditions, exposed to constant unemployment and hunger, and heartlessly exploited by pitiless capitalists.

Because of this inherent and unsurmountable conflict of interests between labor's demand for higher standards and the capitalist's demand for higher profits, there is an intrinsic self-destroying tendency in the very nature of capitalism, the Bolshe-

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viks say.[57] The bourgeois countries are therefore inescapably crippled and inevitably doomed beyond any hope of recovery whatsoever.[58] The only way out of such an unbearable situation for the capitalists is to "turn the whole planet into a police station, under American supervision."[59] Hence the capitalists prepare for war and imperialistic expansion as the only way to maintain their power. They tend to encircle the Soviet Union and attack it. Therefore, sooner or later "a series of the most frightful collisions between the Soviet republic and bourgeois states is inevitable."[60]

Propaganda concerning the inevitable doom of capitalism is aimed at discouraging hopes for change in the Soviet system. Such propaganda supports the myth of the infallibility and invincibility of the Soviet system; the inevitability of the coming economic crises in the capitalist world, especially in the United States, will lead to the final breakdown of the capitalist system, the victory of the Soviets, and the establishment of a World Soviet Republic.[61] At the same time the claim that the capitalistic powers will resort to aggression as a last hope to save their dwindling system functions as a justification for aggressive diplomacy and strategic expansion; it strengthens the demands for greater sacrifices and deprivations in favor of police measures and war preparedness. The emphasis on the inevitability of war justifies also the increasing centralization of power and "iron discipline" within the Party ranks.

VI

Following Turco-Mongol and Czarist traditions, Bolshevik leaders believe that training in unconditional submission to superiors, identification with the powerful and faith in victory can be best achieved if the whole society is militarized. Militarization is looked upon as the best morale builder. When militarily organized, people are more amenable to control. Also a powerful army under the Party's control strengthens the confidence of uneasy and mistrustful rulers in their ability to check internal opposition and withstand external pressures or attacks. A powerful army is also a necessary instrument for aggressive diplomacy and territorial expansion; it becomes an instrument

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701 665 members was close to 85 percent. And as to the top level of the army command by 1941 this top military hierarchy was one hundred percent Communist.[66]

To maintain ideological purity among the armed forces and to strengthen the Party's control is the specific function of the political officer and of the Partorg (Party organizer). The political officers have now regular army training and in the actual fighting, the political officer becomes "the commander's substitute or takes his place when the commander is disabled."[67] It is this ability of the Party to replace any army commander by an army trained but Party devoted man, that is expected to insure absolute control of the armed forces by the Party even in times of greatest stress and defeat. The duty of the political officers is [703] not only to interpret and to propagandize the latest utterances of the Party leaders or the decisions of the Politburo, but to watch for any weakening of enthusiasm, for any pessimism or gloomy views that may be noticed and to combat vigorously any signs of demoralization. The most important task of the political officers, however, is to cultivate martial spirit and to build up morale, thus creating "a psychological condition which sets up resistance to fear of discomfort, pain, or death."[68]

701 157 208 The goal of the Party is to infiltrate with martial spirit not the armed forces alone, but the whole Soviet population as a means of bolstering the morale of the Soviet masses behind the Bolshevik regime. This is being achieved by means of militarization of all public activities. The Bolshevik leaders consider that militarization is the only morale builder in a situation in which the laboring masses tend to become lethargic, apathetic and disinterested in their work. Speaking of the experiences in World War II, Stalin said that in that struggle people got transformed and acquired new qualities which strengthened the power of the [461] Bolsheviks: "But the people themselves in the rear have been transformed, they have been more efficient, less slipshod, more disciplined; they have learned to work in wartime fashion, and to realize their duty to our motherland."[69] Stalin looks at sports and athletics from the same point of view:

> We stood for five hours on the tomb while the show went on. The Generalissimo showed no sign of fatigue. On the contrary, he ap-

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peared to enjoy every minute of the show . . . A final remark of the Generalissimo's while we were watching the sports spectacle was that mass athletics and exercises were fine because of their effect upon the populace. He said, "This develops the war spirit."[70]

In accordance with the Bolshevik need for morale building most Soviet institutions have been militarized, including the Party. Thus when a Soviet subject leaves his school and his Pioneer or Komsomol organization and enters a factory, a kolhoz, an office, a research laboratory, or becomes a Party worker, he has been already trained for work in a society which is in most of its aspects organized along military lines. Anywhere where he is assigned a job he might find military discipline and military relationships. In a number of civilian jobs he will wear a uniform with badges of his rank. In his factory or kolhoz he may become a member of a "shock brigade" or a "hero of labor" and therefore an important link in an all-embracing Five-Year-Plan whose main emphasis is on military preparedness. As a Party member he will take his position in the Party pyramid as a common soldier, as a petty officer, or as a higher officer:

> Three or four thousand men of the high command—the generals of our Party. Then 30 to 40 thousand intermediate commanders; these constitute the officers' corps of our Party. And further, 100 to 180 thousand of the leading elements of our party—these are, so to speak —the subaltern officers of the Party.[71]

In a militarized society military language is used in all activities. Military language has always been a tradition in the Bolshevik Party and has been always widely employed by Lenin, Stalin, and other Party leaders. Therefore when addressing a meeting, or when writing in a newspaper or in a literary or scholarly periodical a Soviet subject is expected to employ military phrases, and use analogies taken from military campaigns and military experiences. He will speak of "reconnoissance," "skirmishes," "encounters," "operations," "outposts," "fortresses," "citadels," "maneuvres," "camps," "cadres," etc. and he will be expected to do his duty on his own "battle post." If he rises to the top of the Party hierarchy and if he especially distinguishes himself in his civil activities he might be endowed

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one's helplessness, feeling of rejection, and dependence upon the controlling power is especially keenly felt. In such conditions even a slight deviation might provoke a feeling of guilt, need for self-punishment and suffering; it might call for public self-humiliation, confession of errors and pledges to repent and to correct the wrong done, especially when such practices are supported by the inherited traditions. There is therefore a certain degree of truth in the assertion of the Bolsheviks, that "Criticism and self-criticism is a great driving force in the development of Soviet society."[10]

II

In a "prison and barracks" society privileges of power and ideas of grandeur do not sufficiently compensate for lack of acceptance, isolation, humiliations, feelings of insecurity, and sense of inferiority and rejection. In an atmosphere of suspicion, intrigue, degradation, and lack of intimate personal and intellectual contact and of social support, anxieties, fears, extreme self-concern, and deep antagonisms easily flourish. Such a situation tends to magnify feelings of destructive aggression developed on the family level and is therefore likely to become overcharged with extreme hostilities and hatreds; it is likely to become full of potential explosiveness which may be directed against the ruling class itself unless convenient channels for discharge of aggressiveness are found.

In a society in which overt expressions of emotional behavior are under the control of a ruling clique, accumulating aggressions are readily directed against internal and external "enemies" of the regime, be they real or invented for the occasion. In this manner the feeling of hostility against the regime might be redirected against its opponents. It is therefore in the interest of survival of the ruling faction in such a society to cultivate hatred and destruction of the "enemy" by all means of public pressure, propaganda, agitation, education, as well as lawmaking.

These are the reasons why attitudes of extreme animosity against the "enemies of the Soviet Motherland" are propagated in the Soviet daily press and in the school textbooks. Stirring hatreds is one of the main tasks of Party agitators.[11] Accordingly

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in the political philosophy expressed in Soviet writings and in the speeches of outstanding Party members, extreme hatred of the internal and external adversaries is considered as a precondition of Bolshevik victory and of survival of Soviet society. Thus, for instance, in a May Day Order of the Day, Stalin, as People's Commissar of Defense declared: "You cannot defeat any enemy without having learned to hate him with all the power of your soul." In Soviet writings Lenin is hailed as a man who had "a holy hatred of the oppressors of the people . . . "[12]

Just like the Anarchists before them, the Bolsheviks claim that a deliberate cult of hatred is a precondition for the development of a "revolutionary passion." They justify hatred as a means to achieve their revolutionary goals. Following the same traditions the Bolsheviks insist that fanatical devotion should be instilled in people as a means to arouse passionate hatred. Therefore deliberate cultivation of hate together with the training in extreme identification with the Leader, the Party, the Motherland, and the Communist cause must start with kindergarten and with school training of Soviet children. Passionate hatred and passionate love are expected to mutually strengthen each other. According to pedagogical teachings, the Soviet children should be "saturated with irreconcilable hatred toward the enemies of socialist society," as well as with "passionate love of the Motherland." But here too just as in the Anarchist precepts, hatred appears to take the first place and love the second:

> Hatred gives birth to class revolutionary vigilance and creates a feeling of irreconcilability toward the class enemy; the weakening of such vigilance undermines the cause of the socialist revolution. It is necessary to learn, not only to hate the enemy, but also to struggle with him, in time to unmask him and finally, if he does not surrender, to destroy him . . . to vanquish the enemy is impossible without the most burning hatred of him . . . Passionate love of the motherlands breeds inevitably strong hatred of the enemy.[13]

Many outstanding Soviet novelists in their writings emphasize this cult of destructive aggression. Maxim Gorki, for instance, wrote an essay entitled "If the enemy does not surrender, he must be destroyed." Konstantin Simonov, another outstanding Soviet

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(*sud*). Accordingly, in the mind of these people, the universe and peace (*mir*) were also identical.[28]

Great calamities occasionally befell the Old-Slavonic communities—frequent raids and plundering by the invaders and slave hunters; then cattle plagues and epidemics. These were thought to have been brought on by certain demons and malevolent ghosts, but the Polesie people knew of ways to cope even with such disasters. Contagious diseases were prevented or stopped by means of magic, especially by the magical powers of women. As for their enemies, the soil cultivators of the Dnieper basin were not prepared for any offensive or defensive warfare and were an easy prey for many aggressors. Being not armed, their defense consisted of hiding themselves. They sought safety in impenetrable marshes and forests and even resorted to such ruses as lying submerged on the bottoms of marshes and breathing by means of cane sticks until the danger was over.[29]

Since the Old-Slavonic agriculturists contracted their marriage unions early in life, as a means of labor supply and since they were not exposed to exhaustion of constant warfare, the region which they originally inhabited soon reached its limits of population. Thus, in spite of their autarchic and intensive agricultural techniques and their attachment to the soil, the early Slav folk were forced to leave their original habitat in search of new lands. They did not migrate in a fury and did not traverse great distances like the mounted nomads of the steppes; rather, they moved slowly and quietly for short distances and by stages always keeping in touch with the mother community from which they had sprung.

In this manner the Old-Slavonic tillers penetrated new regions and territories, not by force and conquest like the predatory steppe raiders, but by cultivating new soil along the river basins, in the midst of forest clearings, drained marshes or irrigated steppes. Living in village communities which remained ethnically uninterrupted, they transplanted and perpetuated in their new homes their native agricultural techniques, their beliefs and customs, their family and community organization, as well as their philosophy of life. Thus as late as the twentieth century, the social organization and personality traits of the Zadruga peo-

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ple, in the plains between the Drava and Sava rivers, showed cultural and personality traits similar to those of the Old-Slavonic plowmen.[30]

In their migration, these early Slav soil cultivators were often able to Slavicize the natives among whom they had settled and even to absorb the numerically small bands of steppe raiders who had conquered them. These assimilated invaders were then often employed to fight against new nomadic incursions.[31] It was in the course of such acculturations, due to migrations and conquests, that in the regions between the Volga and the Dnieper a peculiar fusion of contrasting cultural patterns of the steppe horsemen and of the tillers of the soil had developed. Structural relations, personality traits and the religious, social and political ideologies that resulted out of this blend of the two conflicting worlds formed the basis of Russian society and have been at the root of its political instability throughout centuries.[32]

4
TURCO-MONGOL INVASIONS AND FORMATION OF RUSSIAN SOCIETY

I

THE MOUNTED warriors of the steppes were accustomed to covering great distances on their raids and migrations. After they had devastated and annihilated much that was in their way, they would impose their rule with ease over whatever was left. Then they would proceed to organize nomadic federations, principalities and empires.[1] The political systems which thus arose in the area between the Ural mountains and the Carpathians apparently followed the pattern that had been originally established by the Scythians and Huns in the same territory.[2]

Being extremely self-centered and insecure, a strong driving

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ture was detrimental to the development of trade and industry. For centuries its economy remained founded on a system of primitive agriculture. Lack of large centers of trade and industry adversely affected rural economy. There was no stimulation for agricultural improvements and for freeing of the serfs. Instead, the emphasis was on the exploitation of serf labor as the most expedient means to satisfy the demands of the landlords and of the state. The landlords were mostly absent on military campaigns or other state duties and were generally disinterested in land improvements. At the same time the system of using the land as a pay for military or other state services, in a country whose war campaigns and military contingents were increasing, tended to diminish the size of the donations and increase the burdens imposed on the serfs.

The lack of urbanization, together with the low standard of education of the service nobility, kept also the intellectual development of Russia far behind that in the West. Intellectual activity was limited mainly to the court circles. The ideology and practices of the Russian Church favored intellectual stagnation. Russia accepted Christianity from Byzantium after the Greek Church had already given up classical traditions of Hellenism. By the time Byzantine Christianity entered Russia, Byzantine literature had assumed an almost exclusively ecclesiastical character, and education consisted almost entirely of religious teaching and the reading of the lives of the saints. Art, too, became exclusively religious and stereotyped. All thought was regimented according to religious dogmas and political objectives of the power-holders.

In Russia this type of intellectual rigidity and inactivity was emphasized because of the use of the Old-Slavonic language in the Church, which resulted in neglect of Greek language. And it was considered a sin to learn the "thrice accursed Latin tongue." Thus, the Russian clergymen became isolated from the West because they lacked the possession of the only instruments in which human knowledge was communicated in those days. Moreover, Russian Orthodoxy, like the Byzantine Orthodoxy, was based on monasticism. But unlike the manifold monastic practices of the Western Church, the monks in the Russian Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.

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623 a few kulaks were often able to force the commune members into unanimous decision by means of threats or bribing. And there was no appeal against such decisions.

565 621 154 In such circumstances many land communes tended to lose their former equalitarian and protective aspects and the peasants came to fear the mir and to feel an awe before it as much as they had a fear and awe before God and the Czar or before a stern and distant father. They feared the overwhelming power of the mir, the finality of its decision, and the lack of redress against its will They tended to identify the mir's final power with that of Almighty God. "There is no court for the mir, one God is its judge," they would say. Feeling helpless in the front of such an [156] uncontrollable power, there seemed to be nothing else for the peasants to do but to submit to its will. "One cannot argue with the mir"; "Mir will stand for itself, you cannot go against it" they would say. And since there was no other way out for one but to be a part of such an overwhelming and capricious institution the most expedient way of behavior for him was to accept it and to do as the others do, "Although bad, you cannot do without it"; "If you have to live with wolves you might as well howl as they do."[11]

621 625 156 The mir and police were empowered to interfere not only in the system of planting, sowing, and harvesting, but in family and personal affairs as well. The problems of paternal authority and filial duties, the relations between husband and wife, and between in-laws, the questions of inheritance, military conscription, and general behavior, all were within the grasp of these village authorities.[12] Just as in his own family, the rank-and-file individual was completely lost in his village commune. A rank-and-file man had the right to participate in the debates and was expected to vote unanimously for the regulations which restricted his personal and his economic freedom. He who dared to object was unprotected against the despotism and arbitrariness either of the ruling minority or of an incited mob. Thus the feelings of complete dependence upon superior powers prevailed in the community.

●241 In addition, poor quality of land, lack of sufficient moisture, long and hard winters, many years of military service, low

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standards of formal education, low level of agricultural technology, undeveloped means of transportation and too many idle days handicapped the advance of agriculture. In such circumstances the peasants did not even produce sufficient food to nourish themselves, much less a surplus to exchange for manufactured products. As a consequence the peasants were exposed to periodical famines during which many died of starvation.

Periodical epidemics of cholera, typhus, small pox, and other diseases took a toll as high as famines. A low degree of personal hygiene in crowded living conditions also increased the death rate. In addition there was a great dearth of doctors, nurses and hospitals, and no measures of preventive medicine. Equally ruinous were the periodical cattle epidemics due to primitive techniques of cattle raising. One should add to these misfortunes the figure of more than one hundred thousand peasant homes destroyed each summer by fires, many of them the result of arson. And if one considers the widely spread robbery, theft and murder that went undetected and unpunished, one gets an idea of the distressing personal and social conditions in which the Russian peasant lived. It was in such circumstances, left entirely to his own resources, that he developed an ideological, emotional and symbolical world of his own.

17
THE ATTITUDES OF THE PEASANTRY

I

STUNNED by the magnitude of the inimical and arbitrary social and physical forces which surrounded him and completely controlled his life, the Great-Russian peasant felt impotent and helpless. In the family circle if he had to be submissive and he was exposed to arbitrariness of the elder, he also might have enjoyed a certain degree of protection and succor.

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could be achieved only if Russia was to change radically its economic structure. As a result of such a trend of events and of thought the government passed a decree in 1861 according to which the peasants were set legally free from their masters.

As a consequence of his legal emancipation, the peasant found himself in the possession of less arable land than before, and he was still bound to it. He was overburdened even more than before because he was obliged to pay high redemption dues in addition to the heavy taxes that were imposed on him. Moreover the peasants in land-communes not only remained jointly responsible to the government for the payment of taxes, but they were also made jointly responsible for redemption payments. The commune's authority over the peasants was increased and the peasant found himself under an even more exacting and more despotic commune regimentation than the one that existed before the "Emancipation Act."

At the same time the peasant still did not have sufficient arable land. He also lacked pasture grounds and timber which were of special importance in his technologically backward and extensive agricultural economy; most of such land was left in the hands of his former masters. The acuteness of land shortage was especially felt because of lack of artificial fertilizers, need for draught animals, and primitiveness of farm equipment. Many peasants did not even possess a wooden plow.

But though the emancipation act of 1861 still kept the peasants bound to the land, and did not provide them with sufficient land, it did open up opportunities for their economic advance and political activation. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, the peasantry became generally recognized as a potentially very significant force, both politically and economically. It was this prospect of the peasant masses as the leading political power of the future in combination with the Slavophil idealization of the peasantry that gave rise to the ideology of *narodnichestvo* (populism). This ideology idealized the virtues and the creative potentialities of the peasantry, and just as the Slavophils, the narodniki claimed that the reconstruction of Russian society, even of the whole world, will come from Russian peasantry.

By the end of that century a faction of Russian radical intel-

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of strata, whose interests were often conflicting. There were the *obshchiniki* (the communal landholders), the *otrubniki* (the peasant private property owners), the *khutoriane* (isolated homestead owners), the *bednyaki* (the poor and indebted peasants), the *serednyaki* (the middle peasants), and the *kulaki*. Finally, there were still the pomeshchiki who owned manorial estates with arable lands, timber-forests and pasture grounds. These were, however, gradually selling their land to the better-off peasants.

The peasant private landholders prospered better than those in the communes. The yield per acre on communal lands has always been much lower than on the private lands. The communal landholders had to rely for a part of their income on wages. These they got as seasonal industrial workers or as agricultural laborers on the lands of the landed gentry. They also worked on the lands of better-off individual peasant property owners whom they resented and called *"novye pomeshchiki"* (the new squires). The poor, landless, and indebted peasants antagonized the better-off peasants. The lower and the middle peasants resented the kulaks and the pomeshchiki.

At the same time the individualization of the Great-Russian peasantry was proceeding very slowly in spite of government help and encouragement. By 1912 the proportion of consolidated peasant holdings, as compared to those remaining in the communal system, was less than 11 percent. Between 1907 and 1915 only about 20 percent of the peasants left land commune.[16] This slow decommunalization did not, however, indicate lack of desire for private land ownership. The reasons for the persistence of the old communal land system lay in the shortage of land, in peasant poverty, in vested interests within the village commune, and finally in traditional lack of self-reliance among the peasants.

As long as a large part of the Great-Russian peasantry remained in the system of communal landholding where lack of initiative and primitive techniques of cultivation prevailed, no great general improvement in land cultivation and in the standard of living of the peasantry could have been expected in spite of all government efforts. Thus, economically insecure and

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hungry for land, resentful of degrading dependency and inclined to be hostile to the existing authorities, many peasants were ready to follow the leadership of professional conspirators and demagogues who incited them to revolt and promised them "land and freedom." Such feelings and attitudes were of decisive importance in the revolutionary days of 1917, as well as later in the civil war.

20
ASCENDENCY OF BOLSHEVISM

I

WHEN the Czardom in the eighteenth century embarked on its policy of industrialization, the newly built industries, both those state owned and those owned by the landed nobility, were based on serf labor. Also the non-noble entrepreneurs purchased or rented serfs to work in their mines and factories.[1] In such conditions the technical equipment and the production output of Russia's industries remained at a very low level. There was no incentive to introduce technological improvements as long as the labor was abundant, and its cost low. Only a few industries, such as the cotton industry which was in the hands of non-noble owners, and which from its start was based on free labor, had introduced modern machinery. Thus since the Russian industries did not advance technologically and were unable to compete with the European industrial products, they had to be protected by high tariff barriers, by grants and subsidies. This situation kept the level of prices of manufactured goods high in comparison with the buying power of the industrial workers, of peasants and of middle urban strata. The resulting lack of buying power of these broad strata of the population made the progress of industrialization in Russia very slow, uneven, unstable, and chronically affected by crises

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of foreign loans and investments the process of industrialization and of economic autarchy, which was needed to develop military potential necessary to withstand internal and external threats, was proceeding at too slow a pace. This situation made it imperative for the impatient and insecure ruling class to have at hand goods available for quick export in order to buy foreign machinery and to industrialize and militarize the country at a higher speed.

The peasants in the meantime were busy in making improvements on their possessions and in raising the amount of food for home consumption. Increased peasant consumption of food however meant decrease of the crops available both for export and for the needs of fast growing urban strata which were being created as a result of a speedy industrialization. Also lack of regulation of agricultural production meant that planting and sowing were designed to a large extent to satisfy the home needs of the peasant, and only to a lesser extent those of the national or foreign market.

This meant that as long as a large section of the peasantry remained as independent producers there was always a danger that the ruling class might not have at its disposal sufficient quantities of marketable products. And the more the ruling faction felt insecure in its power, the more this potential threat of an economically independent peasantry seemed real and close. This feeling of insecurity and mistrust of the Bolsheviks was manifested in their hatred of the peasantry. "The peasant who has two cows is already an enemy," they would say. Hence the Party hierarchy made the decision not only to abolish the economic independence of the peasants, but also to "destroy peasantry as a class" by means of collectivization.

In their determination to "destroy peasantry as a class," the Bolsheviks first incited the poor and the medium peasants against the "kulaks" and then the landless against the small peasant owners. The Bolshevik agitators took advantage also of the traditional tensions within peasant families and aroused son against father and brother against brother. Thus inciting and exploiting resentments and hostilities between various peasant strata and taking advantage of family antagonisms, the Bolsheviks were able

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to force the peasants to join the collectives and the state farms. Those who opposed such policies were resettled or banished to convict labor camps. Many were massacred. According to Stalin ten million peasants became victims of this "class war."[5]

In order to insure their complete control over the farming population, the Bolshevik leaders sent the most trusted Party people from the city to the village to manage the newly formed *kolhozes*. These *novye bary* (new lords), as the peasants called them, installed themselves in the mansions of former estate owners and kept themselves at a considerable distance from the rural population, not unlike the former serf-owners. And not unlike the former gentry the new masters were also bent upon extracting maximum labor from the peasantry with minimum reward.

Under such conditions, the peasants, in the first outbursts of their reaction against this state of abusive submission resorted to outward aggression in the form of traditional uprisings. They burnt their crops and slaughtered their cattle rather than collectivize them. It is estimated that almost two-thirds of the entire livestock and a large part of the crops were destroyed.[6] Such a situation affected even the Ukraine, the "granary of Russia" and greatly contributed to the famine of 1932–33 in which hundreds of thousands of people died of starvation and epidemics. It was by such active rebellion that the peasantry forced the Party into a temporary retreat. The Party had to appease the peasants by giving each peasant household the right to retain in private use a small plot of land, and also in private possession a limited number of livestock. Also, private trade in agricultural products was restored in a limited degree.[7]

These were however only temporary concessions, since the Bolsheviks were determined to completely "industrialize" the peasantry as a means of political and economic control. Following such aims the highest possible degree of specialization in farm operation has been fostered and the members of the same family have been assigned to different, spacially separated activities. In this manner the agricultural brigade instead of the peasant family became the basic unit of agricultural production. For the same reason the highest possible degree of mechanization of

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241 178 agriculture, centered in Motor Tractor Stations, has been fostered.[8]

474 465 463 At the same time differences in individual income levels have been encouraged by means of a differential wage system based on the degree of specialization, the amount of work, the quality of labor and the quality and quantity of production. There is also a tendency to train each kolhoz member for one specialty only. In this manner differentiation is increased, family self-sufficiency and family bonds are being destroyed, a greater degree of dependency upon the Party is achieved, group solidarity is weakened and the development of organized peasant opposition is prevented.

241 463 178 The "industrialization" of the peasantry seeks to eliminate the old type of peasant farmer who was self-sufficient, had manifold interests and possessed a variety of skills needed to manage his economy, of which he was the owner and the manager. By fostering specialization and wage differentiation the Party hopes to develop a type of agricultural worker and specialist who is skilled in one activity only, and cannot be self-sufficient. Since in this manner every agricultural worker becomes entirely dependent upon others, and upon the Party, it is expected that as a result of such conditioning the drive to own farm property will disappear, that all land property will then become governmentalized and that agricultural labor will become in all respects and for all purposes the same as industrial labor, that is, completely divided within, dependent economically, and better amenable to Party control.

474 178 It is along such lines of thought that the Party has recently endeavored to amalgamate kolhozes into large collective units. In small collectives the Party's control was weak or non-existent and the peasants were enabled to maintain a degree of group solidarity and to put up a certain resistance to government agrarian policies. According to the Party's admission "small collective farms blocked the progress of socialist farming."[9] Therefore, in order to "strengthen their directing personnel" the Party decided to amalgamate small farms into large ones. The management of these amalgamated collectives is to be put entirely in the hands of non-peasants.[10]

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welcomed them as liberators in World War II, indicate such possibilities.

III

In studying personality growth in the Soviet society, one should take into account also the differences between the urban and the rural environments and the influences of those environments on interpersonal relations within the family circle. Owing to the very rapid pace of urbanization and low rate of production of consumption goods, most of the families located in the urban areas are exposed to the housing shortage and lack of home privacy. Many of these families live in community apartments in which there is only one room per family and in which a number of unrelated families share a common kitchen and toilet facilities. Family conflicts and tensions tend to be intensified in such circumstances. Lack of privacy, noisiness, and lack of sleep in crowded quarters, together with the lack of sufficient food, long hours of work and unsatisfactory conditions of work increase dissatisfactions and magnify existing family conflicts. An outlet for dissatisfactions is found then in trivial scandals and bickering, in petty squabbles, but also in violent emotional outbursts.[21]

Conditions in rural areas are somewhat different. Though virtually all peasant families live in one or at most two-room cottages, which they often share with a few heads of livestock, yet the rural family does have its own privacy. Most peasant families possess a small lot of land around the cottage, on which they raise some poultry or a pig; some might even own a cow. Though this is all very modest, yet with some labor, after the work for the kolhoz has been done, the peasant family has been able to raise some food on its own property and perhaps to sell it on the open market and then buy some clothing and other bare necessities.[22]

Compared to the situation of the city worker, the peasant, though receiving lower wages for his work, and often going in rags, perhaps does feel relatively more independent. If he is an adult with a family he is much less likely to be pushed around, though he is constantly exhorted by kolhoz officials to work more

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and harder and to produce more for Socialist Motherland. Not infrequently the brigade leaders have to use physical force to make him get up early enough to work on collective property.

Yet in spite of such unfavorable circumstances, compared to city workers, the peasant might still be in a somewhat better position in regard to security and stability, attachment to his family, to his cottage, to his small plot of land, and to his village. For this reason he has been able to put up resistance against the Party and the government.[33] It is against these scanty remnants of emotional and economic security, of personal independence, of group solidarity and resistance that the Bolshevik rulers are campaigning; it is to eradicate this psychology of group intimacy and opposition that the Party had recently attempted to resettle the farmers and move them into concentrated and urbanized surroundings; the Bolsheviks are exerting all efforts to eradicate these "residues of kulak psychology" root and branch and to make the peasants as completely helpless, insecure and subdued to the Party will as they have done with the industrial and intellectual workers.

There is a considerable disproportion in sex ratio in Soviet rural areas. Owing to great casualties in wars it is estimated that at present there are about fifteen million more women than men in the Soviet Union. And due to the increasing need of manpower to maintain huge military forces and to feed the inefficient city industries, the Soviet leaders are constantly draining both male youths and adult men from the villages in the form of military and labor drafts. They are therefore increasingly relying for agricultural work on peasant women. Hence peasant villages and peasant families tend to be composed predominantly of women.

Here too a family structure with semi-matriarchal traits, similar to the Old-Slavonic family, is being formed. Though in such circumstances the number of illegitimate children is increasing, it is quite possible that the women, especially those who are traditionally strongly attached to their family, are exerting a moderating and softening influence on the personality of the peasant child. An indication of such possible differences in the psychological atmosphere of the city and the country is given in

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SU 313 GR 313

The Russian SFSR is the site of the principal lumbering regions of the USSR. In the European section the lumber industry is centered in the Northern Dvina River basin and its affluents, the Sukhona and the Vychegda rivers, as well as along the Kama and the Vyatka rivers, to the southeast. In Siberia the chief lumbering districts are along the right bank of the Yenisey and in the basin of the Ussuri River, an affluent of the Amur. The principal fisheries of the Russian SFSR lie in the European North where herring and cod are caught on the banks of the Barents Sea, in the northern Caspian Sea and the Volga delta (zander, herring, and especially sturgeon), and in the Far East along the Sea of Japan coast and the Kamchatka Peninsula (salmon and herring).

SU 226 GR 226

SU 241 GR 241 SU [230] GR [231]

The basic agricultural areas are in the black-earth belt. Most important is the Northern Caucasus (Kuban' Steppe), where wheat, corn, tobacco, and sunflowers grow excellently on black-earth and chestnut soils. The Northern Caucasus is also one of the foremost livestock-raising areas of the USSR. The Central Black-Earth Region, along the upper Don and the Oka rivers, is the chief sugar-beet district of the Russian SFSR, while the Volga Region and the steppes beyond the Volga specialize in wheat growing. The black-earth section of Siberia produces hard-grained spring wheat, which keeps for several years and is highly valued on the world market, and is also important for its highly developed dairy industries. In the forested belt of the Russian SFSR, new areas are being plowed under and drained for the introduction of grain crops, which now grow as far north as the 60th parallel. In the European forests, flax and hemp are the principal crops, and dairy farming, the dominant pastoral activity. The best flax is grown in the areas of Pskov, Smolensk, Kalinin, and Vologda, the latter being also the chief dairying center.

SU 489 GR 489

The transportation network linking these regions consists primarily of a well-developed railway system, which is densest in the European section. The main through-traffic lines join at Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Kirov, Vologda, Bryansk, and other centers. Throughout the European section, rail transportation operates in close conjunction with river and sea routes. The Volga River leads in the amount of freight carried on its course. It is connected with Moscow via the Moscow Canal and with the Neva and Leningrad via the Mariinsk waterway, the Tikhvin and the Vyshne-Volotsk canals. The chief seaports are Leningrad, Murmansk, Arkhangel'sk, Rostov, Sevastopol', and Astrakhan'. In Siberia the rail network is restricted to the Trans-Siberian trunk line

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gether and to subdue the whole of the universe to his personal control. But he is at the same time utterly incapable of controlling his own gigantic strength. Hence he provokes the whole earth against himself ("Mother Earth could not bear his weight"):

He saddled his heroic steed
And rode forth on his way.
His young heart was throbbing,
His strength vibrated in his sinews,
His energy was like to overflow,
And he was heavily burdened with his strength,
Heavily burdened as with a grievous load;
He could not control his heroic strength.
And he threw away his steel club
Which vanished out of sight about the clouds,
And caught it again in his white hand;
"If I should take to walking on the earth
I would fasten a ring to heaven,
I would bind an iron chain to the ring,
I would drag the sky down to mother earth
I would turn the earth on its end,
And I would confound earth with heaven."[31]

There is no deed that these warriors and bandits would hesitate to commit in order to increase their personal power. The Great-Russian folk narratives agree with the early Russian chronicles and with later Russian historical documents that these men were ready to murder even their own closest kin in order to achieve their personal aims. In a folk epic this extreme bloodthirstiness and quest for power is symbolized by young Shchelkun, a hero of Tartar origin who murders his own son, and then, like the Scythians of old, drinks his blood. By this act of extreme cruelty he seeks his own self-aggrandizement:

Stab your son
Your beloved son,
Fill a bowl of his blood,
Drink up this blood,
This warm blood,
And then I will grant you

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Tver the ancient,
Tver the wealthy,
And the two brothers,
The two bold Borisovichi.
At once young Schelkun
Stabbed his son,
Filled a bowl of his blood,
His warm blood,
And drank up the bowl of that warm blood:
And straightway Tsar Azvych
Bestowed upon him
Tver the ancient,
Tver the wealthy,
And the two brothers,
The two bold Borisovichi.[32]

However, as soon as such "Good bold youths who have robbed and slain" find themselves in circumstances which appear to be unsurmountable, they are inclined to become cowardly, are overwhelmed with gloom and fear, and tend to rely on crouching servility and on guile and cunning as a means of self-preservation. When in such a mood they picture their enemies as superhuman, beastly beings possessing supernatural strength, thus justifying the lack of fair play in dealing with them.

It is possible that this radical change of social structure was projected into the new folk concept of the supernatural world. The Old-Slavonic fairyland inhabited predominantly by benevolent spirits was apparently transformed under the new conditions into a demonland full of beings with terrifying and macabre qualities. Blood-sucking vampires, heart-devouring witches, fiends that feast on human flesh, and other murderous and rapacious beings similar to those found in the underworld of the steppe nomads replaced the Old-Slavonic helpful deities and moderately malignant spirits.

In the same manner the Old-Slavonic benevolent wizards apparently evolved into rapacious and slaughterous witches who specialize in child eating. The Old-Slavonic beautiful and benevolent water spirits developed into monsters who bewitch people, especially the youths, and then draw them down into the deep waters to put them to death. The Old-Slavonic friendly and

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attractive forest fairies who used to help travelers changed into beastly demons who trick wayfarers into making them lose their way and then cause them to perish.

The imposition of the rule of nomadic warriors over the soil cultivators brought about not only insecurity of life and property, but disintegration of the old ways of life and of the old morals. Social disintegration favored detachment from the group, caused decline in group identification and solidarity, tended to increase self-concern, fostered destructive aggressiveness and anti-social behavior. Hence, drunkenness, debauchery, orgiastic practices, together with robbing and killing, became prominent. According to Fedotov, the old Christian sermons are so full of invectives against such behavior that some studies of Russia's religious life consider that these themes formed the main content of anti-pagan literature of those days.[33]

Perhaps as a result of such social disorganization the Old-Slavonic Goddess of Love (Lada) was relegated into the background and obscurity. Instead, male gods of bacchanalian passion and Dionysiac orgy (Iarilo, Pereplut) became outstanding in folk imagination.[34] A phallic rite was observed at wedding banquets and sexual promiscuity during the feast gathering of young people became prominent, according to the old sermons.[35]

It was under these conditions of social disorganization and insecurity, and ascendency of power-oriented patriarchal system over the old stateless, semi-matriarchal and equalitarian order that the attitudes toward women changed radically. Mounting hostilities generated by conditions of strife and insecurity can be vented not only through inordinate sex life, alcoholism and delinquency, but also by aggressive behavior against all the unprotected and the weak. And just as sex life tended to take the form of lechery, and love that of uncontrolled passion, the attitudes toward the women changed from respect and reserve to that of scorn and contempt. They came to be looked upon as impure and unclean physically and morally.[36]

It is possible that the new unsatisfactory social conditions might have also affected the concept of the Christian God and attitude toward death. Not only did popular imagination in conditions of disorganization and insecurity tend to see in this

6: Tomatic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

a self-protection on any sign of hostility a preventive war or feud must be initiated.[14] Hence also craftiness and cunning, readiness to lie and to commit perjury[15] and a general wiliness and wariness might easily develop.[16] When a society is to a large extent governmentalized and regimented, such traits are reinforced because in such conditions the feeling of insecurity and lack of trust favor ruthless domineering and coercive submission on all levels of social organization.

In circumstances where power-seeking, extreme self-concern and lack of mutual trust prevail there is a readiness of many people to spy on one another and to inform. There is also an inclination to calumniate as a means of revenge and personal malice.

Destructive aggressiveness and feeling of insecurity, as well as need for succor, may explain the passion for hazardous games and intoxicating drink, and the inclination toward lechery. That liquor is used as a compensatory device which provides a feeling of power and security as contrasted to a reality in which one is cowed into submission is well expressed in folk philosophy. According to a proverb, "When the peasant is drunk, he feels equal to a nobleman; when he is sober he is afraid even of a pig."[17] Hence, in a society in which people find themselves subdued, degraded, and oppressed and where their needs for attachment and acceptance are thwarted, a safe way to rebel against such conditions or to find a convenient substitute may be in drunkenness and debauchery. The early Church documents, as well as the recent evidence, point to the perseverance of such practices:

> Numerous are the sermons devoted to invectives against drunkenness and the pagan character of banquets . . . This wild debauch of popular feasts was preserved until the twentieth century, with the same scenes of drunken fighting and killing as are depicted in this document of the thirteenth century. Orgiasm . . . unrestrained emotional outbursts, stimulated by alcohol, dancing, fighting, or sex, always has been an outstanding feature of Russian temperament.[18]

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PROCEEDINGS USUALLY FOLLOWED AFTER THE BRIDE HAS TAKEN THE BATH.

[p. 16]

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marriage by hiding herself and wailing for the loss of her maiden freedom and for her transfer to a strange family, and if she wishes to particularly honor the guest, she will do this, not only at the first visit, but also at every one that follows. The groom does not gain any new rights by the betrothal, and does not come to the house to see his bride; the most he can do is to come to the window, bringing cakes and candy, and talk to her from the outside, in the evenings. About two nights before the wedding, the maidens have a party, at which they try on the bridal dresses, help to finish the outfit, etc., singing at the same time doleful songs; deploring her hard fate of having to leave home and go among strangers to live. On the eve of the wedding there is another party, to which the young men are admitted. The maidens take leave of their playmate, who is going to bear the cares, hard work and responsibilities of a married woman; the men agree upon the order in which they will go in the wedding procession, and arrange about the outfit of sleighs, horses, bells, ornaments, etc. Meantime, of course, refreshments are served and songs sung. 584

In the marriage ceremonies themselves, are to be seen remains of many ancient social customs, and we may call attention to the changes in the life of a girl which they represent:

1. The meeting bears at first the character of the usual girls' social gatherings—*possidelky*, in this way depicting her previous easy life at home, free from care.

2. Enter the *svats*, who with ceremonies, sit down on the bench under the principal beam of the ceiling. They conduct the negotiations. The bride treats them to a glass of brandy, and gives expression to her consent by tying a towel around the arm of the *svat*.

3. The bride is preparing for the wedding. The *svat* and the other male guests are driven out of the room, with noise and jokes. The hair of the bride is combed and made up for the last time, into the single, free-hanging braid of a girl. This action can be seen in the picture of Makovsky, "The Dressing of the Bride," in the Russian section of the Art Palace, at the Columbian Exposition; only the scene and time refer to a wedding amongst Boyars, about 200 years ago. 585 [302]

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from such a young man (naming him) have come to ask for her. If she likes him, she ought to answer the *svats* and treat them to something. The girl throws a towel over her shoulder, puts a glass of brandy upon a plate and brings it to the *svat*, he accepts it with thanks, but before drinking asks her what answer he shall take to young so and so. The girl blushes, but takes off the towel, and ties it around his left arm—which means her consent: the *svat* thanks her and drains his glass, while she sits down at the table and cries. The *svat* then rises, thanks the people of the house for the entertainment, and starts to leave. At this juncture, the other girls, the friends of the bride, surround him, mock and jeer him, pull him about, splash water on him, etc., at the same time singing a mocking song, "Matchmaker, you foolish matchmaker"—*svatoushka* (No. 23)[1]; this is to express their displeasure for depriving them of a companion. Finally the *svat* pacifies them by some small presents and is allowed to withdraw; the *svakha* (female matchmaker) remains behind and sends out all the men. The girls at the same time surround the bride, cover her head with a kerchief (in sign of her future dependence), commiserate her, and cry over her.

SCENE 4TH. *The Braiding of the Hair* (shown in the picture by Makovsky, "The Toilet of the Bride," in the Russian Section of the Art Palace). The *svakha* takes the bride by the hand and leads her to a chair in the middle of the room; she undoes the single braid, as worn by peasant girls, and combs it out, all the girl friends also come up one after the other and help to comb it, it is then put up again, for the *last time in her life*, into the single plait. The girls, meantime, depict in song the sorrow of separation from her family, the uncertain treatment awaiting her, etc. "A little duck"—*Outoushka* (No. 23)[2]. When the bride is dressed and her hair arranged, she is led to the table where she sits down with her younger brother by her side.

SCENE 5TH. A loud noise and stomping are heard approaching, and then a loud knocking at the door. On bidding them to come in, enter the groom, *droushka* (best man), and his friends. The bridegroom takes his place at the table by the bride, the others

[1] [See cat. 11b, p. 44 — Analyst]
[2] [See cat. 11b, p. 46; it should be no. 27 — Analyst]

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svakha behind. The groom and the bride advance to his parents and salute them. The company sing a song of glorification. The young couple bow to the groom's parents, three times to each, kiss them and receive their benediction; then the bridal pair are led to the table, at which they sit down. The *droushka* takes the plate with bread and salt from the father and goes out of the room with it to the bride's house, to invite her parents to the feast. 585

SCENE 4TH. The *svakha* leads the bride away into another chamber, where she is to change her dress and rearrange her hair. The *svakha* takes the veil off the bride, undoes her hair, combs it and makes it up again into two braids, which she winds around the head and covers with a kerchief; this is the way the married women dress their hair. [302]

SCENE 5TH. The bride is again covered with the veil and the *svakha* leads her out to the company, places her next to the groom and then solemnly pulls off her veil. This is the turning point in the ceremony, and from this moment the bride ceases to be a girl before the world and assumes the status of a married woman.

Somebody raps at the door.

SCENE 6TH. Enter the *droushka* with the bride's parents, who are welcomed with great honors and led to places near the head of the table.

Setting of the table. The *droushka* directs all the ceremonies of the feast. He first calls upon the *svakha*, who represents the groom's mother, to take out of the oven whatever she has and to set it upon the table. The *svakha* tries to remove the oven lid, but cannot do so and asks for help. The *droushka* then directs his friends to help her, and with songs, indicating the difficulty of the work, the young men of the groom's party pull off the lid and draw out the pots, which they place upon the table; the songs accompanying these actions are: "*Doobinoushka*" (No. 19)[1] and "Bold Mustaches"—*Oussy* (No. 14).[2]

The Feast. The whole company sit down to the table (except the *droushka* who sees that every guest has plenty of everything), cross themselves, asking a blessing and fall to. After they have eaten for a while, the best man offers a glass of 585 574

1 [See cat. 116, p. 40 — Analyst]

2 [See cat. 116, pp. 37-38 — Analyst]

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795 156 Another manifestation of withdrawal from degrading oppression was expressed by the *Molchalniki* (speechless) or *Bezslovestnye* (mutes), the sect whose members refused to speak. The moment one would join this sect he would suddenly become dumb and nothing could force even a syllable from his lips. The government was unable to obtain any information from such voluntary martyrs,[12] even under extreme torture.[13] The Theodosians and the Denisovtsy manifested feelings of dejection and withdrawal by means of complete asceticism. These sects demanded celibacy and abstinence not only from bachelors, but from married people as well. ("Let the unwedded wed not, the wedded separate"). The members of these sects therefore [792] founded settlements which were organized along monastic lines, where they attempted to live a solitary life of complete seclusion in the wilderness, and far away from worldly authorities.[14]

On the other hand, some sects apparently reacted to the existing unsatisfactory conditions by various forms of destructive aggressiveness, including self-destruction. The *Skoptsy* (castrated), for instance, practiced castration and mutilation of sex organs.[15] Other sects preached and practiced mass assassination and mass immolation. The *De'oubiytsy* (infant-killers), preached and practiced infanticide. The *Dushilshchiki* (stranglers) or *Tyukalshchiki* (clubbers) preached and practiced killing of adults.[16] Other sects, such as the *Samoszhigateli* (self-cremators) of *Morelshchiki* (self-immolators), organized mass immolation. Cases of such acts of extreme destructiveness have occurred until the end of the nineteenth century, and in the most different and distant parts of the Empire where the Great-Russians are settled.[17] As among the Anarchists, there was among these people an urge for pan-destruction:

> I wish that all Romanov, every man, wife, and child, would come to the banks of the Volga, throw themselves into the waters, and sink to the bottom so that the temptations of the world should not attract them. And what is even better: that I might set fire to and burn down the entire city;—what joy if it were to burn from end to end destroying all the aged and infants, so that none could receive the stamp of Antichrist.[18]

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SU 313 GR 313

The Russian SFSR is the site of the principal lumbering regions of the USSR. In the European section the lumber industry is centered in the Northern Dvina River basin and its affluents, the Sukhona and the Vychegda rivers, as well as along the Kama and the Vyatka rivers, to the southeast. In Siberia the chief lumbering districts are along the right bank of the Yenisey and in the basin of the Ussuri River, an affluent of the Amur. The principal fisheries of the Russian SFSR lie in the European North where herring and cod are caught on the banks of the Barents Sea, in the northern Caspian Sea and the Volga delta (zander, herring, and especially sturgeon), and in the Far East along the Sea of Japan coast and the Kamchatka Peninsula (salmon and herring).

SU 226 GR 226

SU 241 GR 241 SU [230] GR [231]

The basic agricultural areas are in the black-earth belt. Most important is the Northern Caucasus (Kuban' Steppe), where wheat, corn, tobacco, and sunflowers grow excellently on black-earth and chestnut soils. The Northern Caucasus is also one of the foremost livestock-raising areas of the USSR. The Central Black-Earth Region, along the upper Don and the Oka rivers, is the chief sugar-beet district of the Russian SFSR, while the Volga Region and the steppes beyond the Volga specialize in wheat growing. The black-earth section of Siberia produces hard-grained spring wheat, which keeps for several years and is highly valued on the world market, and is also important for its highly developed dairy industries. In the forested belt of the Russian SFSR, new areas are being plowed under and drained for the introduction of grain crops, which now grow as far north as the 60th parallel. In the European forests, flax and hemp are the principal crops, and dairy farming, the dominant pastoral activity. The best flax is grown in the areas of Pskov, Smolensk, Kalinin, and Vologda, the latter being also the chief dairying center.

SU 489 GR 489

The transportation network linking these regions consists primarily of a well-developed railway system, which is densest in the European section. The main through-traffic lines join at Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Kirov, Vologda, Bryansk, and other centers. Throughout the European section, rail transportation operates in close conjunction with river and sea routes. The Volga River leads in the amount of freight carried on its course. It is connected with Moscow via the Moscow Canal and with the Neva and Leningrad via the Mariinsk waterway, the Tikhvin and the Vyshne-Volotsk canals. The chief seaports are Leningrad, Murmansk, Arkhangel'sk, Rostov, Sevastopol', and Astrakhan'. In Siberia the rail network is restricted to the Trans-Siberian trunk line

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A PEASANT HOME AND FARM YARD.

[p. 4]

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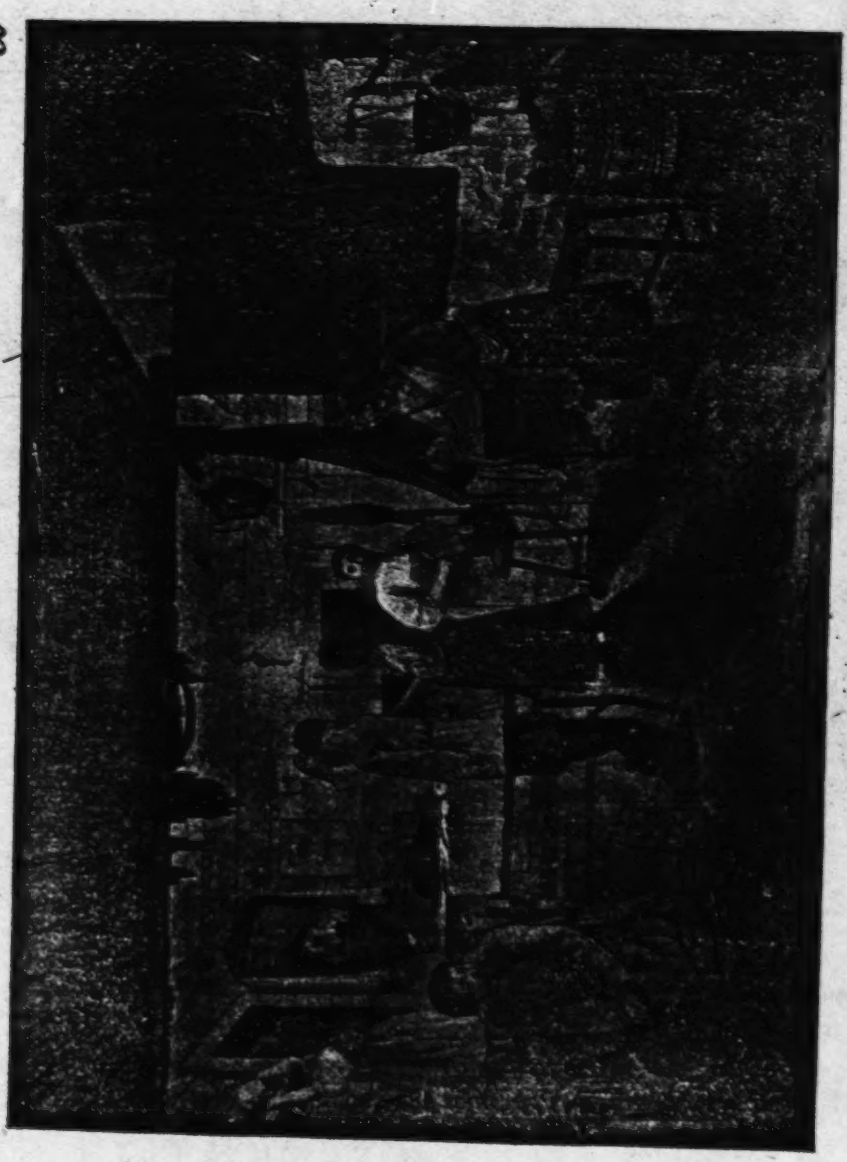

INTERIOR OF A PEASANT HOUSE.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Eurasian steppes. As it had been a long-established practice among these predatory marauders, the war leader who showed himself competent in organizing a successful war expedition or in controlling a certain area would soon collect a considerable retinue of warriors. When Slavicized, the chieftain of such a band of raiders was known as *voyvoda* (warleader) or *knyaz* (prince). His retinue became known as the *druzhina* (band). The most outstanding members among these *druzhiniki* (band-men) and *muzhi* (men) formed an inner advisory body (*veche*) to the warleader or prince and became known as the "leading men" (*muzhi perednie*), or *boyari*. The voyvoda would reward his druzhina or boyars for their services by granting them land and dividing war booty with them.

It is important to note, however, that the boyars at this time received the granted lands as perpetual hereditary homesteads, and that they were free to leave one prince and enter the service of another at any time.[11] Before the formation of the Muscovite Empire, the plains between the Volga and Dnieper rivers were controlled by numerous such petty potentates, each surrounded by a retinue of boyars and other servicemen. Under those conditions there was no possibility of preventing these professional warriors from leaving one warleader and entering into the service of another. The only way for a local prince to retain his druzhina was by being successful in warfare, collecting large war booty, and offering land and villages together with the peasants in hereditary possession to his comrades in arms.[12]

In the meantime another stratum of the population was being formed in the centers of trade, that of the city people or burghers. The nomadic conquerors were not only looters and pirates, but traders as well. They traded in what they looted. When their authority was well established, they endeavored to promote centers and routes of commerce as a means of increasing their wealth. It was in these centers of trade and market places that cities developed. Soon city people became stratified into the well-to-do (*zhitie lyudi*) and the lower urban classes (*molodshie lyudi*). In these urban centers where the warriors became traders the trend was toward concentration of power in the hands of the economically powerful, just as among the professional military

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class the tendency was toward the concentration of power in the hands of the more mighty princes.[13]

This concentration of power in the hands of the city plutocracy found its expression in the principle of an unanimity vote in the city assembly (*Veche*). Data on the early political and social organization of the Russian urban communities show that the unanimity in decisions was the rule. The old documents about these gatherings tell us that "what has been established by the oldest city, is maintained by its boroughs," that "all thought and spoke as one man," that all were unanimous in the desire," and that the decision was reached "by all the oldest and all the youngest men of the assembly."[14]

But we also learn that this unopposed group consensus was achieved by means of threat and terror against all those who might show an inclination to disagree or who disagreed after the assembly had been held and after a resolution had been passed. The dissenters were often beaten with rods, despoiled of their property, or murdered. Sometimes they might escape such fate if ready to pay a fine that varied according to the rank of the dissenter. In this manner a minority, backed by physical force was able to enforce its will on the rest under the guise of "unanimity."[15]

Pressure for the unanimous consent on the part of the people was applied also in the village assemblies, and later in the land commune (*mir*). In some other customs of the Great-Russian peasantry, even in our own times, the unanimous consent was considered necessary. In marriage ceremonies, for instance, custom demanded that the bride when leaving her parental home obtain blessing from all her neighbors. There was, however, a threat against neighbors who refused their blessing. Curses were invoked against them: "Those who do not bless her, may they never marry their sons and daughters" (*Kto ne blagoslovit tomu vek sinov ne zhenit a docheri za muzh ne vdavat*).[16]

The principle of unanimity was apparently the procedure in the local assemblies of the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators of the Dnieper river basin. Such an unanimity was also practiced until our times in the Zadruga society of Croatia.[17] But in those pacific and anarchic societies the principle of unanimity was real, not

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HOLIDAY IN A RUSSIAN VILLAGE.

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welcomed them as liberators in World War II, indicate such possibilities.

III

In studying personality growth in the Soviet society, one should take into account also the differences between the urban and the rural environments and the influences of those environments on interpersonal relations within the family circle. Owing to the very rapid pace of urbanization and low rate of production of consumption goods, most of the families located in the urban areas are exposed to the housing shortage and lack of home privacy. Many of these families live in community apartments in which there is only one room per family and in which a number of unrelated families share a common kitchen and toilet facilities. Family conflicts and tensions tend to be intensified in such circumstances. Lack of privacy, noisiness, and lack of sleep in crowded quarters, together with the lack of sufficient food, long hours of work and unsatisfactory conditions of work increase dissatisfactions and magnify existing family conflicts. An outlet for dissatisfactions is found then in trivial scandals and bickering, in petty squabbles, but also in violent emotional outbursts.[31]

Conditions in rural areas are somewhat different. Though virtually all peasant families live in one or at most two-room cottages, which they often share with a few heads of livestock, yet the rural family does have its own privacy. Most peasant families possess a small lot of land around the cottage, on which they raise some poultry or a pig; some might even own a cow. Though this is all very modest, yet with some labor, after the work for the kolhoz has been done, the peasant family has been able to raise some food on its own property and perhaps to sell it on the open market and then buy some clothing and other bare necessities.[32]

Compared to the situation of the city worker, the peasant, though receiving lower wages for his work, and often going in rags, perhaps does feel relatively more independent. If he is an adult with a family he is much less likely to be pushed around, though he is constantly exhorted by kolhoz officials to work more

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events were apparently manifested in a widespread sense of emotional and physical insecurity which fostered destructive aggression and mass violence. In such circumstances extreme self-seeking and dominance-submission relationships tended to substitute the Old-Slavonic egalitarian and anarchic system.

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The plight of the Slavonic peasant strata has been symbolized in these products of folk imagination in the person of Mikula Selyaninovich ("the Villager's son") and in that of Ilya of Murom, who is often referred to as "the peasant's son," and as "the old Cossak." Mikula is pictured as a superb plowman and field laborer. He has a keen knowledge of husbandry and possesses the best mares and the best farming equipment.[24] He is endowed with such tremendous strength and is entrusted with such heavy responsibility that he carries "the weight of the whole world" in a little shoulder bag. This villager, however, comes into conflict with the city people over the custom duties and over the haughty manner of the urbanites. The tolls imposed by the city are too high. Moreover, the burghers treat Mikula in a despicable and undignified way. So he is enraged and loses his self-control:

[369]

> I was in the city no longer ago than the day before yesterday,
> On my light bay mare,
> I carried thence two whole bags of salt,
> Two bags of salt of forty pud each.
> The folk there are no better than robbers.
> They demand two kopecks toll;
> But I had a leaded whip for toll
> I paid their two kopecks toll.
> Whoever was upright I left seated
> And whoever was seated I left prostrate,
> And whoever lay prostrate would never rise again.[25]

As a result of such conflicts, Mikula finally came to the conclusion that tilling was not profitable any more. He found that there were other and better ways which would guarantee to one safety, economic gain, and self-respect. So he gave up husbandry and joined Volga Buslavlevich, the bandit-warrior. In his new role in which he uses great physical power not as a productive force, but as a means of coercion, he makes a strong imprint on

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

ture was detrimental to the development of trade and industry. For centuries its economy remained founded on a system of primitive agriculture. Lack of large centers of trade and industry adversely affected rural economy. There was no stimulation for agricultural improvements and for freeing of the serfs. Instead, the emphasis was on the exploitation of serf labor as the most expedient means to satisfy the demands of the landlords and of the state. The landlords were mostly absent on military campaigns or other state duties and were generally disinterested in land improvements. At the same time the system of using the land as a pay for military or other state services, in a country whose war campaigns and military contingents were increasing, tended to diminish the size of the donations and increase the burdens imposed on the serfs.

The lack of urbanization, together with the low standard of education of the service nobility, kept also the intellectual development of Russia far behind that in the West. Intellectual activity was limited mainly to the court circles. The ideology and practices of the Russian Church favored intellectual stagnation. Russia accepted Christianity from Byzantium after the Greek Church had already given up classical traditions of Hellenism. By the time Byzantine Christianity entered Russia, Byzantine literature had assumed an almost exclusively ecclesiastical character, and education consisted almost entirely of religious teaching and the reading of the lives of the saints. Art, too, became exclusively religious and stereotyped. All thought was regimented according to religious dogmas and political objectives of the power-holders.

In Russia this type of intellectual rigidity and inactivity was emphasized because of the use of the Old-Slavonic language in the Church, which resulted in neglect of Greek language. And it was considered a sin to learn the "thrice accursed Latin tongue." Thus, the Russian clergymen became isolated from the West because they lacked the possession of the only instruments in which human knowledge was communicated in those days. Moreover, Russian Orthodoxy, like the Byzantine Orthodoxy, was based on monasticism. But unlike the manifold monastic practices of the Western Church, the monks in the Russian Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.

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his wife"; "The husband is the law unto his wife," the proverbs say. As a result of such a view of husband-wife relations, the husband had the right and duty to apply brutal force to his wife as a means of discipline, the same as to his children. "It is woman's fate to be always beaten," the people would say.[20]

The description of folk life in the eastern parts of Russia corroborate this attitude toward wives as expressed in popular sayings. The informants tell of the "miserable fate of the women" (*nepriglyadnaya uchast zheny*),[21] the constant fights of husband and wife (*muzh deretsya s zhenoi*), and the thrashing (*poboi*) to which the wives were exposed on the part of their husbands. In case of adultery the punishment for the woman was "merciless beating" (*neshchadnoe bitie*) or strangling (*udushenie*).[22]

Domostroy, which was under the influence of Church teachings, agrees with this philosophy and practices and even offers elaborate and detailed precepts to the husband about how to treat his wife ". . . if the wife is not afraid of the punishment and does not follow the instructions, the husband should beat her." According to Domostroy only if the wife is blindly and unconditionally submissive "everything will run smoothly in the family." The wife must do everything "to please her husband and God and she must listen to him with fear and awe."[23]

Domostroy was compiled primarily for the urban classes of the Czardom. Its rules reflect a certain deterioration in the status of women as they moved from the peasant to the urban level. In the cities, especially among the merchants, the women were confined to the *terem* (gyneceum) and had less opportunity to work and earn for themselves. In the urban environment, the Turco-Mongol influences were therefore reinforced.

In the rural areas the women retained their role in economic production. The peasant women were thus enabled to retain some of the the Old-Slavonic traditions; they often knew how to assert themselves and influence family affairs. In a like manner, with the increasing opportunities for schooling in urban centers, a growing number of city women emancipated themselves from family ties and became economically and socially independent. In such circumstances also many women in the urban

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562 369 middle and upper strata knew how to assert themselves and increase their role and influence, thus reviving the Old-Slavonic traditions.

III

593 152 Though the father was to be severe and strict, he was expected also to love his wife and his children. Just like God in Heaven, father's duty was to inflict harsh punishment, but he was also to show compassion, kindness, understanding and constant solicitude for the members of his household. He was responsible before God and men for the failings and misdeeds of his family members, and he was therefore to look after their well-being and salvation. Thus love and violence were often mingled in the Great-Russian family. A number of folk sayings express this ambivalent trait of attachment and hostility when referring to the attitudes and behavior of the father. "To love one's wife is to hold her in terror" (*Lyubit zhenu-derzhat grozu*); "Whom I love I thrash" (*Kovo lyublyu togo i biyu*).[24]

One of the basic underlying motives in the father's violence seems to have been his self-seeking and urge for dominance as well as a need for succor. "Beat your wife oftener, it will be useful for the future," the men would say. The Domostroy justifies child beating in a similar manner ". . . he will comfort you in your old age and will give beauty to your soul. . . . and he will make you happy when he grows up. . . . and your enemies will envy you. If you will be weak in his childhood, he will make you suffer when he grows up; will set your soul on edge."[25]

There is in some proverbs also an indication of an expectation of "masochistic" indulgence according to which violence and deprivation would arouse love. "Not to beat one's wife is not to be loved by her" (*zhenu ne bit i milu ne byt*),[26] the people would say. In a folk song, for instance, the husband buys gifts for his wife, but it is of no avail. When the husband buys a knut and gives his wife a beating with it, it is only then that she responds with love. In another folk song the wife boasts the knuting "is an honor to me and is not painful" (*Mne to za chest, ne bolno.*)[27]

Though the father felt dependent upon his wife and children

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

178 565 793 In the new secularized and urbanized society, also, the position of the clergy became increasingly precarious. Like other institutions of the Czardom the Russian Orthodox Church was organized along the lines of sharp social differentiation and dominance-submission relationships. Russian Orthodox clergy as a whole formed a closed caste institution. All lay clergymen and many monastics were recruited from among the members of the [582] families of lay clergy. Endogamous marriage was practiced within this caste. The church maintained its own schools for both the sons and the daughters of clergymen. In this manner [184] the clergy had been separated from the rest of the society and had developed a sub-culture of its own. The clerics were set apart from others not only by their priestly garb, but by their manners, and even by their names.

792 793 554 Internally, however, within the ranks of the Orthodox clergy there was a sharp distinction between the monastic order (black clergy) and the secular priesthood (white clergy). The monastic order was rich in land donations and other possessions and all the Church hierarchy was recruited from among its ranks. The secular clergy was not only subordinate to the monastics, but also poor. Among the secular clergy sharp class distinction existed between the city clergy and the village priests. This differentiation was manifested in the differences in income, education and prestige, as well as in the lack of intermarriage between these strata. The difference was also reflected in the attitudes of [364] the laity. While the city clergy were socially accepted by the middle and lower urban layers, the village priests were rather isolated from the rest of the population.

However, the sharpest difference and social distance existed between the Church hierarchy and the rank-and-file clergymen. The heads of monasteries, for instance, behaved like real magnates. They took in large revenues, kept servants, horses and carriages, and hardly shared in the life of their monastic brothers, even though these Church dignitaries resided in monasteries. In the same way, the bishops were inclined to belittle the lay clergy under their control. They treated them with a great want of respect. They would abuse them, insult them and then even flog them.

2/1 [i.e. developing in the second half of the XIX th century — Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

that "If all laws perished the people would live in truth and justice."[7]

The peasant realized that there was sharp differentiation in economic status in his society as well as in his own local community. But what he especially resented was that the men of wealth took advantage of their position to oppress the weak; and that the poor had to be utterly submissive and subservient to the well-to-do. "The one who is better off has long hands," the peasants would say, meaning that the men of wealth had control over others. And he would compare the arbitrariness of the man of power with the craftsman who handles his material according to his will. "The master is like the carpenter: he cuts the way it pleases him." He would also say that the rich man has all the space he wants "as much as the pike in the water," but as "for the poor there is nowhere any room." He resented the fact that though "Poverty was not sin, yet the people laughed at it." He also objected that the poor were forced to repress their real feelings and cringe before the rich. "The poor are angry at the rich, yet they find themselves in their trail with cap in hand," he would complain.[8]

The peasant therefore grew distrustful and resentful of everyone who was in one way or other above him. He could not depend much upon God and Czar, and he mistrusted the bureaucrats, the landlords, the priests, the judges, the police, and even the better-off people of his own strata. He was particularly distrustful of cities and city folk, of Moscow and Moscovites especially. From ancient times he looked upon Moscow, the seat of the Czar's government, as heartless and deceitful, and as the source of most of his troubles. "In Moscow," he thought, "you find everything except own father and mother." He also considered that his capital city was so corrupted that, "If you go to Moscow you must take there your last penny."

The peasant therefore lived in an environment in which he felt deserted by the powers of heaven and oppressed by their representatives on earth. He therefore felt unprotected, isolated, friendless, lonely, and insecure. His idea was that both God and man were against him. "If God attacks you, good people will attack you too," he would complain.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

This trend to expropriate the peasants and to overspecialize them as a means of political and economic control found its expression in the recent development of Bolshevik ideology. In the utterances of Party leaders and in the Soviet press it is being stressed that the conditions in the Soviet Union are already so advanced that the Soviet state is ready to move from socialism into the first levels of a limited Communism. This first phase of Communism will consist of the elimination of differences between industrial and agricultural work, between industrial workers and the peasantry ("Liquidating the contrast between the city and the village"). Thus it is pointed out, the old opposition between the country and the city will vanish and also cultural and psychological differences between these two strata will disappear. Every person will become engaged in a special "technical-engineering" task and all will be equal and like brothers.

As a result of such development, it is said that even the differences between the manual laborer and the intellectual worker will eventually be abolished and thus the classless and anarchic society envisaged in socialist writings and rooted in the traditions of the Slav culture will be finally achieved.[11] Productive forces will develop an abundance of all consumer goods whose distribution will be on the basis of exchange and according to one's needs. There will be no monetary relations and no differences in social status.

It is clearly and repeatedly emphasized, however, that nobody should mistake this change from socialism to communism as a "withering away" of the state. The state, say the Bolsheviks, must remain "strong" for the needs of defense,[12] until the Soviet system spreads over the entire earth.

II

Total power concentrated in the hands of Bolshevik conspirators as a means of perpetuation of their rule led to compulsory regimentation of all labor, to speed-up system, and to intensified differentiation in skill, income, and status within the working classes. The aim of these measures is to increase production and to control the working classes by breaking their group solidarity and by tying the laborer to his machine and the office worker to

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

welcomed them as liberators in World War II, indicate such possibilities.

III

In studying personality growth in the Soviet society, one should take into account also the differences between the urban and the rural environments and the influences of those environments on interpersonal relations within the family circle. Owing to the very rapid pace of urbanization and low rate of production of consumption goods, most of the families located in the urban areas are exposed to the housing shortage and lack of home privacy. Many of these families live in community apartments in which there is only one room per family and in which a number of unrelated families share a common kitchen and toilet facilities. Family conflicts and tensions tend to be intensified in such circumstances. Lack of privacy, noisiness, and lack of sleep in crowded quarters, together with the lack of sufficient food, long hours of work and unsatisfactory conditions of work increase dissatisfactions and magnify existing family conflicts. An outlet for dissatisfactions is found then in trivial scandals and bickering, in petty squabbles, but also in violent emotional outbursts.[31]

Conditions in rural areas are somewhat different. Though virtually all peasant families live in one or at most two-room cottages, which they often share with a few heads of livestock, yet the rural family does have its own privacy. Most peasant families possess a small lot of land around the cottage, on which they raise some poultry or a pig; some might even own a cow. Though this is all very modest, yet with some labor, after the work for the kolhoz has been done, the peasant family has been able to raise some food on its own property and perhaps to sell it on the open market and then buy some clothing and other bare necessities.[32]

Compared to the situation of the city worker, the peasant, though receiving lower wages for his work, and often going in rags, perhaps does feel relatively more independent. If he is an adult with a family he is much less likely to be pushed around, though he is constantly exhorted by kolhoz officials to work more

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

and harder and to produce more for Socialist Motherland. Not infrequently the brigade leaders have to use physical force to make him get up early enough to work on collective property.

Yet in spite of such unfavorable circumstances, compared to city workers, the peasant might still be in a somewhat better position in regard to security and stability, attachment to his family, to his cottage, to his small plot of land, and to his village. For this reason he has been able to put up resistance against the Party and the government.[33] It is against these scanty remnants of emotional and economic security, of personal independence, of group solidarity and resistance that the Bolshevik rulers are campaigning; it is to eradicate this psychology of group intimacy and opposition that the Party had recently attempted to resettle the farmers and move them into concentrated and urbanized surroundings; the Bolsheviks are exerting all efforts to eradicate these "residues of kulak psychology" root and branch and to make the peasants as completely helpless, insecure and subdued to the Party will as they have done with the industrial and intellectual workers.

There is a considerable disproportion in sex ratio in Soviet rural areas. Owing to great casualties in wars it is estimated that at present there are about fifteen million more women than men in the Soviet Union. And due to the increasing need of manpower to maintain huge military forces and to feed the inefficient city industries, the Soviet leaders are constantly draining both male youths and adult men from the villages in the form of military and labor drafts. They are therefore increasingly relying for agricultural work on peasant women. Hence peasant villages and peasant families tend to be composed predominantly of women.

Here too a family structure with semi-matriarchal traits, similar to the Old-Slavonic family, is being formed. Though in such circumstances the number of illegitimate children is increasing, it is quite possible that the women, especially those who are traditionally strongly attached to their family, are exerting a moderating and softening influence on the personality of the peasant child. An indication of such possible differences in the psychological atmosphere of the city and the country is given in

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

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those accounts of Soviet life in which the gloomy appearance of the city populace is contrasted to the more optimistic outlook of the country folk.[34]

25
DESTRUCTIVE AGGRESSION

I

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PROMPTED by extreme power-seeking and by deeply rooted mistrust of their own subjects, the Bolsheviks have built a monolithic Party-state system which differs in the degree of its rigidity and power concentration from all other systems of despotism, theocracy, military dictatorship, totalitarian and police state. In those autocratic political systems not all aspects of life are regimented. A certain limited degree of freedom is left at least in some spheres of personal and of group behavior. But the main difference between these systems and the Bolshevik regime is that while the former prohibits only those activities which have a direct negative bearing upon perpetuation of the system, the latter allows only such behavior as has a direct positive bearing upon the perpetuation of the ruling faction in power.

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In the Soviet society the ruling class is not content with mere passive acceptance of the Bolshevik rule. It demands of each subject a "positive attitude" toward the regime. In such a society there is necessarily a premium in terms of privileges and power for the activities in the fields of political organization and agitation, of vigilance and violence, as well as in the fields of labor-driving, economic management, and military preparedness, since it is in the main upon such activities that perpetuation of Bolshevism depends. In such a "prison and barracks society", it is the calculating and ambitious careerists and zealous devotees and watchdogs, specialists in conspiracy and violence who climb toward the top levels of the Soviet political and social pyramid where blind obedience, crouching servility, jockeying for positions and power, and advancing on the cadavers of one's associates become a matter of survival.

7: Lineva B-5 (no date)1893 RF1 Great Russia RF1

B. POSSIDELOTCHNY SONGS.

(SOCIAL GATHERING.)

5. THE BIRCHWOOD SPLINTER.

539

(*Lootchina.*)

My dear birchwood splinter,
Why don't you burn brightly?
Or, may be, you have not been in the oven?
I have been in the oven all last night,
But the wicked mother-in-law crept into the oven,
She crept into it to put a pan of water,
And drenched me all over with water.

This is one of the possidelotchny or social gathering songs, which are used at the *possidelky*, as explained on page 17.[1] The subject refers to the unhappy condition of a newly married young woman, living with her husband's family, whom the mother-in-law does not like and annoys out of spite. The birchwood splinter was used formerly by the peasants for lighting the house at nights. [606] [373]

A long block of birchwood was carefully split into long pieces, like laths, which were dried in the big oven over night; when a light was necessary, such a splint was stuck into an iron fork, which stood on the floor, and the lower end ignited. This splint, even when perfectly dry, caused a great deal of trouble, as it had to be attended to frequently, to snuff it and to renew it. When wet, it was nearly useless, of course, and to work by it was nearly impossible.

In the next piece an allusion is made to the ends of the splints which had been left over from previous nights, and which the careful housekeepers required to be burnt when there was chance to do so, *i. e.*, when there was no company and not so much light was needed.

The simple and plaintive melody alone is sufficient to depict the deep grief caused by the tyranny of the family over a defenceless member of it

1 [See cat. 116 —— Analyst]

5: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RF1 Great Russia RF1

C O N S T I T U T I O N

(Fundamental Law)

of the

RUSSIAN

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of January 21, 1937

As amended through May 27, 1949

Chapter I. The Social Structure

642 Art. 1. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic is a socialist State of workers and peasants.

Art. 2. The political foundation of the Russian SFSR is the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, which grew and became strong as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists and the conquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Art. 3. In the Russian SFSR all power belongs to the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

471 Art. 4. The economic foundation of the Russian SFSR is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production established as the result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private ownership of the means and instruments of production and the elimination of the exploitation of man by man.

421 Art. 5. Socialist property in the Russian SFSR exists either in the form of State property (the possession of the whole people), or in the form of co-operative and collective farm property (the possession of collective farms or co-operative associations).

[473] Art. 6. The land, its natural deposits, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, rail, water and air transport, banks, communications, large state-organized agricultural enterprises (State farms, machine and tractor stations and the like), as well as municipal enterprises and the bulk of dwelling houses in the cities and industrial localities, are state property, that is belong to the whole people.

421 474 Art. 7. The common enterprises of collective farms and co-operative organizations with their livestock and implements, and the products of the collective farms and co-operative organizations, as well as their common buildings, constitute the common socialist property of collective farms and co-operative organizations.

In addition to its basic income from the common collective farm enterprise, [472] every household in a collective farm has for its personal use a small plot of household land and, as its personal property, a subsidiary husbandry on the plot, a dwelling house, livestock, poultry and minor agricultural implements — in accordance with the regulations of the agricultural artel.

[423] Art. 8. The land occupied by collective farms is secured to them free of charge and for an unlimited time, that is, in perpetuity.

471 Art. 9. Alongside the socialist system of economy in the Russian SFSR the law permits the private economy of individual peasants and artisans based on their own work and precluding the exploitation of the labour of others.

421 Art. 10. The right of citizens to personal ownership of their incomes from work and of their savings, of their dwelling houses and subsidiary household economy, their household furniture and utensils, articles of personal use and convenience, as well as the right of inheritance of personal property of citizens, is protected by law.

[Constitution as of 1949]

641 Art. 128. In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church
[65] in the Russian SFSR is separated from the state and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognised for all citizens.

Art. 129. In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the Russian SFSR are guaranteed by law:

(a) Freedom of speech;
(b) Freedom of the press;
(c) Freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings;
(d) Freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

These civil rights are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

[675] Art. 130. In conformity with the interests of the working people and in order to develop the organizational initiative and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the Russian SFSR are ensured the right to unite in public organizations -- trade unions, co-operative associations, youth organizations, sport and defence organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies; and the most active and politically conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people unite in the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and State.

[694] Art. 131. Citizens of the Russian SFSR are guaranteed inviolability of the person. No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of a court or with the sanction of a procurator.

Art. 132. The inviolability of the homes of citizens and privacy of correspondence are protected by law.

Art. 133. The Russian SFSR affords the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the working people, or for their scientific activities, or for their struggle for national liberation.

Art. 134. It is the duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR to abide by the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, to observe the laws, to maintain labour discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of socialist intercourse.

[685] Art. 135. It is the duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR to safeguard
421 and strengthen public socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the country, as the source of the prosperity and culture of all the working people.

Persons committing offences against public socialist property are enemies of the people.

Art. 136. Universal military service is law.

Military service in the ranks of the armed forces of the USSR is an honourable duty of the citizens of the Russian SFSR.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

lead the others. Russia was therefore predestined to fulfill this world mission. Hence the Pan-Slavs looked to Moscow, the ancient Russian capital, not the Westernized "City of Peter" (Petersburg) as the heart of Russia[17] and of mankind of the future—the Third Rome.

15
REVOLT OF THE RAZNOCHINTSY INTELLIGENTSIA (NIHILISM AND ANARCHISM)

I

BY THE second part of the nineteenth century, new changes were taking place in the economic relations as well as in the political and class structure of the Czardom. First of all, the process of disintegration of the old order under the impact of the industrialization and bureaucratization was rapidly coming to an end. Serfdom was abolished and with it there came the disastrous ruin of manorial estates which were not prepared to cope with the difficulties of a money and market economy. The result was that the number of impoverished and pauperized gentry was greatly increased.

At the same time the new laws tended to place emphasis on property. Thus, for instance, in the local assemblies of the noblemen the elective franchise was granted only to noblemen possessing a certain amount of land or a certain value of industrial establishment. This difference in civil rights according to the amount of property introduced a sharp cleavage into the gentry class. Earlier all dvorianstvo and all chinovnichestvo were considered equal in rights and had at least theoretically an equal chance to rise in power or to win the favor of the Czar. But now the new laws disfranchised and declassed a large part of the gentry. Similar laws favored the richer class among the merchants which meant that even in municipal affairs birth and education decreased in value in comparison with wealth.[1]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

of strata, whose interests were often conflicting. There were the *obshchiniki* (the communal landholders), the *otrubniki* (the peasant private property owners), the *khutoriane* (isolated homestead owners), the *bednyaki* (the poor and indebted peasants), the *serednyaki* (the middle peasants), and the *kulaki*. Finally, there were still the pomeshchiki who owned manorial estates with arable lands, timber-forests and pasture grounds. These were, however, gradually selling their land to the better-off peasants.

The peasant private landholders prospered better than those in the communes. The yield per acre on communal lands has always been much lower than on the private lands. The communal landholders had to rely for a part of their income on wages. These they got as seasonal industrial workers or as agricultural laborers on the lands of the landed gentry. They also worked on the lands of better-off individual peasant property owners whom they resented and called *"novye pomeshchiki"* (the new squires). The poor, landless, and indebted peasants antagonized the better-off peasants. The lower and the middle peasants resented the kulaks and the pomeshchiki.

At the same time the individualization of the Great-Russian peasantry was proceeding very slowly in spite of government help and encouragement. By 1912 the proportion of consolidated peasant holdings, as compared to those remaining in the communal system, was less than 11 percent. Between 1907 and 1915 only about 20 percent of the peasants left land commune.[10] This slow decommunalization did not, however, indicate lack of desire for private land ownership. The reasons for the persistence of the old communal land system lay in the shortage of land, in peasant poverty, in vested interests within the village commune, and finally in traditional lack of self-reliance among the peasants.

As long as a large part of the Great-Russian peasantry remained in the system of communal landholding where lack of initiative and primitive techniques of cultivation prevailed, no great general improvement in land cultivation and in the standard of living of the peasantry could have been expected in spite of all government efforts. Thus, economically insecure and

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

is therefore said to be necessary as a means to completely eliminate "exploitation of man by man" and to bring about stateless and equalitarian society in the future.

In this manner any signs of opposition to the Party policies have been construed as "class struggle" and "counter-revolution" which made it possible for the self-seeking and mistrustful ruling faction of the Bolsheviks to eliminate all opposition to its rule, including the opposition within the Bolshevik Party itself. These means and justifications of self-perpetuation in power have been supported also by the contention that the counter-revolutionary schemes of the overthrown and dying classes are encouraged and fostered by foreign capitalist powers.

These imperialist states are said to tend to encircle the "only Socialist country" seeking to destroy it.[2] Contrary to the early Socialist promises that the state will tend to "wither away" after the proletariat had seized power, the Bolsheviks asserted that, after the proletarian revolution the state must become even more powerful because it must be used as a "special machine of suppresion."[3] Thus, instead of satisfying the traditional demands for acceptance in an all-human and stateless brotherhood, the Bolsheviks established relationships of absolute rule and unconditional obedience by monopolizing all social power in their hands. Each and every subject was made dependent for his life and livelihood upon the ruling faction. In this manner, planned economic regimentation, strict political conformity, control of thought and feeling, as well as police rule became intrinsic to the Soviet system of power.

In their compulsive drive to concentrate all power and all social control in their hands, the Bolsheviks dispossessed not only financial capitalists and large land owners, but even small farmers, fearing that these might eventually oppose and challenge their rule. "The medium peasantry is a self-sufficient class; the only one which, after the obliteration and expulsion of squires and capitalists, remains capable of opposing the proletariat," said Lenin.[4]

The need to regiment the peasantry, to break their group solidarity and make them completely dependent upon the government was supported also by other considerations. Owing to lack

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6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

II

The Slavonic soil cultivators, depending upon economic self-sufficiency and cooperative effort in marshy and forest regions, as well as in the steppes, practiced a system of joint-family ownership of land (zadruga system). But when nomadic warriors imposed their rule over the tillers of the soil, the invaders considered the land over which they ruled to be their property and forced the peasants who were settled on it to pay them tribute in grain and other agricultural produce. According to the expanded version of the *Pravda Ruskaya,* for instance, after the death of a *smerd* (peasant) his sons would inherit the land, but if there were no sons the property went to the prince.

It is possible that already at that time some of the Asiatic conquerors occasionally divided and redistributed the land among the peasants according to the changing size of their families, the ability to till it and pay taxes and tithes. This might have been the most expedient way by which the conquerors sought to increase the income from the lands which they controlled. At the same time the peasants that formed a land commune were held jointly responsible by their over-lords for a predetermined amount of tributes, as well as for criminal acts committed on their territory.

The system of joint community responsibility was a well-known practice in the society of steppe nomads. It was especially applied as a means to procure fines and force the payment of debts. In that social system if a wrong-doer was unable to pay a fine, his nearest relatives, and failing them, the whole camp, had to provide it.[10] Therefore when these predatory herdsmen imposed their rule over the farming folk, they might have introduced the principle of joint responsibility as the most expedient way to collect the tributes and to exploit economically the subjected peoples.

It was by such social processes that the non-warlike and stateless society of the Old-Slavonic agricultural folk was incorporated into a military society of power-oriented horsemen of the Eurasian steppes.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

form an organized opposition; instead they fought among themselves over priority in rank and position (*mestnichestvo*), over estates and crownlands, and over the favors of the Czar.

The lack of unity and struggle for power existed also among the lesser nobility, most of whom obtained their rank not by right of inheritance but by the favor of the Czar or as a reward for their military services. Some of these service nobility were rich in vast possessions, others did not differ much from common peasants in the amount of land they possessed, in standard of living, and in formal education.

Internal squabbles among the landed magnates and the service nobility were weakening the strength of the Czardom in relation to its adversaries. This situation offered a strong argument in favor of the Czar's despotism and at the same time eased the crushing of the opposition in the interest of unlimited power. "If subjects submit not themselves unto their ruler, never shall strife cease in the land," said Ivan the Terrible.[9]

The best way to break the power of the landed aristocracy was by making them economically dependent upon the Czar. This objective was achieved in two ways. One was forceful expropriation, resettlement, imprisonment and assassination of recalcitrant boyars. The other consisted of the increased emphasis on *pomestie* system of conditional land tenure as against *votchina*, or hereditary land property.

According to the pomestie system, which followed Mongol traditions, the crown lands, together with the peasants settled on them, were donated to the holder of an office or of a military rank under the condition of obligatory and loyal service to the Czar, and only as long as the loyal service on the part of the land recipient lasted. The *pomeshchik* was obliged to provide a contingent of soldiers according to the size of his donation. This obligation devolved from father to son. The older sons would obtain from the Czar new pomesties and the youngest son would, as a rule, inherit the pomestie of his father.[10] In the Byzantine Empire, too, the land was given in reward for service, but there the land became hereditary property that could be disposed of at will by the holder. In Russia the system of conditional land ownership meant, like in the Mongol political system, complete

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dependency of the land recipients upon the Czar, because the Czar could at any time withdraw the grant.

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By means of the pomestie system of land tenure which prevailed in the second part of the sixteenth century the Muscovite rulers obtained both of their objectives: unlimited power and permanent war preparedness. Once the owners of the estates became dependent upon the Czar for the possession of their lands, any opposition on their part could be crushed easily, especially if the caste solidarity and the development of an *esprit de corps* among these people could be prevented. By the end of the seventeenth century the hereditary land tenure and the conditional land tenure were equalized. As a result all nobility became service nobility (*dvorianstro*), dependent upon the Czar for their lands. All therefore became *holopy*, the slaves of the supreme *gosudar* (master). Neither type of land holder could alienate his land either by sale, exchange, or any other process. The principle was that "He who owned land should serve the Czar."

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Thus, by the end of the seventeenth century, by making the nobility economically dependent and having the support of the Church, the Muscovite Czars were enabled to eliminate all potential opposition to their rule and to perpetuate their despotic power. After the nobility was subdued and regimented, the other classes, including the clergy, followed suit. By the end of the seventeenth century the slaves and free land tenants were equalized and bound to the land and burghers were bound to their [486] *posads*. It was prohibited for any person to move from one town or borough to another without special permit. There could be a penalty of death for such flight or desertion.

By this time, therefore, all persons were bound to their status. A rigid caste system was established for the purpose of securing for the Czar permanent and controllable bodies of people whose function was either to pay cess or to render military and state service. The whole state was regimented and militarized for the [641] purpose of the Czar's aggrandizement, defense of the realm and military campaigns; each person had one duty only—to serve the Czar and the country. The whole society was geared to increase the revenues and the military might of the Czardom.

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IV

Ideologies and Movements

14

REVOLT OF THE LAND-OWNING INTELLIGENTSIA (WESTERNISM AND SLAVOPHILISM)

I

IN CONSEQUENCE of the reforms of Peter the Great the dvorianstvo obtained hereditary rights on their lands. At the same time their service to the state ceased to be obligatory. But the traditions of this class consisted of warfare and ruling, not of land cultivation. Thus when this newly formed landed gentry did not have to serve the state, many of them became a leisure class of people who occupied themselves by visiting Western lands, cultivating Western languages and fine arts and studying Western political and social ideologies. Few among these people were inclined to retire to the country and dedicate themselves to the management of their estates. The result of such a trend of events was that a large part of this leisure class people Europeanized themselves and developed high educational and intellectual standards. And it was from this group of a well educated landed gentry who were losing their

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Pensa gubernia rose against the landlords with the slogan "Liberty and Land" (*Zemlya i Volya*).[4] Ever since they had been enserfed and bound to the land, the peasants kept in cherished memory the *Yuriev den*, St. George's day, the day when in earlier times each peasant was allowed to leave his landlord (*vykhod*). The peasants' demand for freedom from bondage was as strong as their demand for land. When the ideas of personal, economic and political freedoms started to penetrate Russia from the European West, also, the Russian peasants, owing to a growing contact with the city and the intelligentsia, became affected by them and in consequence revolts were increasing in number. Between 1826 and 1830 there were 41 cases of peasant rebellions and between 1858–1860 there were 284 such uprisings.[5]

It is significant to note that these peasant rebellions became especially prominent and especially widely spread each time the ruling class had suffered loss of prestige, such as in case of defeat on the battlefield. During the Crimean War in 1854 and 1855 widespread peasant uprisings took place on the shores of the Volga, and in central and southwestern gubernias, the Vladimir, Ryasan, Tambov, Pensa, and Voronezh.[6] In these provinces the mir institution prevailed and periodical redistribution of land was practiced. Here also reaction against abusive and humiliating conditions of serfdom was very intense and demand for land became very strong. In these provinces the traditions of earlier revolts were fresh in the memory of the peasantry. In addition, growing density of population and increasing land shortage tended to strengthen the revolutionary attitudes of the peasants. Their hostilities turned against the landlords whom they blamed for all their ills and misfortunes.

II

The defeat in the Crimean War and the internal disturbances which followed that war forced the Czarist government to undertake measures to reorganize its armed forces and to stabilize the regime internally. After being defeated by technologically and politically superior enemies, the Czarist government finally realized that in order to improve Russia's fighting effectiveness vis-a-vis the West, higher state revenues were needed and these

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plosive revolutionary material. Hence the Bolsheviks began to send their agitators into the village.

There was no tendency among these extremists and maximalists to make use of peaceful means which had now been made possible by the Czar's Manifesto of October, 1905. In this manifesto legislative powers were given to Duma (house of representatives) and a certain degree of political, cultural and personal freedom was introduced. On the contrary these professional conspirators, following Anarchist precepts and practices, took advantage of increased opportunities for political agitation. That year the Socialist Revolutionaries in one of their proclamations stated: "If you need more land, hay, pasture, timber, take it from the landlord. Do not pay taxes. Drive evil priests out of the villages, boycott the courts, replace bad officials by good, throw out the police!"[12] In the same year the Bolsheviks, struck by the increasing restlessness in the village, called upon the peasants and the village proletariat for a "collective refusal to pay taxes, refusal to furnish recruits, refusal to fulfill the orders and commands of the government and its agents."[13]

III

Such revolutionary ideas which were infiltrating the villages not only confirmed the peasants in their beliefs and dispositions; they also tended to promote their feelings of rebelliousness, to radicalize them in the extreme, and push them toward excesses. In common with most tillers of land, the Russian peasants were convinced that the land by "natural right" belonged only to those who cultivate it, and that somehow, sometimes in the past, the land was taken away from them by force and trickery, not by right and justice.

The question of ownership of land was closely related to humiliating subservience to the landlords, the commune and the state. Ownership of land meant the regaining of self-respect. The peasants were therefore inclined to believe that they never lost the right to the land and that someday, somehow, all the land would have to be given back to them. "We are yours, but the land is ours" (*My vashi a zemlya nasha*), the peasants would say to the pomeshchiks. The speeches of the peasants' deputies

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565 The speeches of the peasants' deputies
423 in the second Duma unmistakably show that the peasants con-
[646] sidered that the land belonged to them and to nobody else and that the times of degrading oppression were over. They declared themselves in favor of the free distribution of all the land that was in the possession of the nobility, the Church, and the state:

> We are talking of land these days as of nothing else. We are told it is a sacred, inviolate possession. I think if the people want it, there can be no inviolateness about it. Gentlemen of the nobility! You think we have forgotten the time when you used us as stakes in playing at cards and exchanged us for dogs! We know we were your sacred inviolate property. But the land has been stolen from us. The peasants who have sent me here have said that the land is ours! We have come here not to buy but to take it.[14]

169 Because of such beliefs and ideas which were intensified by
565 systematic revolutionary propaganda of professional conspirators
425 and agitators, any rumors concerning the land always found a
627 ready response among the peasantry. It is for the same reason that often only a vague rumor about a government land decree was sufficient to convince the peasants that the land was given back to them by the Czar, but that it was the lesser government officials, bribed by the landlords, who kept the land out of their hands. Such land-hungry peasants, already inclined to rebel against age-long and humiliating dependency, were ready to take the law into their own hands, to seize the manorial lands, to loot the estates and to kill the landlords whenever they felt that the power of the existing authorities was crumbling.

178 The professional conspirators among the Russian revolution-
565 ary intelligentsia took full advantage of such inclinations. Their revolutionary plans were especially favored by the growing differentiation in the Russian villages. In the first decade of the twentieth century economic and social differentiation in the Great-Russian village was already well advanced. It was favored by a series of government measures (Stolypin reforms)[15] which were aimed at developing a stratum of independent and prosperous peasantry and destroying the system of communal landholding. As a result of such measures the Great-Russian village became by the first decade of this century composed of a number

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of strata, whose interests were often conflicting. There were the *obshchiniki* (the communal landholders), the *otrubniki* (the peasant private property owners), the *khutoriane* (isolated homestead owners), the *bednyaki* (the poor and indebted peasants), the *serednyaki* (the middle peasants), and the *kulaki*. Finally, there were still the pomeshchiki who owned manorial estates with arable lands, timber-forests and pasture grounds. These were, however, gradually selling their land to the better-off peasants.

The peasant private landholders prospered better than those in the communes. The yield per acre on communal lands has always been much lower than on the private lands. The communal landholders had to rely for a part of their income on wages. These they got as seasonal industrial workers or as agricultural laborers on the lands of the landed gentry. They also worked on the lands of better-off individual peasant property owners whom they resented and called *"novye pomeshchiki"* (the new squires). The poor, landless, and indebted peasants antagonized the better-off peasants. The lower and the middle peasants resented the kulaks and the pomeshchiki.

At the same time the individualization of the Great-Russian peasantry was proceeding very slowly in spite of government help and encouragement. By 1912 the proportion of consolidated peasant holdings, as compared to those remaining in the communal system, was less than 11 percent. Between 1907 and 1915 only about 20 percent of the peasants left land commune.[16] This slow decommunalization did not, however, indicate lack of desire for private land ownership. The reasons for the persistence of the old communal land system lay in the shortage of land, in peasant poverty, in vested interests within the village commune, and finally in traditional lack of self-reliance among the peasants.

As long as a large part of the Great-Russian peasantry remained in the system of communal landholding where lack of initiative and primitive techniques of cultivation prevailed, no great general improvement in land cultivation and in the standard of living of the peasantry could have been expected in spite of all government efforts. Thus, economically insecure and

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form an organized opposition; instead they fought among themselves over priority in rank and position (*mestnichestvo*), over estates and crownlands, and over the favors of the Czar.

The lack of unity and struggle for power existed also among the lesser nobility, most of whom obtained their rank not by right of inheritance but by the favor of the Czar or as a reward for their military services. Some of these service nobility were rich in vast possessions, others did not differ much from common peasants in the amount of land they possessed, in standard of living, and in formal education.

Internal squabbles among the landed magnates and the service nobility were weakening the strength of the Czardom in relation to its adversaries. This situation offered a strong argument in favor of the Czar's despotism and at the same time eased the crushing of the opposition in the interest of unlimited power. "If subjects submit not themselves unto their ruler, never shall strife cease in the land," said Ivan the Terrible.[9]

The best way to break the power of the landed aristocracy was by making them economically dependent upon the Czar. This objective was achieved in two ways. One was forceful expropriation, resettlement, imprisonment and assassination of recalcitrant boyars. The other consisted of the increased emphasis on *pomestie* system of conditional land tenure as against *votchina*, or hereditary land property.

According to the pomestie system, which followed Mongol traditions, the crown lands, together with the peasants settled on them, were donated to the holder of an office or of a military rank under the condition of obligatory and loyal service to the Czar, and only as long as the loyal service on the part of the land recipient lasted. The *pomeshchik* was obliged to provide a contingent of soldiers according to the size of his donation. This obligation devolved from father to son. The older sons would obtain from the Czar new pomesties and the youngest son would, as a rule, inherit the pomestie of his father.[10] In the Byzantine Empire, too, the land was given in reward for service, but there the land became hereditary property that could be disposed of at will by the holder. In Russia the system of conditional land ownership meant, like in the Mongol political system, complete

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565 517 icism of its rank and file, that gave this Party an advantage over its main rival for power, the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, in the chaotic days of 1917.

727 669 565 Just as it had happened in the past, a weakening of the prestige of the ruling classes as a result of defeats on the battlefield led to peasant uprisings. Almost immediately after the Czar's abdication, that is, in March, 1917, peasant rebellions arose in 34 districts and by June spread to 325 districts. The distrubances were again especially intensive in the upper Don and in the middle Volga, the regions where the tradition of revolt was strong and the situation for revolt matured owing to unsatisfactory conditions within the land communes.

665 669 The chaos that ensued in the village was emphasized by factional strife and indecision in the center. As a result of the fall of the old Czarist regime, the two most extreme revolutionary parties, the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Bolsheviks, entered into a contest for power. While the Socialist Revolutionaries controlled the Provisional Government (since May, 1917), the Bolsheviks did everything to undermine their regime and to seize the power for themselves. In the question of rural policies, the government of Socialist Revolutionaries attempted to stop the outbreaks of lawlessness and disorder in the villages by promising an equitable solution of all rural problems on the basis of laws that were to be passed by a Constitutional Assembly.

[925] [565] But the Bolsheviks counteracted such policies by inciting the peasants to seize the lands at once. The Bolsheviks also deliberately sharpened the existing social cleavages in the villages by inciting the lower peasant strata against the upper. The Bolshevised soldiers, on leave or deserting the front, pushed more moderate elements into the background and led the peasant mobs not only against the landlords, but also against the more prosperous peasant classes. Hence, attacks on *Khutoryane* (hereditary peasant homestead owners) and *otrubniki* (peasant individual property owners) were as frequent as those against the manorial estates.

Many soldiers deserted the front because the Bolshevik agitators told them that the land was being distributed back home and that those who were present would get the choice grounds. The government, controlled by the Socialist Revolutionaries,

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562 611 [583] *korobka* (chest) of her own. When a girl married, she took her korobka, together with the property given her by her father or brothers, to her new home as a dowry and was allowed to dispose freely of it. At the same time her husband was not responsible for her debts.[10] When a married woman died, if childless, her [428] korobka, as a rule, returned to her mother (matrilineal succession) and only if her mother was not alive, to her father. In some provinces the husband would inherit his wife's property if he lived with her four years or more.[11] If she had children, her property was inherited by both sons and daughters equally.[12]

Matriarchal traits are evident in contemporary folk philosophy and many folk customs in the Bielorussian villages as well as in some parts of the Ukraine. In the oral poetry of these [772] people, for instance, the sun is represented as a female who is wooing the moon, her bridegroom. In some songs of these peasant folk the maidens contend with the male youths in duels and defeat them.[13] Even today in some of these regions it is often the girls who take the initiative in finding their suitors. During harvest festivals, it is the maidens who play the leading part. Traces [583] of the capture of the bridegroom still persist in the folk customs of the Ukraine. In Ukrainian and Bielorussian folk poetry [593] women, especially the mother, play a very significant role, while the place of the father is less outstanding. In popular opinion in this area, the consent of the mother in the marriage of a daughter is considered more important than that of the father.

582 Marriage among the Old-Slavonic peasant folk was endogamous within the village community and perhaps even within the joint household community (*verv, zadruga*)—not unlike in the Croatian zadruga of our days.[14] There was also, apparently, 593 a particularly developed brother-sister attachment as is manifested by brother-sister incest which seems to have taken place occasionally in some Russian regions until recently.[15] There were, therefore, abundant opportunities for emotional attachments in the Old-Slavonic family, since there were no external political, economic, or social pressures that might have disturbed internal equalitarian family relationships. Such relationships have persisted until present times in certain parts of Ukraine:

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II

The Slavonic soil cultivators, depending upon economic self-sufficiency and cooperative effort in marshy and forest regions, as well as in the steppes, practiced a system of joint-family ownership of land (zadruga system). But when nomadic warriors imposed their rule over the tillers of the soil, the invaders considered the land over which they ruled to be their property and forced the peasants who were settled on it to pay them tribute in grain and other agricultural produce. According to the expanded version of the *Pravda Ruskaya,* for instance, after the death of a *smerd* (peasant) his sons would inherit the land, but if there were no sons the property went to the prince.

It is possible that already at that time some of the Asiatic conquerors occasionally divided and redistributed the land among the peasants according to the changing size of their families, the ability to till it and pay taxes and tithes. This might have been the most expedient way by which the conquerors sought to increase the income from the lands which they controlled. At the same time the peasants that formed a land commune were held jointly responsible by their over-lords for a predetermined amount of tributes, as well as for criminal acts committed on their territory.

The system of joint community responsibility was a well-known practice in the society of steppe nomads. It was especially applied as a means to procure fines and force the payment of debts. In that social system if a wrong-doer was unable to pay a fine, his nearest relatives, and failing them, the whole camp, had to provide it.[10] Therefore when these predatory herdsmen imposed their rule over the farming folk, they might have introduced the principle of joint responsibility as the most expedient way to collect the tributes and to exploit economically the subjected peoples.

It was by such social processes that the non-warlike and stateless society of the Old-Slavonic agricultural folk was incorporated into a military society of power-oriented horsemen of the Eurasian steppes.

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Psychological instrument at the disposal of the father in imposing

discipline on his son consisted of threat of disinheritance and banishment. If an unmarried son left the paternal house during the lifetime of his father to establish his own separate household, the father was not obliged to give him anything and might even let him go "with nothing but his cross" (*s odnim krestom*).[8] But if a married son left with his father's consent, it was the privilege of the father to determine what his share should be.[9] Also in his testamentary disposition, the father was entitled to dispose of family property at will. The father also had the right to disinherit his son and chase him away from home as a punishment for bad behavior, especially disobedience.[10] He also had the power to select the disobedient son for military conscription. According to some sources the father had the right to sell his son "four times."[11] He might show predilection in testamentary disposition.[12] Many tales tell of a father's favoritism toward an obedient son.[13]

But the way the father used most often to impose his will and assert his power was coercion (*prinuzhdenie*) by means of physical beating (*poboi*). The horse whip and the birch rod (*rozga*) were used freely in family relations. The *Domostroy*, a code of Great-Russian family practices and ethics of the urban strata compiled and edited in the sixteenth century by Priest Sylvester, a councillor and confessor of Ivan the Terrible, prescribes in detail the application of corporal punishment as a sanction of the father's authority and rule:

> Beat your son in his youth, and he will comfort you in your old age . . . And do not weaken in beating the child. Beating with a rod will not kill him, but will make him healthier . . . If you will be weak in his childhood, he will make you suffer when he grows up . . . And give him no power in youth but crush his ribs while he is growing, because when he is big he will not obey you, and you will feel annoyed and ill at heart, and your house will be ruined . . . and your enemies will rejoice at your misfortune.[14]

The popular philosophy of life as expressed in the Great-Russian folk proverbs approves of the teachings of the Domostroy. "If God gives you sons, don't be lazy, teach them and beat them"; "If he did not obey his father, he will obey the whip,"

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Familycentrism, family isolation, and lack of trust in one's
592 neighbor were apparently projected into the supernatural world
771 where one's own Domovoy, though at times arbitrary, ill-tem-
776 pered and spiteful, was generally considered to be benevolent—bringing good luck to the household which was under his care and solicitude. The neighbor's Domovoy, on the other hand, was always a malevolent and wicked being who could never be propitiated and who was likely to steal your hay or drive away your cattle for the benefit of the home which was under his protection.
[789] The Russian peasants, therefore, developed means of defense against the neighbor's Domovoy in the form of spells and exorcisms.

156 Lack of social trust is not favorable to the development of
621 solidarity within a community. Therefore lack of group identi-
578 fication among the peasants and burghers, the same as the lack of the *esprit de corps* among the nobility, contributed to the perpetuation of the autocratic rule. Lack of communal identifications was an obstacle to the turning of group hostilities against the ruling classes. In such circumstances a great deal of personal aggressiveness had to find outlets and targets within the local community and within the family circle itself. Only when the authorities suffered crushing defeat and loss of prestige the hostilities would turn against them and mass uprisings would take place, demanding re-establishment of old communal values.

With the ascendancy of the otsovskaya system, family relations came to be organized in a hierarchical system along the lines of paternity, marriage status, seniority and sex. At one time, only married male members formed the family council (soviet). The males had priority over the females. Within each sex category the elder had priority rights over the younger. When the family was partitioned, custom demanded that the older brothers leave
• [428] the ancestral home while the youngest, following Mongol traditions, remained on the paternal *koren* (root).[4] In marrying the
[582] daughters it was the eldest who had to be married first.

593 In the patriarchal family, in their relations to the father, all family members were expected to accept his rule with fear and awe (*strakh*) and with humility (*smirenie*). They had to show absolute submission and blind obedience (*besprekoslovnoe povinovenie*),[5] as well as love and gratitude (*blagodarnost*).[6]

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is therefore said to be necessary as a means to completely eliminate "exploitation of man by man" and to bring about stateless and equalitarian society in the future.

In this manner any signs of opposition to the Party policies have been construed as "class struggle" and "counter-revolution" which made it possible for the self-seeking and mistrustful ruling faction of the Bolsheviks to eliminate all opposition to its rule, including the opposition within the Bolshevik Party itself. These means and justifications of self-perpetuation in power have been supported also by the contention that the counter-revolutionary schemes of the overthrown and dying classes are encouraged and fostered by foreign capitalist powers.

These imperialist states are said to tend to encircle the "only Socialist country" seeking to destroy it.[2] Contrary to the early Socialist promises that the state will tend to "wither away" after the proletariat had seized power, the Bolsheviks asserted that, after the proletarian revolution the state must become even more powerful because it must be used as a "special machine of suppresion."[3] Thus, instead of satisfying the traditional demands for acceptance in an all-human and stateless brotherhood, the Bolsheviks established relationships of absolute rule and unconditional obedience by monopolizing all social power in their hands. Each and every subject was made dependent for his life and livelihood upon the ruling faction. In this manner, planned economic regimentation, strict political conformity, control of thought and feeling, as well as police rule became intrinsic to the Soviet system of power.

In their compulsive drive to concentrate all power and all social control in their hands, the Bolsheviks dispossessed not only financial capitalists and large land owners, but even small farmers, fearing that these might eventually oppose and challenge their rule. "The medium peasantry is a self-sufficient class; the only one which, after the obliteration and expulsion of squires and capitalists, remains capable of opposing the proletariat," said Lenin.[4]

The need to regiment the peasantry, to break their group solidarity and make them completely dependent upon the government was supported also by other considerations. Owing to lack

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241 511 668 hungry for land, resentful of degrading dependency and inclined to be hostile to the existing authorities, many peasants were ready to follow the leadership of professional conspirators and demagogues who incited them to revolt and promised them "land and freedom." Such feelings and attitudes were of decisive importance in the revolutionary days of 1917, as well as later in the civil war.

20
ASCENDENCY OF BOLSHEVISM

I

178 464 WHEN the Czardom in the eighteenth century embarked on its policy of industrialization, the newly built industries, both those state owned and those owned by the landed nobility, were based on serf labor. Also the non-noble entrepreneurs purchased or rented serfs to work in their mines and factories.[1] In such conditions the technical equipment and the production output of Russia's industries remained at a very low level. There was no incentive to introduce technological improvements as long as the labor was abundant, and its cost low. Only a few industries, such as the cotton industry which was in the hands of non-noble owners, and which from its start was based on free labor, had introduced modern machinery.

[652] Thus since the Russian industries did not advance technologically and were unable to compete with the European industrial products, they had to be protected by high tariff barriers, by ● 434 grants and subsidies. This situation kept the level of prices of manufactured goods high in comparison with the buying power of the industrial workers, of peasants and of middle urban strata.

178 458 The resulting lack of buying power of these broad strata of the population made the progress of industrialization in Russia very slow, uneven, unstable, and chronically affected by crises

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Eurasian steppes. As it had been a long-established practice among these predatory marauders, the war leader who showed himself competent in organizing a successful war expedition or in controlling a certain area would soon collect a considerable retinue of warriors. When Slavicized, the chieftain of such a band of raiders was known as *voyvoda* (warleader) or *knyaz* (prince). His retinue became known as the *druzhina* (band). The most outstanding members among these *druzhiniki* (band-men) and *muzhi* (men) formed an inner advisory body (*veche*) to the warleader or prince and became known as the "leading men" (*muzhi perednie*), or *boyari*. The voyvoda would reward his druzhina or boyars for their services by granting them land and dividing war booty with them.

It is important to note, however, that the boyars at this time received the granted lands as perpetual hereditary homesteads, and that they were free to leave one prince and enter the service of another at any time.[11] Before the formation of the Muscovite Empire, the plains between the Volga and Dnieper rivers were controlled by numerous such petty potentates, each surrounded by a retinue of boyars and other servicemen. Under those conditions there was no possibility of preventing these professional warriors from leaving one warleader and entering into the service of another. The only way for a local prince to retain his druzhina was by being successful in warfare, collecting large war booty, and offering land and villages together with the peasants in hereditary possession to his comrades in arms.[12]

In the meantime another stratum of the population was being formed in the centers of trade, that of the city people or burghers. The nomadic conquerors were not only looters and pirates, but traders as well. They traded in what they looted. When their authority was well established, they endeavored to promote centers and routes of commerce as a means of increasing their wealth. It was in these centers of trade and market places that cities developed. Soon city people became stratified into the well-to-do (*zhitie lyudi*) and the lower urban classes (*molodshie lyudi*). In these urban centers where the warriors became traders the trend was toward concentration of power in the hands of the economically powerful, just as among the professional military

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and unemployment, a situation that was well exploited by the professional conspirators, particularly the Bolsheviks.

By the end of the nineteenth century the first wave of strikes swept the country.[4] At first the strikes were spontaneous, local and purely economic in character. The workers wanted higher wages and better working conditions. But since many industries were located in Petersburgh which was the center of heavy industry, and in Moscow which was the center of the railroad system and of the textile industry, the revolutionary intelligentsia and professional conspirators and agitators who were also concentrated in these two capitals could not fail to see great political opportunities, both in the concentration of the industrial proletariat, and in its economic plight. But there were differences among the revolutionary factions of the intelligentsia in regard to revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

The ideological differences as to propaganda policies and revolutionary strategy was one of the factors which led to the split of the Socialist Democratic Party into two factions, the *Bolsheviks* (the majority), and the *Mensheviks* (the minority). Being mostly of urban middle class origin the Mensheviks were inclined to advocate gradual advance of the country toward democratization. They also proposed an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie. Accordingly also in internal Party organization the Mensheviks were in favor of a policy of liberalism and democracy. The Bolshevik faction, on the other hand, was recruited from among the raznochintsy who were affected by Anarchism and were inclined toward extremist solutions and recognized no compromise. They proposed an alliance with the revolutionary peasants and an armed rebellion staged by the workers and peasants as the most effective means of seizing power.

Following the ideas and practices of the Anarchists and the Terrorists (Narodovoltsy), the Bolsheviks claimed that the immediate seizure of power was of paramount importance while the work of educating the masses could begin later. That end, the seizure of power, to the Bolsheviks no less than to their political predecessors, the Anarchists, sanctified everything. Deliberate instigation of hatred, planned deceit, individual killing, armed uprising, and systematic terror were all equally approved

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and Eastern Siberia. In the Middle Volga Region live the Mordvinians and the Mari of the Finno-Ugric group and the Tatars and the Chuvash of the Turkic group; on the western slopes of the Urals are, from north to south, the Komi, the Komi-Permyak, and the Udmurt, all belonging to the Finno-Ugric group, and the Bashkirs, members of the Turkic group. On the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus live a wide variety of peoples, including the Avars, the Darghins, the Lesghians in the east, and the Circassian tribes in the west. These national elements belong to the Caucasian linguistic group, of which Georgian is also a member. The Ossetians, who live in the central part of the Greater Caucasus, belong to the Iranian group. In Western Siberia, in the valleys of the Altay system, are other representatives of the Turkic group: the Altay tribes (a group of several small national elements), the Khakass, and the Tuvinians. In Eastern Siberia, the two principal nationalities are the Buryat-Mongols of the Mongolian group and the Yakuts of the Turkic group. A large number of small elements in the extreme north of the Russian SFSR belong to the Finno-Ugric, the Tungus-Manchu, and the Paleoasiatic linguistic groups.

Prior to the Bolshevik Revolution, industry within the present confines of the Russian SFSR was located in the Central Industrial Region between the Volga and the Oka, with specialization in the milling of cotton, silk, woolen, and linen textiles. The Petrograd (now Leningrad) industrial district was the chief area engaged in machine construction, while the metallurgical industry in the Urals was still on a small scale. During the Five-Year Plan period industrialization progressed rapidly throughout the republic, with particular emphasis on the Volga Region, the Urals, Western Siberia and the Far East. The Central Industrial Region largely developed heavy machinery construction, the manufacture of precision tools, and the production of chemicals, while maintaining its previous importance as a textile-milling region. The Leningrad industrial district continues to be a machine-construction center. However, in contrast to the prerevolutionary period, when raw materials were usually imported, it now uses local mineral resources, that is, copper, nickel, apatite, nephelite (an aluminum ore), from the Kola Peninsula; coal and petroleum, from the Pechora River basin; bauxite, lignite, and oil shale from the vicinity of Leningrad itself. Power is obtained from hydroelectric plants on the Volkhov and the Svir' rivers. An entirely new industrial region was created on the Volga. This river serves as one of the principal transportation routes of the Russian

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SFSR, linking the Moscow industrial district via the Oka River and its own upper course, the Ural industrial district on the Kama River, the lumbering region along the Vyatka, the grain-producing areas along the middle Volga, the Donets coal and metallurgical district, west of Stalingrad, and finally the rich fisheries of the northern Caspian Sea. Among the principal goods transported on the Volga are: downstream, machines, textiles, fertilizers, metal from the Urals, and lumber; upstream, petroleum and cotton from Transcaucasia and Central Asia, fish, salt, melons, pumpkins, and grain. By rail, coal and iron arrive at the Volga from the Donbas, and coal, iron, and nonferrous metals from the Urals and Siberia. Recently extensive petroleum fields ("Second Baku") and natural gas deposits have been developed along the Volga, furnishing the basis, in addition to the goods brought by rail and water, for the establishment of important machine construction, chemical, woodworking, and food industries.

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In recent years the Urals have been turned into one of the largest industrial and mining regions of the world. Huge metallurgical establishments have been built at Magnitogorsk, Nizhniy Tagil, and other cities. Other mills process copper, zinc, aluminum, magnesium, and nickel ores. Large chemical and paper mills have risen along the Kama River. Important rail centers, such as Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Molotov, and Ufa, have turned into top-ranking machine-construction centers. One of the longest high-voltage power lines of the USSR links the several power plants and industrial sites of the region.

The main industrial district of the Siberian realm is the Kuznetsk Basin. On the site of extensive coal mines, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and machine construction have developed to a very great extent. The iron and steel mills of the Kuzbas work on the basis of local coal supplies and iron ore, partly of local origin, partly from the Urals. The once all-important Ural-Kuznetsk *kombinat*, involving the exchange of coal and iron ore between the two industrial regions, is gradually losing its importance as local iron ore deposits are being further developed in the Kuznetsk Basin. The principal industrial sites are Stalinsk (steel milling and machine construction), Kemerovo (coal and chemicals), Novosibirsk (machine building), and Belovo (zinc metallurgy). Another industrial region has been created in the Far East, with the principal centers at Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, and Komsomol'sk. Shipbuilding, oil refining, and machine construction are the principal activities.

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and its many branches and spurs. The large rivers handle the north-south traffic during their ice-free season. The Ob', the Irtysh, the Yenisey, and the Amur intersect the Trans-Siberian Railroad, while the Lena is connected with it by a series of good highways. The Northern Sea Route is the basic route serving the Arctic coast of Siberia. This route through the seas of the Arctic Ocean was developed as a permanent transportation route as late as the third Five-Year Plan, after a large number of polar stations reporting on weather and ice conditions had been set up along the route. Its principal ports are Novyy Port, at the mouth of the Ob' River, Igarka, Dudinka, and Ust'-Port, in the lower reaches of the Yenisey, Nordvik, at the mouth of the Khatanga River, Tiksi, near the Lena delta, Ambarchik, near the mouth of the Kolyma River, and Anadyr', at the mouth of the Anadyr' River. The principal ports along the Pacific coast of the Far East are Vladivostok, Sovetskaya Gavan', Magadan, and Petropavlovsk on Kamchatka. The highway network is especially well developed in the European section of the Russian SFSR. The roads generally run parallel to rail lines and converge at Moscow. In Siberia, highways serve to open up newly developed areas not reached by the rail network; this is particularly true of the extensive gold-mining areas of Eastern Siberia and the Far East.

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The Russian SFSR exports to the other union republics: machines, steel, petroleum, lumber, paper, textiles, and grain, and imports from them pig-iron, grain, sugar, cotton, livestock, and fruits.

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Due to the large number of non-Russian ethnic groups within the Russian SFSR, the union republic has been organized into a Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, in contrast to the other union republics which have a more homogeneous national composition. The Russian SFSR was organized in 1917 and became one of the original four republics which united to form the USSR in 1922. The present territorial-administrative scheme was inaugurated with the creation of the Ural Oblast in 1923. Thereafter the newly created oblasts and krays rapidly replaced the former *guberniyas*. The more advanced non-Russian ethnic groups, such as Tatars, Bashkirs, Buryat-Mongols, Yakuts, and others, were constituted into the autonomous republics which, together with the basic Russian group (78 percent of the total population), form the so-called Russian Federation, or Russian SFSR. The territory with a predominant Russian population has been divided into oblasts and krays, which are purely administrative divisions. National minorities within these divisions have their own autonomous or national units. The most

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of foreign loans and investments the process of industrialization and of economic autarchy, which was needed to develop military potential necessary to withstand internal and external threats, was proceeding at too slow a pace. This situation made it imperative for the impatient and insecure ruling class to have at hand goods available for quick export in order to buy foreign machinery and to industrialize and militarize the country at a higher speed.

The peasants in the meantime were busy in making improvements on their possessions and in raising the amount of food for home consumption. Increased peasant consumption of food however meant decrease of the crops available both for export and for the needs of fast growing urban strata which were being created as a result of a speedy industrialization. Also lack of regulation of agricultural production meant that planting and sowing were designed to a large extent to satisfy the home needs of the peasant, and only to a lesser extent those of the national or foreign market.

This meant that as long as a large section of the peasantry remained as independent producers there was always a danger that the ruling class might not have at its disposal sufficient quantities of marketable products. And the more the ruling faction felt insecure in its power, the more this potential threat of an economically independent peasantry seemed real and close. This feeling of insecurity and mistrust of the Bolsheviks was manifested in their hatred of the peasantry. "The peasant who has two cows is already an enemy," they would say. Hence the Party hierarchy made the decision not only to abolish the economic independence of the peasants, but also to "destroy peasantry as a class" by means of collectivization.

In their determination to "destroy peasantry as a class," the Bolsheviks first incited the poor and the medium peasants against the "kulaks" and then the landless against the small peasant owners. The Bolshevik agitators took advantage also of the traditional tensions within peasant families and aroused son against father and brother against brother. Thus inciting and exploiting resentments and hostilities between various peasant strata and taking advantage of family antagonisms, the Bolsheviks were able

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241 511 668 hungry for land, resentful of degrading dependency and inclined to be hostile to the existing authorities, many peasants were ready to follow the leadership of professional conspirators and demagogues who incited them to revolt and promised them "land and freedom." Such feelings and attitudes were of decisive importance in the revolutionary days of 1917, as well as later in the civil war.

20
ASCENDENCY OF BOLSHEVISM

I

178 464 WHEN the Czardom in the eighteenth century embarked on its policy of industrialization, the newly built industries, both those state owned and those owned by the landed nobility, were based on serf labor. Also the non-noble entrepreneurs purchased or rented serfs to work in their mines and factories.[1] In such conditions the technical equipment and the production output of Russia's industries remained at a very low level. There was no incentive to introduce technological improvements as long as the labor was abundant, and its cost low. Only a few industries, such as the cotton industry which was in the hands of non-noble owners, and which from its start was based on free labor, had introduced modern machinery.

[652] Thus since the Russian industries did not advance technologically and were unable to compete with the European industrial products, they had to be protected by high tariff barriers, by 434 grants and subsidies. This situation kept the level of prices of manufactured goods high in comparison with the buying power of the industrial workers, of peasants and of middle urban strata. 178 458 The resulting lack of buying power of these broad strata of the population made the progress of industrialization in Russia very slow, uneven, unstable, and chronically affected by crises

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and unemployment, a situation that was well exploited by the professional conspirators, particularly the Bolsheviks.

By the end of the nineteenth century the first wave of strikes swept the country.[4] At first the strikes were spontaneous, local and purely economic in character. The workers wanted higher wages and better working conditions. But since many industries were located in Petersburgh which was the center of heavy industry, and in Moscow which was the center of the railroad system and of the textile industry, the revolutionary intelligentsia and professional conspirators and agitators who were also concentrated in these two capitals could not fail to see great political opportunities, both in the concentration of the industrial proletariat, and in its economic plight. But there were differences among the revolutionary factions of the intelligentsia in regard to revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

The ideological differences as to propaganda policies and revolutionary strategy was one of the factors which led to the split of the Socialist Democratic Party into two factions, the *Bolsheviks* (the majority), and the *Mensheviks* (the minority). Being mostly of urban middle class origin the Mensheviks were inclined to advocate gradual advance of the country toward democratization. They also proposed an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie. Accordingly also in internal Party organization the Mensheviks were in favor of a policy of liberalism and democracy. The Bolshevik faction, on the other hand, was recruited from among the raznochintsy who were affected by Anarchism and were inclined toward extremist solutions and recognized no compromise. They proposed an alliance with the revolutionary peasants and an armed rebellion staged by the workers and peasants as the most effective means of seizing power.

Following the ideas and practices of the Anarchists and the Terrorists (Narodovoltsy), the Bolsheviks claimed that the immediate seizure of power was of paramount importance while the work of educating the masses could begin later. That end, the seizure of power, to the Bolsheviks no less than to their political predecessors, the Anarchists, sanctified everything. Deliberate instigation of hatred, planned deceit, individual killing, armed uprising, and systematic terror were all equally approved

[Constitution as of 1949]

185 471 Art. 11. The economic life of the Russian SFSR is determined and directed by the State National-Economic Plan with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily improving the material and cultural level of the working people and of consolidating the socialist independence of the country and strengthening its defensive capacity.

● 461 Art. 12. In the Russian SFSR work is a duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The principle applied in the Russian SFSR is that of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Chapter II. The State Structure

643 Art. 13. For the purpose of mutual assistance among the Union Republics along economic and political lines, as well as along the line of defence, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic voluntarily united with the other equal Soviet Socialist Republics, namely:

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic and
The Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic

is a federal state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Proceeding from the aforesaid, the Russian SFSR ensures to the USSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, the rights defined in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR.

Outside of the spheres set forth in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Russian SFSR exercises state authority independently, retaining its sovereign rights in full.

631 Art. 14. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic consists of the Altai, Krasnodar, Krasnoiarsk, Maritime, Stavropol and Khabarovsk Territories; the Archangel, Astrakhan, Briansk, Velikie Luki, Vladimir, Vologda, Voronezh, Gorky, Grozny, Ivanovo, Irkutsk, Kaliningrad, Kalinin, Kaluga, Kemerovo, Kirov, Kostroma, Crimean, Kuibyshev, Kurgan, Kursk, Leningrad, Molotov, Moscow, Murmansk, Novgorod, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Orel, Penza, Pskov, Rostov, Riazan, Saratov, Sakhalin, Sverdlovsk, Smolensk, Stalingrad, Tambov, Tomsk, Tula, Tiumen, Ulianovsk, Chelia-binsk, Chita, Chkalov, Yaroslav and Amur Regions; the Tatar, Bashkir, Dagestan, Buriat-Mongolian, Kabardinian, Komi, Mari, Mordovian, North Ossetian, Udmurt, Chuvash and Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics; and the Adygei, Jewish, Oirot, Tuvinian, Khakass and Cherkess Autonomous Regions.

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This trend to expropriate the peasants and to overspecialize them as a means of political and economic control found its expression in the recent development of Bolshevik ideology. In the utterances of Party leaders and in the Soviet press it is being stressed that the conditions in the Soviet Union are already so advanced that the Soviet state is ready to move from socialism into the first levels of a limited Communism. This first phase of Communism will consist of the elimination of differences between industrial and agricultural work, between industrial workers and the peasantry ("Liquidating the contrast between the city and the village"). Thus it is pointed out, the old opposition between the country and the city will vanish and also cultural and psychological differences between these two strata will disappear. Every person will become engaged in a special "technical-engineering" task and all will be equal and like brothers.

As a result of such development, it is said that even the differences between the manual laborer and the intellectual worker will eventually be abolished and thus the classless and anarchic society envisaged in socialist writings and rooted in the traditions of the Slav culture will be finally achieved.[11] Productive forces will develop an abundance of all consumer goods whose distribution will be on the basis of exchange and according to one's needs. There will be no monetary relations and no differences in social status.

It is clearly and repeatedly emphasized, however, that nobody should mistake this change from socialism to communism as a "withering away" of the state. The state, say the Bolsheviks, must remain "strong" for the needs of defense,[12] until the Soviet system spreads over the entire earth.

II

Total power concentrated in the hands of Bolshevik conspirators as a means of perpetuation of their rule led to compulsory regimentation of all labor, to speed-up system, and to intensified differentiation in skill, income, and status within the working classes. The aim of these measures is to increase production and to control the working classes by breaking their group solidarity and by tying the laborer to his machine and the office worker to

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461 his desk in the same way as the peasant has been bound to the 661 land.[13]

464 The Party hierarchy has also passed a decree which enables the Party to keep the youth under its complete control. The de- 882 cree orders mobilization of hundreds of thousand of Soviet youths to be trained annually as labor reserve. All those who go through such a training are "considered mobilized and under obligation to work four successive years in state enterprises in accordance with the directive of the general officer of Labor Reserves . . ."[14] Along the same lines of labor mobilization and economic regimentation a decree was passed according to which every skilled laborer, technician, engineer, and factory employee could be ordered moved from one factory to another in any location in the Soviet Union according to the needs of industrialization.[15]

475 In accordance with the need for total control of the working 467 classes and of economic production the management of the factories was completely removed from the control or influence of the workers and centralized in the hands of the factory directors (*edinonachalie*). These became responsible for failure in output, for waste and for low quality of products. In such an industrial system the trade unions have become instruments of regimentation and speed-up. They ceased to be an institution for the protection of the rights and interests of the working class and instead evolved into an organization of overseers and labor drivers. The trade unions' Charter of 1949 expressly states this function:

461 Mobilization of all factory workers and employees for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the production plan, for the strengthening of labor discipline, and for the development of socialist competition.

Elaboration of practical measures for the stepping up of labor productivity, improvement of the quality of production, reduction of production costs, and raising of profitableness of the enterprise.[16]

In the same manner, one of the May Day slogans of 1952 reads: "Soviet trade unions! Develop socialist competition more widely for pre-schedule fulfillment of the state plan by every enterprise."

It was because of this need to regiment labor and make it com-

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pletely dependent upon and submissive to the ruling Party that the old idea of freedom in the choice of work and equality of opportunity was replaced by emphasis on the "discipline of labor," that is, the contention that the objective of high output demands specialization and that in the interest of increasing the skill one cannot recognize the freedom to change one's speciality and one's job.[17] It is also stressed now that an important element in the process of production is the "habit of hard work,"[18] and this habit could best develop as "the first life necessity" if the freedom of choice of specialty and of place of work is restricted and controlled.[19]

In accordance to this imperative need of the Bolsheviks to keep the working classes in complete subjection, Soviet propaganda idealizes hard work. Humble (*skromny*), infinitely devoted (*bezgranichno predany*), and hard working people, those who "burn with desire to work," and those who "sacrifice their lives to working for the cause of Lenin-Stalin," are especially eulogized. In the obituary of some outstanding person the climax of eulogy is the statement that death reached him while he was struggling at his post of duty.[20] In the Stalinist Constitution of 1936 this system of labor subordination to the ruling Party is eulogized as a "matter of honor" and is justified in terms of the right of the Party to starve those who do not work according to the Party interests:

[642]

> In the U.S.S.R. work is a duty and matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."[21]

III

Building on practices of Czarist bureaucratic hierarchy and supported by traditions of patriarchal protection-dependency relationships, the Bolshevik rulers have succeeded in regimenting the industrial labor and in forcing it into unconditional submission to and dependency upon the ruling Party. But they have failed to increase the productivity of labor. Frequent reenactments of measures to increase "labor discipline" indicate, however, that to increasing measures of regimentation the industrial

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461 labor tends to respond by a certain degree of apathy and by disinterest in the Soviet system, also by a robot-like attitude toward work. In such conditions neither the "habit of work" nor labor efficiency can be expected to thrive. Habits are developed and maintained only in circumstances which bring rewards. And as long as the political aims of Bolshevik industrial expansion and militarization have to be achieved by means of abusive regimentation, the working masses might respond by fatigue, disinterest, and withdrawal,[22] just as they did in the days of serfdom.

461 626 Such circumstances in their own turn dictate increasing Party vigilance and government interference at all levels of production. It is increasingly felt that the Party and the government must rely on over-seers and labor drivers who see to it that the Party wishes are executed according to the plan. In a thoroughly politicized society in which labor adopts an apathetic or robot-like attitude toward work and in which the ruling hierarchy tends to be composed of power-thirsty, mistrustful and ruthless professional conspirators, the need of constant Party and government exhorting and watching is always present. There is, therefore, a strong inclination to increase the watchdog, the supervisory and the controlling agencies at the expense of the productive ones. As Pravda itself admits, "On each two workers there is a superior, a supervisor, or a staff member" (*Na kazhdykh dvukh rabochikh odin vyshestoyashchy, rukovodyashchy ili obsluzhivayushchy*).[23]

466 626 The emphasis on controlling, supervising, checking and counter-checking agencies not only increases the cost of products but creates unsatisfactory labor-management relations. The tensions result primarily out of domineering pressures that are exerted on different levels both against labor and against management. The supervisory system and pressure methods of the slave-driver type tend to provoke feelings of humiliation and to create an atmosphere of anxiety, resentment and urges of destructive aggression. In such conditions of oppressive domineering and degrading submission it is very difficult to develop qualities of social and personal responsibility, initiative and self-reliance. In an atmosphere of vigilantism, denunciation, fear and loss of self-respect, work becomes irritating and frustrating; it does not offer

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members was close to 85 percent. And as to the top level of the army command by 1941 this top military hierarchy was one hundred percent Communist.[66]

To maintain ideological purity among the armed forces and to strengthen the Party's control is the specific function of the political officer and of the Partorg (Party organizer). The political officers have now regular army training and in the actual fighting, the political officer becomes "the commander's substitute or takes his place when the commander is disabled."[67] It is this ability of the Party to replace any army commander by an army trained but Party devoted man, that is expected to insure absolute control of the armed forces by the Party even in times of greatest stress and defeat. The duty of the political officers is not only to interpret and to propagandize the latest utterances of the Party leaders or the decisions of the Politburo, but to watch for any weakening of enthusiasm, for any pessimism or gloomy views that may be noticed and to combat vigorously any signs of demoralization. The most important task of the political officers, however, is to cultivate martial spirit and to build up morale, thus creating "a psychological condition which sets up resistance to fear of discomfort, pain, or death."[68]

The goal of the Party is to infiltrate with martial spirit not the armed forces alone, but the whole Soviet population as a means of bolstering the morale of the Soviet masses behind the Bolshevik regime. This is being achieved by means of militarization of all public activities. The Bolshevik leaders consider that militarization is the only morale builder in a situation in which the laboring masses tend to become lethargic, apathetic and disinterested in their work. Speaking of the experiences in World War II, Stalin said that in that struggle people got transformed and acquired new qualities which strengthened the power of the Bolsheviks: "But the people themselves in the rear have been transformed, they have been more efficient, less slipshod, more disciplined; they have learned to work in wartime fashion, and to realize their duty to our motherland."[69] Stalin looks at sports and athletics from the same point of view:

We stood for five hours on the tomb while the show went on. The Generalissimo showed no sign of fatigue. On the contrary, he ap-

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peared to enjoy every minute of the show . . . A final remark of the Generalissimo's while we were watching the sports spectacle was that mass athletics and exercises were fine because of their effect upon the populace. He said, "This develops the war spirit."[70]

In accordance with the Bolshevik need for morale building most Soviet institutions have been militarized, including the Party. Thus when a Soviet subject leaves his school and his Pioneer or Komsomol organization and enters a factory, a kolhoz, an office, a research laboratory, or becomes a Party worker, he has been already trained for work in a society which is in most of its aspects organized along military lines. Anywhere where he is assigned a job he might find military discipline and military relationships. In a number of civilian jobs he will wear a uniform with badges of his rank. In his factory or kolhoz he may become a member of a "shock brigade" or a "hero of labor" and therefore an important link in an all-embracing Five-Year-Plan whose main emphasis is on military preparedness. As a Party member he will take his position in the Party pyramid as a common soldier, as a petty officer, or as a higher officer:

> Three or four thousand men of the high command—the generals of our Party. Then 30 to 40 thousand intermediate commanders; these constitute the officers' corps of our Party. And further, 100 to 180 thousand of the leading elements of our party—these are, so to speak —the subaltern officers of the Party.[71]

In a militarized society military language is used in all activities. Military language has always been a tradition in the Bolshevik Party and has been always widely employed by Lenin, Stalin, and other Party leaders. Therefore when addressing a meeting, or when writing in a newspaper or in a literary or scholarly periodical a Soviet subject is expected to employ military phrases, and use analogies taken from military campaigns and military experiences. He will speak of "reconnoissance," "skirmishes," "encounters," "operations," "outposts," "fortresses," "citadels," "maneuvres," "camps," "cadres," etc. and he will be expected to do his duty on his own "battle post." If he rises to the top of the Party hierarchy and if he especially distinguishes himself in his civil activities he might be endowed

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and harder and to produce more for Socialist Motherland. Not infrequently the brigade leaders have to use physical force to make him get up early enough to work on collective property.

Yet in spite of such unfavorable circumstances, compared to city workers, the peasant might still be in a somewhat better position in regard to security and stability, attachment to his family, to his cottage, to his small plot of land, and to his village. For this reason he has been able to put up resistance against the Party and the government.[83] It is against these scanty remnants of emotional and economic security, of personal independence, of group solidarity and resistance that the Bolshevik rulers are campaigning; it is to eradicate this psychology of group intimacy and opposition that the Party had recently attempted to resettle the farmers and move them into concentrated and urbanized surroundings; the Bolsheviks are exerting all efforts to eradicate these "residues of kulak psychology" root and branch and to make the peasants as completely helpless, insecure and subdued to the Party will as they have done with the industrial and intellectual workers.

There is a considerable disproportion in sex ratio in Soviet rural areas. Owing to great casualties in wars it is estimated that at present there are about fifteen million more women than men in the Soviet Union. And due to the increasing need of manpower to maintain huge military forces and to feed the inefficient city industries, the Soviet leaders are constantly draining both male youths and adult men from the villages in the form of military and labor drafts. They are therefore increasingly relying for agricultural work on peasant women. Hence peasant villages and peasant families tend to be composed predominantly of women.

Here too a family structure with semi-matriarchal traits, similar to the Old-Slavonic family, is being formed. Though in such circumstances the number of illegitimate children is increasing, it is quite possible that the women, especially those who are traditionally strongly attached to their family, are exerting a moderating and softening influence on the personality of the peasant child. An indication of such possible differences in the psychological atmosphere of the city and the country is given in

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newspapers, books, and pamphlets, some of which were printed abroad and circulated freely though often clandestinely among the leading circles of the Empire.

The ruling circles of the Bolshevik Party themselves were always aware that without criticism intellectual stagnation, lack of creative initiative, and bureaucratism would set in. But they could not afford to allow complete freedom of thought and of expression which might eventually undermine their own power. As a result the Bolsheviks introduced a system of "criticism and self-criticism," known as *samokritika.*

According to this practice it is the duty of every Soviet subject to criticize his own work and the work of others in his shop or office as a means of stimulating alertness, initiative, and hard work, and as a way to correct errors. But among the officials who closely watch each other's activities, each hoping to rise on the cadaver of the other, samokritika is often used as a means of intrigue and ruin in jockeying and struggling for ranks, positions, and power. Samokritika therefore has developed into a weapon employed to detect the ideological deviations and diversions and to criticize any lack of sufficiently positive attitude toward the "Party line." In this manner "self-criticism" in the Soviet Union has become another instrument of regimentation and means to increase conformity.

Samokritika is also employed by the ruling circles to manipulate hostilities generated by the Soviet system and to direct them away from themselves and against the managers and bureaucrats located mostly on the lower levels of the Soviet social pyramid. These people conveniently function as scapegoats. It is such people who, together with a sprinkling from the higher echelons, are periodically offered as sacrifice and "purged" or "liquidated." Samokritika is therefore employed also as a check against abuses of power, though mostly on the local level.

In an atmosphere of complete dependence upon and subordination to an overwhelming and infallible power which instils fear and awe, the slightest deviation from the line of thought and emotions as laid down by that distant and inscrutable force might easily provoke anxieties, and a strong sense of guilt. In circumstances in which one feels isolated and without support,

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241 178 agriculture, centered in Motor Tractor Stations, has been fostered.[8]

474 465 463 At the same time differences in individual income levels have been encouraged by means of a differential wage system based on the degree of specialization, the amount of work, the quality of labor and the quality and quantity of production. There is also a tendency to train each kolhoz member for one specialty only. In this manner differentiation is increased, family self-sufficiency and family bonds are being destroyed, a greater degree of dependency upon the Party is achieved, group solidarity is weakened and the development of organized peasant opposition is prevented.

241 463 178 The "industrialization" of the peasantry seeks to eliminate the old type of peasant farmer who was self-sufficient, had manifold interests and possessed a variety of skills needed to manage his economy, of which he was the owner and the manager. By fostering specialization and wage differentiation the Party hopes to develop a type of agricultural worker and specialist who is skilled in one activity only, and cannot be self-sufficient. Since in this manner every agricultural worker becomes entirely dependent upon others, and upon the Party, it is expected that as a result of such conditioning the drive to own farm property will disappear, that all land property will then become governmentalized and that agricultural labor will become in all respects and for all purposes the same as industrial labor, that is, completely divided within, dependent economically, and better amenable to Party control.

474 178 It is along such lines of thought that the Party has recently endeavored to amalgamate kolhozes into large collective units. In small collectives the Party's control was weak or non-existent and the peasants were enabled to maintain a degree of group solidarity and to put up a certain resistance to government agrarian policies. According to the Party's admission "small collective farms blocked the progress of socialist farming."[9] Therefore, in order to "strengthen their directing personnel" the Party decided to amalgamate small farms into large ones. The management of these amalgamated collectives is to be put entirely in the hands of non-peasants.[10]

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This trend to expropriate the peasants and to overspecialize them as a means of political and economic control found its expression in the recent development of Bolshevik ideology. In the utterances of Party leaders and in the Soviet press it is being stressed that the conditions in the Soviet Union are already so advanced that the Soviet state is ready to move from socialism into the first levels of a limited Communism. This first phase of Communism will consist of the elimination of differences between industrial and agricultural work, between industrial workers and the peasantry ("Liquidating the contrast between the city and the village"). Thus it is pointed out, the old opposition between the country and the city will vanish and also cultural and psychological differences between these two strata will disappear. Every person will become engaged in a special "technical-engineering" task and all will be equal and like brothers.

As a result of such development, it is said that even the differences between the manual laborer and the intellectual worker will eventually be abolished and thus the classless and anarchic society envisaged in socialist writings and rooted in the traditions of the Slav culture will be finally achieved.[11] Productive forces will develop an abundance of all consumer goods whose distribution will be on the basis of exchange and according to one's needs. There will be no monetary relations and no differences in social status.

It is clearly and repeatedly emphasized, however, that nobody should mistake this change from socialism to communism as a "withering away" of the state. The state, say the Bolsheviks, must remain "strong" for the needs of defense,[12] until the Soviet system spreads over the entire earth.

II

Total power concentrated in the hands of Bolshevik conspirators as a means of perpetuation of their rule led to compulsory regimentation of all labor, to speed-up system, and to intensified differentiation in skill, income, and status within the working classes. The aim of these measures is to increase production and to control the working classes by breaking their group solidarity and by tying the laborer to his machine and the office worker to

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241 511 668 hungry for land, resentful of degrading dependency and inclined to be hostile to the existing authorities, many peasants were ready to follow the leadership of professional conspirators and demagogues who incited them to revolt and promised them "land and freedom." Such feelings and attitudes were of decisive importance in the revolutionary days of 1917, as well as later in the civil war.

20
ASCENDENCY OF BOLSHEVISM

I

178 464 WHEN the Czardom in the eighteenth century embarked on its policy of industrialization, the newly built industries, both those state owned and those owned by the landed nobility, were based on serf labor. Also the non-noble entrepreneurs purchased or rented serfs to work in their mines and factories.[1] In such conditions the technical equipment and the production output of Russia's industries remained at a very low level. There was no incentive to introduce technological improvements as long as the labor was abundant, and its cost low. Only a few industries, such as the cotton industry which was in the hands of non-noble owners, and which from its start was based on free labor, had introduced modern machinery. [652] Thus since the Russian industries did not advance technologically and were unable to compete with the European industrial products, they had to be protected by high tariff barriers, by 434 grants and subsidies. This situation kept the level of prices of manufactured goods high in comparison with the buying power of the industrial workers, of peasants and of middle urban strata. 178 458 The resulting lack of buying power of these broad strata of the population made the progress of industrialization in Russia very slow, uneven, unstable, and chronically affected by crises

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his desk in the same way as the peasant has been bound to the land.[13]

The Party hierarchy has also passed a decree which enables the Party to keep the youth under its complete control. The decree orders mobilization of hundreds of thousand of Soviet youths to be trained annually as labor reserve. All those who go through such a training are "considered mobilized and under obligation to work four successive years in state enterprises in accordance with the directive of the general officer of Labor Reserves . . ."[14] Along the same lines of labor mobilization and economic regimentation a decree was passed according to which every skilled laborer, technician, engineer, and factory employee could be ordered moved from one factory to another in any location in the Soviet Union according to the needs of industrialization.[15]

In accordance with the need for total control of the working classes and of economic production the management of the factories was completely removed from the control or influence of the workers and centralized in the hands of the factory directors (*edinonachalie*). These became responsible for failure in output, for waste and for low quality of products. In such an industrial system the trade unions have become instruments of regimentation and speed-up. They ceased to be an institution for the protection of the rights and interests of the working class and instead evolved into an organization of overseers and labor drivers. The trade unions' Charter of 1949 expressly states this function:

> Mobilization of all factory workers and employees for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the production plan, for the strengthening of labor discipline, and for the development of socialist competition.
>
> Elaboration of practical measures for the stepping up of labor productivity, improvement of the quality of production, reduction of production costs, and raising of profitableness of the enterprise.[16]

In the same manner, one of the May Day slogans of 1952 reads: "Soviet trade unions! Develop socialist competition more widely for pre-schedule fulfillment of the state plan by every enterprise."

It was because of this need to regiment labor and make it com-

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It is along such lines of thought that the Party has recently endeavored to amalgamate kolhozes into large collective units. In small collectives the Party's control was weak or non-existent and the peasants were enabled to maintain a degree of group solidarity and to put up a certain resistance to government agrarian policies. According to the Party's admission "small collective farms blocked the progress of socialist farming."[9] Therefore, in order to "strengthen their directing personnel" the Party decided to amalgamate small farms into large ones. The management of these amalgamated collectives is to be put entirely in the hands of non-peasants.[10]

[Constitution as of 1949]

Chapter XI. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

641 Art. 122. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to work, that is, are guaranteed the right to employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment.

Art. 123. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to rest and leisure.

[846] The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the fixing of the working day for factory and office workers at eight hours and the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in workshops where conditions of work are exceptionally arduous; by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers; and by the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest-homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

[857] Art. 124. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at State expense, free medical service for the working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

[871] Art. 125. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal compulsory elementary education; by free education up to and including the seventh grade; by a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who excel in their studies; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language; and by the organization in the factories, State farms and machine and tractor stations and collective farms of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

[862] Art. 126. Women in the Russian SFSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured to women by granting them an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education and by State protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

[863] Art. 127. Equality of rights of citizens of the Russian SFSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality and also any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness, hatred and contempt - are punishable by law.

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461 labor tends to respond by a certain degree of apathy and by disinterest in the Soviet system, also by a robot-like attitude toward work. In such conditions neither the "habit of work" nor labor efficiency can be expected to thrive. Habits are developed and maintained only in circumstances which bring rewards. And as long as the political aims of Bolshevik industrial expansion and militarization have to be achieved by means of abusive regimentation, the working masses might respond by fatigue, disinterest, and withdrawal,[22] just as they did in the days of serfdom.

461 626 Such circumstances in their own turn dictate increasing Party vigilance and government interference at all levels of production. It is increasingly felt that the Party and the government must rely on over-seers and labor drivers who see to it that the Party wishes are executed according to the plan. In a thoroughly politicized society in which labor adopts an apathetic or robot-like attitude toward work and in which the ruling hierarchy tends to be composed of power-thirsty, mistrustful and ruthless professional conspirators, the need of constant Party and government exhorting and watching is always present. There is, therefore, a strong inclination to increase the watchdog, the supervisory and the controlling agencies at the expense of the productive ones. As Pravda itself admits, "On each two workers there is a superior, a supervisor, or a staff member" (*Na kazhdykh dvukh rabochikh odin vyshestoyashchy, rukovodyashchy ili obsluzhivayushchy*).[23]

466 626 The emphasis on controlling, supervising, checking and counter-checking agencies not only increases the cost of products but creates unsatisfactory labor-management relations. The tensions result primarily out of domineering pressures that are exerted on different levels both against labor and against management. The supervisory system and pressure methods of the slave-driver type tend to provoke feelings of humiliation and to create an atmosphere of anxiety, resentment and urges of destructive aggression. In such conditions of oppressive domineering and degrading submission it is very difficult to develop qualities of social and personal responsibility, initiative and self-reliance. In an atmosphere of vigilantism, denunciation, fear and loss of self-respect, work becomes irritating and frustrating; it does not offer

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much possibility for self-expression, creativeness and personal satisfaction.[24]

On the other hand an atmosphere of domineering and vigilantism offers a great opportunity for advance to the fanatic Party member as well as to the ambitious and unscrupulous careerist within the labor ranks, and the ranks of technicians and engineers. Even among those managers and foremen who might otherwise have different inclinations, the need to maintain their positions often forces them towards a policy of vigilantism, cynicism and oppressive labor driving.

22
INSTRUMENTS OF POLITICAL CONFORMITY

I

THE SYSTEM of dominance, based on economic dependence, social isolation and lack of trust, which has enabled the Bolsheviks to monopolize all social power, has helped them also to force the intellectual strata into unconditional submission to the will of the ruling minority. Just as the land has been collectivized and industrial production governmentalized to make the peasants and the industrial labor dependent upon the Party, so all sources of income in the intellectual fields have been monopolized by the Party-state to make the intellectuals completely dependent for their lives and livelihoods upon the ruling faction of the Bolsheviks. The office tenure of this new service nobility has been conditioned upon their blind submission to the rulers in the Kremlin, just like in the days of the old dvorianstvo.

The educated strata are of a special strategic importance from the point of view of self-perpetuation of the Bolsheviks in power, because it is these strata that provide ideological and political leadership and Party cadres. The party has endeavored therefore to make the intelligentsia even more socially split and dependent

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The Party hierarchy has also passed a decree which enables the Party to keep the youth under its complete control. The decree orders mobilization of hundreds of thousand of Soviet youths to be trained annually as labor reserve. All those who go through such a training are "considered mobilized and under obligation to work four successive years in state enterprises in accordance with the directive of the general officer of Labor Reserves . . ."[14] Along the same lines of labor mobilization and economic regimentation a decree was passed according to which every skilled laborer, technician, engineer, and factory employee could be ordered moved from one factory to another in any location in the Soviet Union according to the needs of industrialization.[15]

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the peasantry, and appealed to their deeply rooted hostilities against the ruling classes, and against all people of means. In their proclamations to the peasantry they stated that "the land belongs to those who till it." They incited the peasants to appropriate by force hay, pasture, and timber. They also encouraged violence and murder against all those whom they held responsible for their plight.[9]

As a result of such propaganda and agitation combined with economic and social difficulties, peasant disturbances were renewed and increased in frequency and intensity. They led to the events of 1905. That year the government suffered a considerable loss of prestige because of the defeat on the battlefield (the Japanese War of 1904–1905). In such circumstances (the same as after the Crimean War), fear and awe and unconditional obedience—the foundations of Czarist rule—were shaken, internal disturbances ensued and threatened the existence of the Czardom. By this time the revolutionary eruptions of the peasantry were combined with those of the industrial proletariat. Between January and April, 1905, there were about 660,000 workers on economic and political strikes.[10] In October of the same year there was again a general strike.

In that month also a general peasant rising took place embracing three hundred districts in 47 gubernias. Again it was the central and southern regions that took the lead;[11] and again the gubernias in which the landlords suffered the heaviest losses were predominantly those where the system of repartitional land tenure prevailed over the system of individual peasant households and of hereditary holdings. In the communities with communal land holdings the dissatisfaction was greatest and violence ran especially high.

The activities of the Social Revolutionaries in the village were joined by those of the Bolsheviks. By the beginning of the twentieth century a wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party, the Bolsheviks, who earlier scorned the peasants and worked exclusively among the urban proletariat, began to pay more attention to the Russian village. They became impressed by the frequency and the intensity of the peasants' disturbances and realized that the peasantry presented potentially very ex-

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and unemployment, a situation that was well exploited by the professional conspirators, particularly the Bolsheviks.

By the end of the nineteenth century the first wave of strikes swept the country.[2] At first the strikes were spontaneous, local and purely economic in character. The workers wanted higher wages and better working conditions. But since many industries were located in Petersburgh which was the center of heavy industry, and in Moscow which was the center of the railroad system and of the textile industry, the revolutionary intelligentsia and professional conspirators and agitators who were also concentrated in these two capitals could not fail to see great political opportunities, both in the concentration of the industrial proletariat, and in its economic plight. But there were differences among the revolutionary factions of the intelligentsia in regard to revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

The ideological differences as to propaganda policies and revolutionary strategy was one of the factors which led to the split of the Socialist Democratic Party into two factions, the *Bolsheviks* (the majority), and the *Mensheviks* (the minority). Being mostly of urban middle class origin the Mensheviks were inclined to advocate gradual advance of the country toward democratization. They also proposed an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie. Accordingly also in internal Party organization the Mensheviks were in favor of a policy of liberalism and democracy. The Bolshevik faction, on the other hand, was recruited from among the raznochintsy who were affected by Anarchism and were inclined toward extremist solutions and recognized no compromise. They proposed an alliance with the revolutionary peasants and an armed rebellion staged by the workers and peasants as the most effective means of seizing power.

Following the ideas and practices of the Anarchists and the Terrorists (Narodovoltsy), the Bolsheviks claimed that the immediate seizure of power was of paramount importance while the work of educating the masses could begin later. That end, the seizure of power, to the Bolsheviks no less than to their political predecessors, the Anarchists, sanctified everything. Deliberate instigation of hatred, planned deceit, individual killing, armed uprising, and systematic terror were all equally approved

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C O N S T I T U T I O N

(Fundamental Law)

of the

RUSSIAN

SOVIET FEDERATED

SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

of January 21, 1937

As amended through May 27, 1949

Chapter I. The Social Structure

642 Art. 1. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic is a socialist State of workers and peasants.

Art. 2. The political foundation of the Russian SFSR is the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, which grew and became strong as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists and the conquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Art. 3. In the Russian SFSR all power belongs to the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

● 471 Art. 4. The economic foundation of the Russian SFSR is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production established as the result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private ownership of the means and instruments of production and the elimination of the exploitation of man by man.

421 Art. 5. Socialist property in the Russian SFSR exists either in the form of State property (the possession of the whole people), or in the form of co-operative and collective farm property (the possession of collective farms or co-operative associations).

[173] Art. 6. The land, its natural deposits, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, rail, water and air transport, banks, communications, large state-organized agricultural enterprises (State farms, machine and tractor stations and the like), as well as municipal enterprises and the bulk of dwelling houses in the cities and industrial localities, are state property, that is belong to the whole people.

421 474 Art. 7. The common enterprises of collective farms and co-operative organizations with their livestock and implements, and the products of the collective farms and co-operative organizations, as well as their common buildings, constitute the common socialist property of collective farms and co-operative organizations.

In addition to its basic income from the common collective farm enterprise, [172] every household in a collective farm has for its personal use a small plot of household land and, as its personal property, a subsidiary husbandry on the plot, a dwelling house, livestock, poultry and minor agricultural implements — in accordance with the regulations of the agricultural artel.

[423] Art. 8. The land occupied by collective farms is secured to them free of charge and for an unlimited time, that is, in perpetuity.

471 Art. 9. Alongside the socialist system of economy in the Russian SFSR the law permits the private economy of individual peasants and artisans based on their own work and precluding the exploitation of the labour of others.

421 Art. 10. The right of citizens to personal ownership of their incomes from work and of their savings, of their dwelling houses and subsidiary household economy, their household furniture and utensils, articles of personal use and convenience, as well as the right of inheritance of personal property of citizens, is protected by law.

p. 1

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[CONSTITUTION as of 1949]

185 471 Art. 11. The economic life of the Russian SFSR is determined and directed by the State National-Economic Plan with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily improving the material and cultural level of the working people and of consolidating the socialist independence of the country and strengthening its defensive capacity.

461 Art. 12. In the Russian SFSR work is a duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The principle applied in the Russian SFSR is that of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Chapter II. The State Structure

642 Art. 13. For the purpose of mutual assistance among the Union Republics along economic and political lines, as well as along the line of defence, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic voluntarily united with the other equal Soviet Socialist Republics, namely:

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kirghis Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic and
The Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic

in a federal state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Proceeding from the aforesaid, the Russian SFSR ensures to the USSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, the rights defined in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR.

Outside of the spheres set forth in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Russian SFSR exercises state authority independently, retaining its sovereign rights in full.

631 Art. 14. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic consists of the Altai, Krasnodar, Krasnoiarsk, Maritime, Stavropol and Khabarovsk Territories; the Archangel, Astrakhan, Briansk, Velikie Luki, Vladimir, Vologda, Voronezh, Gorky, Grozny, Ivanovo, Irkutsk, Kaliningrad, Kalinin, Kaluga, Kemerovo, Kirov, Kostroma, Crimean, Kuibyshev, Kurgan, Kursk, Leningrad, Molotov, Moscow, Murmansk, Novgorod, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Orel, Penza, Pskov, Rostov, Riazan, Saratov, Sakhalin, Sverdlovsk, Smolensk, Stalingrad, Tambov, Tomsk, Tula, Tiumen, Ulianovsk, Chelia-binsk, Chita, Chkalov, Yaroslav and Amur Regions; the Tatar, Bashkir, Dagestan, Buriat-Mongolian, Kabardinian, Komi, Mari, Mordovian, North Ossetian, Udmurt, Chuvash and Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics; and the Adygei, Jewish, Oirot, Tuvinian, Khakass and Cherkess Autonomous Regions.

6. Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

This trend to expropriate the peasants and to overspecialize them as a means of political and economic control found its expression in the recent development of Bolshevik ideology. In the utterances of Party leaders and in the Soviet press it is being stressed that the conditions in the Soviet Union are already so advanced that the Soviet state is ready to move from socialism into the first levels of a limited Communism. This first phase of Communism will consist of the elimination of differences between industrial and agricultural work, between industrial workers and the peasantry ("Liquidating the contrast between the city and the village"). Thus it is pointed out, the old opposition between the country and the city will vanish and also cultural and psychological differences between these two strata will disappear. Every person will become engaged in a special "technical-engineering" task and all will be equal and like brothers.

As a result of such development, it is said that even the differences between the manual laborer and the intellectual worker will eventually be abolished and thus the classless and anarchic society envisaged in socialist writings and rooted in the traditions of the Slav culture will be finally achieved.[11] Productive forces will develop an abundance of all consumer goods whose distribution will be on the basis of exchange and according to one's needs. There will be no monetary relations and no differences in social status.

It is clearly and repeatedly emphasized, however, that nobody should mistake this change from socialism to communism as a "withering away" of the state. The state, say the Bolsheviks, must remain "strong" for the needs of defense,[12] until the Soviet system spreads over the entire earth.

II

Total power concentrated in the hands of Bolshevik conspirators as a means of perpetuation of their rule led to compulsory regimentation of all labor, to speed-up system, and to intensified differentiation in skill, income, and status within the working classes. The aim of these measures is to increase production and to control the working classes by breaking their group solidarity and by tying the laborer to his machine and the office worker to

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of strata, whose interests were often conflicting. There were the *obshchiniki* (the communal landholders), the *otrubniki* (the peasant private property owners), the *khutoriane* (isolated homestead owners), the *bednyaki* (the poor and indebted peasants), the *serednyaki* (the middle peasants), and the *kulaki*. Finally, there were still the pomeshchiki who owned manorial estates with arable lands, timber-forests and pasture grounds. These were, however, gradually selling their land to the better-off peasants.

The peasant private landholders prospered better than those in the communes. The yield per acre on communal lands has always been much lower than on the private lands. The communal landholders had to rely for a part of their income on wages. These they got as seasonal industrial workers or as agricultural laborers on the lands of the landed gentry. They also worked on the lands of better-off individual peasant property owners whom they resented and called *"novye pomeshchiki"* (the new squires). The poor, landless, and indebted peasants antagonized the better-off peasants. The lower and the middle peasants resented the kulaks and the pomeshchiki.

At the same time the individualization of the Great-Russian peasantry was proceeding very slowly in spite of government help and encouragement. By 1912 the proportion of consolidated peasant holdings, as compared to those remaining in the communal system, was less than 11 percent. Between 1907 and 1915 only about 20 percent of the peasants left land commune.[16] This slow decommunalization did not, however, indicate lack of desire for private land ownership. The reasons for the persistence of the old communal land system lay in the shortage of land, in peasant poverty, in vested interests within the village commune, and finally in traditional lack of self-reliance among the peasants.

As long as a large part of the Great-Russian peasantry remained in the system of communal landholding where lack of initiative and primitive techniques of cultivation prevailed, no great general improvement in land cultivation and in the standard of living of the peasantry could have been expected in spite of all government efforts. Thus, economically insecure and

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of foreign loans and investments the process of industrialization and of economic autarchy, which was needed to develop military potential necessary to withstand internal and external threats, was proceeding at too slow a pace. This situation made it imperative for the impatient and insecure ruling class to have at hand goods available for quick export in order to buy foreign machinery and to industrialize and militarize the country at a higher speed.

The peasants in the meantime were busy in making improvements on their possessions and in raising the amount of food for home consumption. Increased peasant consumption of food however meant decrease of the crops available both for export and for the needs of fast growing urban strata which were being created as a result of a speedy industrialization. Also lack of regulation of agricultural production meant that planting and sowing were designed to a large extent to satisfy the home needs of the peasant, and only to a lesser extent those of the national or foreign market.

This meant that as long as a large section of the peasantry remained as independent producers there was always a danger that the ruling class might not have at its disposal sufficient quantities of marketable products. And the more the ruling faction felt insecure in its power, the more this potential threat of an economically independent peasantry seemed real and close. This feeling of insecurity and mistrust of the Bolsheviks was manifested in their hatred of the peasantry. "The peasant who has two cows is already an enemy," they would say. Hence the Party hierarchy made the decision not only to abolish the economic independence of the peasants, but also to "destroy peasantry as a class" by means of collectivization.

In their determination to "destroy peasantry as a class," the Bolsheviks first incited the poor and the medium peasants against the "kulaks" and then the landless against the small peasant owners. The Bolshevik agitators took advantage also of the traditional tensions within peasant families and aroused son against father and brother against brother. Thus inciting and exploiting resentments and hostilities between various peasant strata and taking advantage of family antagonisms, the Bolsheviks were able

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to force the peasants to join the collectives and the state farms. Those who opposed such policies were resettled or banished to convict labor camps. Many were massacred. According to Stalin ten million peasants became victims of this "class war."[5]

In order to insure their complete control over the farming population, the Bolshevik leaders sent the most trusted Party people from the city to the village to manage the newly formed *kolhozes*. These *novye bary* (new lords), as the peasants called them, installed themselves in the mansions of former estate owners and kept themselves at a considerable distance from the rural population, not unlike the former serf-owners. And not unlike the former gentry the new masters were also bent upon extracting maximum labor from the peasantry with minimum reward.

Under such conditions, the peasants, in the first outbursts of their reaction against this state of abusive submission resorted to outward aggression in the form of traditional uprisings. They burnt their crops and slaughtered their cattle rather than collectivize them. It is estimated that almost two-thirds of the entire livestock and a large part of the crops were destroyed.[6] Such a situation affected even the Ukraine, the "granary of Russia" and greatly contributed to the famine of 1932–33 in which hundreds of thousands of people died of starvation and epidemics. It was by such active rebellion that the peasantry forced the Party into a temporary retreat. The Party had to appease the peasants by giving each peasant household the right to retain in private use a small plot of land, and also in private possession a limited number of livestock. Also, private trade in agricultural products was restored in a limited degree.[7]

These were however only temporary concessions, since the Bolsheviks were determined to completely "industrialize" the peasantry as a means of political and economic control. Following such aims the highest possible degree of specialization in farm operation has been fostered and the members of the same family have been assigned to different, spacially separated activities. In this manner the agricultural brigade instead of the peasant family became the basic unit of agricultural production. For the same reason the highest possible degree of mechanization of

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241 178 agriculture, centered in Motor Tractor Stations, has been fostered.[8]

474 465 463 At the same time differences in individual income levels have been encouraged by means of a differential wage system based on the degree of specialization, the amount of work, the quality of labor and the quality and quantity of production. There is also a tendency to train each kolhoz member for one specialty only. In this manner differentiation is increased, family self-sufficiency and family bonds are being destroyed, a greater degree of dependency upon the Party is achieved, group solidarity is weakened and the development of organized peasant opposition is prevented.

241 463 178 The "industrialization" of the peasantry seeks to eliminate the old type of peasant farmer who was self-sufficient, had manifold interests and possessed a variety of skills needed to manage his economy, of which he was the owner and the manager. By fostering specialization and wage differentiation the Party hopes to develop a type of agricultural worker and specialist who is skilled in one activity only, and cannot be self-sufficient. Since in this manner every agricultural worker becomes entirely dependent upon others, and upon the Party, it is expected that as a result of such conditioning the drive to own farm property will disappear, that all land property will then become governmentalized and that agricultural labor will become in all respects and for all purposes the same as industrial labor, that is, completely divided within, dependent economically, and better amenable to Party control.

474 178 It is along such lines of thought that the Party has recently endeavored to amalgamate kolhozes into large collective units. In small collectives the Party's control was weak or non-existent and the peasants were enabled to maintain a degree of group solidarity and to put up a certain resistance to government agrarian policies. According to the Party's admission "small collective farms blocked the progress of socialist farming."[9] Therefore, in order to "strengthen their directing personnel" the Party decided to amalgamate small farms into large ones. The management of these amalgamated collectives is to be put entirely in the hands of non-peasants.[10]

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welcomed them as liberators in World War II, indicate such possibilities.

III

In studying personality growth in the Soviet society, one should take into account also the differences between the urban and the rural environments and the influences of those environments on interpersonal relations within the family circle. Owing to the very rapid pace of urbanization and low rate of production of consumption goods, most of the families located in the urban areas are exposed to the housing shortage and lack of home privacy. Many of these families live in community apartments in which there is only one room per family and in which a number of unrelated families share a common kitchen and toilet facilities. Family conflicts and tensions tend to be intensified in such circumstances. Lack of privacy, noisiness, and lack of sleep in crowded quarters, together with the lack of sufficient food, long hours of work and unsatisfactory conditions of work increase dissatisfactions and magnify existing family conflicts. An outlet for dissatisfactions is found then in trivial scandals and bickering, in petty squabbles, but also in violent emotional outbursts.[31]

Conditions in rural areas are somewhat different. Though virtually all peasant families live in one or at most two-room cottages, which they often share with a few heads of livestock, yet the rural family does have its own privacy. Most peasant families possess a small lot of land around the cottage, on which they raise some poultry or a pig; some might even own a cow. Though this is all very modest, yet with some labor, after the work for the kolhoz has been done, the peasant family has been able to raise some food on its own property and perhaps to sell it on the open market and then buy some clothing and other bare necessities.[32]

Compared to the situation of the city worker, the peasant, though receiving lower wages for his work, and often going in rags, perhaps does feel relatively more independent. If he is an adult with a family he is much less likely to be pushed around, though he is constantly exhorted by kolhoz officials to work more

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

and harder and to produce more for Socialist Motherland. Not infrequently the brigade leaders have to use physical force to make him get up early enough to work on collective property.

Yet in spite of such unfavorable circumstances, compared to city workers, the peasant might still be in a somewhat better position in regard to security and stability, attachment to his family, to his cottage, to his small plot of land, and to his village. For this reason he has been able to put up resistance against the Party and the government.[33] It is against these scanty remnants of emotional and economic security, of personal independence, of group solidarity and resistance that the Bolshevik rulers are campaigning; it is to eradicate this psychology of group intimacy and opposition that the Party had recently attempted to resettle the farmers and move them into concentrated and urbanized surroundings; the Bolsheviks are exerting all efforts to eradicate these "residues of kulak psychology" root and branch and to make the peasants as completely helpless, insecure and subdued to the Party will as they have done with the industrial and intellectual workers.

There is a considerable disproportion in sex ratio in Soviet rural areas. Owing to great casualties in wars it is estimated that at present there are about fifteen million more women than men in the Soviet Union. And due to the increasing need of manpower to maintain huge military forces and to feed the inefficient city industries, the Soviet leaders are constantly draining both male youths and adult men from the villages in the form of military and labor drafts. They are therefore increasingly relying for agricultural work on peasant women. Hence peasant villages and peasant families tend to be composed predominantly of women.

Here too a family structure with semi-matriarchal traits, similar to the Old-Slavonic family, is being formed. Though in such circumstances the number of illegitimate children is increasing, it is quite possible that the women, especially those who are traditionally strongly attached to their family, are exerting a moderating and softening influence on the personality of the peasant child. An indication of such possible differences in the psychological atmosphere of the city and the country is given in

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his desk in the same way as the peasant has been bound to the land.[13]

The Party hierarchy has also passed a decree which enables the Party to keep the youth under its complete control. The decree orders mobilization of hundreds of thousand of Soviet youths to be trained annually as labor reserve. All those who go through such a training are "considered mobilized and under obligation to work four successive years in state enterprises in accordance with the directive of the general officer of Labor Reserves . . ."[14] Along the same lines of labor mobilization and economic regimentation a decree was passed according to which every skilled laborer, technician, engineer, and factory employee could be ordered moved from one factory to another in any location in the Soviet Union according to the needs of industrialization.[15]

In accordance with the need for total control of the working classes and of economic production the management of the factories was completely removed from the control or influence of the workers and centralized in the hands of the factory directors (*edinonachalie*). These became responsible for failure in output, for waste and for low quality of products. In such an industrial system the trade unions have become instruments of regimentation and speed-up. They ceased to be an institution for the protection of the rights and interests of the working class and instead evolved into an organization of overseers and labor drivers. The trade unions' Charter of 1949 expressly states this function:

> Mobilization of all factory workers and employees for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the production plan, for the strengthening of labor discipline, and for the development of socialist competition.
>
> Elaboration of practical measures for the stepping up of labor productivity, improvement of the quality of production, reduction of production costs, and raising of profitableness of the enterprise.[16]

In the same manner, one of the May Day slogans of 1952 reads: "Soviet trade unions! Develop socialist competition more widely for pre-schedule fulfillment of the state plan by every enterprise."

It was because of this need to regiment labor and make it com-

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596 women and children of the household. The power of the bolshak was lifelong, but in case of mismanagement, prolonged illness or want of mental powers, the family adult male members or the village elders could remove him and place another adult male as the head man of the household.[2] All the property: land, farm implements, cattle, buildings, household furniture, and utensils were considered common property of all household members, particularly male adults. But women's clothing and other personal belongings, such as linen and canvas, brought as a dowry or produced by women were considered their private property. When such a household was broken up the common property was divided equally among all the adult male members, regardless of the degree of blood relationship.

The bolshak was assisted in his management by a family council (*soviet*) consisting of married male members, while the bolshuka was assisted by the married females. Though the bolshak's place after his death was taken by his eldest son or his eldest brother, it happened occasionally also that such a household came to be ruled by a woman, if she proved to be an exceptionally resolute personality and good manager.

596 178 476 The remnants of such a family collective persisted in some rural parts of Russia until the beginning of the twentieth century. Such a household in which some of the Old-Slavonic traditions were still in existence was looked upon as a labor association, as much as an association of blood-related families. This is why the heads of such a family commune were designated, not by parental names, as father or mother of the family, but by functional names, as managers of the common property.[3]

596 651 621 Originally the powers of the household soviet were an important check on the authority of the head elder. The soviet assured protection against inequity and tended to maintain equalitarian relationships among the married members of the household. However, early in the development of the Great-Russian society the events tended to favor the power of the bolshak. Following the practices of Mongol rule, frequent censuses were held and frequent levies were imposed on the population according to the number of households or according to acreage. The village community which composed a cess district was made jointly respon-

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the communistic tenets of the Dukhobortsy in such a way as to turn them to his own profit and advantage. Like other Dukhobortsy, Kapustin too believed that God was in every man, and therefore all men were equal. He said, however, that God first had revealed himself in Jesus and the soul of Jesus has then continually animated new bodies throughout many generations. And by virtue of its higher qualities, and the absolute command of God, the soul of Jesus as it passed from one man to another had invariably retained its identity, and the man in whom the soul of Jesus resided, unmistakenly knew he was Jesus:

> Thus Sylvan Kolisnikof at Nikisk whom many of older among you knew, was Jesus; but now, as truly as the heaven is above and the earth under my feet, I am the true Jesus Christ, your Lord! fall down therefore on your knees and worship me![28]

Kapustin introduced a complete community of goods among his followers. They worked the fields in common and divided the harvest among them. Storehouses were erected to provide against years of dearth or famine. Also various kinds of industries were introduced and the colony showed visible progress in the first few years of its existence. Kapustin had also assembled an advisory Council of thirty Elders about him, from among whom an inner circle of twelve was selected. These were known as "The Apostles." Before he died he endeavored to impose his son as his successor and claimed that when he died the soul of Jesus would enter the body of his son.

After Kapustin's death dissatisfactions grew stronger and manifested themselves in suspicion, mistrust, and denunciation. The Council of Elders developed into an inquisitional tribunal which ruled arbitrarily, interpreting justice according to their caprices. Those who submitted unconditionally were rewarded, those who were suspected of deviation were accused of treachery and of intention to go over to their "enemy" that is, the official Church, and were punished with torture and even with death. The house from which the Elders ruled became known as *Ray i muka*—paradise and torture.[29]

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dependency of the land recipients upon the Czar, because the Czar could at any time withdraw the grant.

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By means of the pomestie system of land tenure which prevailed in the second part of the sixteenth century the Muscovite rulers obtained both of their objectives: unlimited power and permanent war preparedness. Once the owners of the estates became dependent upon the Czar for the possession of their lands, any opposition on their part could be crushed easily, especially if the caste solidarity and the development of an *esprit de corps* among these people could be prevented. By the end of the seventeenth century the hereditary land tenure and the conditional land tenure were equalized. As a result all nobility became service nobility (*dvorianstro*), dependent upon the Czar for their lands. All therefore became *holopy*, the slaves of the supreme *gosudar* (master). Neither type of land holder could alienate his land either by sale, exchange, or any other process. The principle was that "He who owned land should serve the Czar."

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Thus, by the end of the seventeenth century, by making the nobility economically dependent and having the support of the Church, the Muscovite Czars were enabled to eliminate all potential opposition to their rule and to perpetuate their despotic power. After the nobility was subdued and regimented, the other classes, including the clergy, followed suit. By the end of the seventeenth century the slaves and free land tenants were equalized and bound to the land and burghers were bound to their [486] *posads*. It was prohibited for any person to move from one town or borough to another without special permit. There could be a penalty of death for such flight or desertion.

By this time, therefore, all persons were bound to their status. A rigid caste system was established for the purpose of securing for the Czar permanent and controllable bodies of people whose function was either to pay cess or to render military and state service. The whole state was regimented and militarized for the [641] purpose of the Czar's aggrandizement, defense of the realm and military campaigns; each person had one duty only—to serve the Czar and the country. The whole society was geared to increase the revenues and the military might of the Czardom.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

III

593 No less intense seems to have been the tension between father and son. The son in this family was placed in a difficult position in respect to the absolute power of his father, sanctioned by the Church, by the local authorities, by the landlord, and by the law of the state. According to the Church teachings and according to the popular opinion, the parent's blessing brought good fortune and the parent's curse life-long misery. There was also fear of disinheritance, banishment, and military conscription. But there was also a strong desire for freedom and independence from an arbitrary and brutal paternal authority.

Open rebellion against this authority was not expedient, nor advisable. Leaving home without the father's consent was practically impossible because all the authorities would support the father against the son. Without father's consent the police would [486] not issue a passport which was necessary for travelling within the country. There was also a strong emotional resistance against fighting back one's father because, according to the popular view of life, "The hands which beat the father shall never be able to earn anything." Besides, as long as the father was physically stronger the outcome of such a struggle did not look promising.

There was, however, also a tendency on the part of the son to attach himself to his father, and to identify himself with him. But since the father tended to be detached and stern and might even abuse his son, the son had difficulties in experiencing a close and warm relationship with father and to identify himself with him. And since the father was not always harsh but often good hearted, compassionate and kind, the deprivation of a friendly and intimate contact with the father was painfully felt as a rejection. The result was the development of ambivalent feelings of identification and rebellion, of love and hatred in father-son relations. "When I have a father, I feel like killing him; when I have none, I feel like buying one," was the people's saying.

A son's wounded pride and rebellion against a tyrannical and abusive father took on normally a silent and inner form, at least as long as the father remained physically stronger than his son. This inner form of revolt was sometimes manifested in a secret

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

a fiction. Lacking means of physical enforcement because of the lack of a centralized political system, common action could take place only among those who voluntarily agreed. But when small bands of mounted warriors imposed their rule over the multitudes of non-warlike peasantry, the power-oriented conquerors made use of the Old-Slavonic system of unanimity for purposes of regimentation and governmentalization from above. That is, they imposed a dictated consensus by means of force else the opposition of the peasant majority would soon have deprived the ruling minority of its power.

In this manner a number of band chieftains of nomadic origin ruled groupings of small peasant communities, in the form of manorial principalities. Each one of these local potentates, even though Slavicized in speech or born in mixed families, still exhibited extreme self-seeking characteristics and cherished personal power and aggrandizement above everything else, a tenet that had characterized his nomadic predecessors. Each, therefore, following steppe traditions, had a scheme of his own; each was interested primarily in accumulating riches for himself and his immediate family. In consequence, these local princes and their war bands constantly intrigued and fought among themselves. They also transferred their personal and factional strifes to the neighboring towns of burghers. In these squabbles and struggle for power and expansion, the feuding princes and fighting factions did not hesitate to call on the common enemies in their neighborhoods, such as the steppe marauders or the Viking pirates to come in and help them defeat their opponents.

It was in the course of such an internecine strife (*vsta rod na rod*) in Novgorod region in the middle of the ninth century that a band of Scandinavian merchant-pirates was called on to come and help one clique of native princes against the other.[18] These "Varangians" not only came in but stayed, founding later the Russian state in the Dnieper river basin, at that time the most important merchant thoroughfare in that part of the world. These Norse conquerors and state builders were soon assimilated by the natives. In the course of time a series of new principalities was formed and old factional bickerings and fratricidal warfare was renewed.[19]

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
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and its many branches and spurs. The large rivers handle the north-south traffic during their ice-free season. The Ob', the Irtysh, the Yenisey, and the Amur intersect the Trans-Siberian Railroad, while the Lena is connected with it by a series of good highways. The Northern Sea Route is the basic route serving the Arctic coast of Siberia. This route through the seas of the Arctic Ocean was developed as a permanent transportation route as late as the third Five-Year Plan, after a large number of polar stations reporting on weather and ice conditions had been set up along the route. Its principal ports are Novyy Port, at the mouth of the Ob' River, Igarka, Dudinka, and Ust'-Port, in the lower reaches of the Yenisey, Nordvik, at the mouth of the Khatanga River, Tiksi, near the Lena delta, Ambarchik, near the mouth of the Kolyma River, and Anadyr', at the mouth of the Anadyr' River. The principal ports along the Pacific coast of the Far East are Vladivostok, Sovetskaya Gavan', Magadan, and Petropavlovsk on Kamchatka. The highway network is especially well developed in the European section of the Russian SFSR. The roads generally run parallel to rail lines and converge at Moscow. In Siberia, highways serve to open up newly developed areas not reached by the rail network; this is particularly true of the extensive gold-mining areas of Eastern Siberia and the Far East.

The Russian SFSR exports to the other union republics: machines, steel, petroleum, lumber, paper, textiles, and grain, and imports from them pig-iron, grain, sugar, cotton, livestock, and fruits.

Due to the large number of non-Russian ethnic groups within the Russian SFSR, the union republic has been organized into a Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, in contrast to the other union republics which have a more homogeneous national composition. The Russian SFSR was organized in 1917 and became one of the original four republics which united to form the USSR in 1922. The present territorial-administrative scheme was inaugurated with the creation of the Ural Oblast in 1923. Thereafter the newly created oblasts and krays rapidly replaced the former *guberniyas*. The more advanced non-Russian ethnic groups, such as Tatars, Bashkirs, Buryat-Mongols, Yakuts, and others, were constituted into the autonomous republics which, together with the basic Russian group (73 percent of the total population), form the so-called Russian Federation, or Russian SFSR. The territory with a predominant Russian population has been divided into oblasts and krays, which are purely administrative divisions. National minorities within these divisions have their own autonomous or national units. The most

SU 313 GR 313

The Russian SFSR is the site of the principal lumbering regions of the USSR. In the European section the lumber industry is centered in the Northern Dvina River basin and its affluents, the Sukhona and the Vychegda rivers, as well as along the Kama and the Vyatka rivers, to the southeast. In Siberia the chief lumbering districts are along the right bank of the Yenisey and in the basin of the Ussuri River, an affluent of the Amur. The principal fisheries of the Russian SFSR lie in the European North where herring and cod are caught on the banks of the Barents Sea, in the northern Caspian Sea and the Volga delta (zander, herring, and especially sturgeon), and in the Far East along the Sea of Japan coast and the Kamchatka Peninsula (salmon and herring).

SU 226 GR 226

SU 241 GR 241 SU [230] GR [231]

The basic agricultural areas are in the black-earth belt. Most important is the Northern Caucasus (Kuban' Steppe), where wheat, corn, tobacco, and sunflowers grow excellently on black-earth and chestnut soils. The Northern Caucasus is also one of the foremost livestock-raising areas of the USSR. The Central Black-Earth Region, along the upper Don and the Oka rivers, is the chief sugar-beet district of the Russian SFSR, while the Volga Region and the steppes beyond the Volga specialize in wheat growing. The black-earth section of Siberia produces hard-grained spring wheat, which keeps for several years and is highly valued on the world market, and is also important for its highly developed dairy industries. In the forested belt of the Russian SFSR, new areas are being plowed under and drained for the introduction of grain crops, which now grow as far north as the 60th parallel. In the European forests, flax and hemp are the principal crops, and dairy farming, the dominant pastoral activity. The best flax is grown in the areas of Pskov, Smolensk, Kalinin, and Vologda, the latter being also the chief dairying center.

SU 489 GR 489

The transportation network linking these regions consists primarily of a well-developed railway system, which is densest in the European section. The main through-traffic lines join at Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Kirov, Vologda, Bryansk, and other centers. Throughout the European section, rail transportation operates in close conjunction with river and sea routes. The Volga River leads in the amount of freight carried on its course. It is connected with Moscow via the Moscow Canal and with the Neva and Leningrad via the Mariinsk waterway, the Tikhvin and the Vyshne-Volotsk canals. The chief seaports are Leningrad, Murmansk, Arkhangel'sk, Rostov, Sevastopol', and Astrakhan'. In Siberia the rail network is restricted to the Trans-Siberian trunk line

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 Rl Soviet Union Rl
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and its many branches and spurs. The large rivers handle the north-south traffic during their ice-free season. The Ob', the Irtysh, the Yenisey, and the Amur intersect the Trans-Siberian Railroad, while the Lena is connected with it by a series of good highways. The Northern Sea Route is the basic route serving the Arctic coast of Siberia. This route through the seas of the Arctic Ocean was developed as a permanent transportation route as late as the third Five-Year Plan, after a large number of polar stations reporting on weather and ice conditions had been set up along the route. Its principal ports are Novyy Port, at the mouth of the Ob' River, Igarka, Dudinka, and Ust'-Port, in the lower reaches of the Yenisey, Nordvik, at the mouth of the Khatanga River, Tiksi, near the Lena delta, Ambarchik, near the mouth of the Kolyma River, and Anadyr', at the mouth of the Anadyr' River. The principal ports along the Pacific coast of the Far East are Vladivostok, Sovetskaya Gavan', Magadan, and Petropavlovsk on Kamchatka. The highway network is especially well developed in the European section of the Russian SFSR. The roads generally run parallel to rail lines and converge at Moscow. In Siberia, highways serve to open up newly developed areas not reached by the rail network; this is particularly true of the extensive gold-mining areas of Eastern Siberia and the Far East.

SU 489 GR 489 SU [487] GR [487]

The Russian SFSR exports to the other union republics: machines, steel, petroleum, lumber, paper, textiles, and grain, and imports from them pig-iron, grain, sugar, cotton, livestock, and fruits.

SU 438* GR 438

Due to the large number of non-Russian ethnic groups within the Russian SFSR, the union republic has been organized into a Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, in contrast to the other union republics which have a more homogeneous national composition. The Russian SFSR was organized in 1917 and became one of the original four republics which united to form the USSR in 1922. The present territorial-administrative scheme was inaugurated with the creation of the Ural Oblast in 1923. Thereafter the newly created oblasts and krays rapidly replaced the former *guberniyas*. The more advanced non-Russian ethnic groups, such as Tatars, Bashkirs, Buryat-Mongols, Yakuts, and others, were constituted into the autonomous republics which, together with the basic Russian group (73 percent of the total population), form the so-called Russian Federation, or Russian SFSR. The territory with a predominant Russian population has been divided into oblasts and krays, which are purely administrative divisions. National minorities within these divisions have their own autonomous or national units. The most

SU 631 GR 631

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
Great Russia RF1

and Eastern Siberia. In the Middle Volga Region live the Mordvinians and the Mari of the Finno-Ugric group and the Tatars and the Chuvash of the Turkic group; on the western slopes of the Urals are, from north to south, the Komi, the Komi-Permyak, and the Udmurt, all belonging to the Finno-Ugric group, and the Bashkirs, members of the Turkic group. On the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus live a wide variety of peoples, including the Avars, the Darghins, the Lesghians in the east, and the Circassian tribes in the west. These national elements belong to the Caucasian linguistic group, of which Georgian is also a member. The Ossetians, who live in the central part of the Greater Caucasus, belong to the Iranian group. In Western Siberia, in the valleys of the Altay system, are other representatives of the Turkic group: the Altay tribes (a group of several small national elements), the Khakass, and the Tuvinians. In Eastern Siberia, the two principal nationalities are the Buryat-Mongols of the Mongolian group and the Yakuts of the Turkic group. A large number of small elements in the extreme north of the Russian SFSR belong to the Finno-Ugric, the Tungus-Manchu, and the Paleoasiatic linguistic groups.

Prior to the Bolshevik Revolution, industry within the present confines of the Russian SFSR was located in the Central Industrial Region between the Volga and the Oka, with specialization in the milling of cotton, silk, woolen, and linen textiles. The Petrograd (now Leningrad) industrial district was the chief area engaged in machine construction, while the metallurgical industry in the Urals was still on a small scale. During the Five-Year Plan period industrialization progressed rapidly throughout the republic, with particular emphasis on the Volga Region, the Urals, Western Siberia and the Far East. The Central Industrial Region largely developed heavy machinery construction, the manufacture of precision tools, and the production of chemicals, while maintaining its previous importance as a textile-milling region. The Leningrad industrial district continues to be a machine-construction center. However, in contrast to the prerevolutionary period, when raw materials were usually imported, it now uses local mineral resources, that is, copper, nickel, apatite, nephelite (an aluminum ore), from the Kola Peninsula; coal and petroleum, from the Pechora River basin; bauxite, lignite, and oil shale from the vicinity of Leningrad itself. Power is obtained from hydroelectric plants on the Volkhov and the Svir' rivers. An entirely new industrial region was created on the Volga. This river serves as one of the principal transportation routes of the Russian

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SFSR, linking the Moscow industrial district via the Oka River and its own upper course, the Ural industrial district on the Kama River, the lumbering region along the Vyatka, the grain-producing areas along the middle Volga, the Donets coal and metallurgical district, west of Stalingrad, and finally the rich fisheries of the northern Caspian Sea. Among the principal goods transported on the Volga are: downstream, machines, textiles, fertilizers, metal from the Urals, and lumber; upstream, petroleum and cotton from Transcaucasia and Central Asia, fish, salt, melons, pumpkins, and grain. By rail, coal and iron arrive at the Volga from the Donbas, and coal, iron, and nonferrous metals from the Urals and Siberia. Recently extensive petroleum fields ("Second Baku") and natural gas deposits have been developed along the Volga, furnishing the basis, in addition to the goods brought by rail and water, for the establishment of important machine construction, chemical, woodworking, and food industries.

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In recent years the Urals have been turned into one of the largest industrial and mining regions of the world. Huge metallurgical establishments have been built at Magnitogorsk, Nizhniy Tagil, and other cities. Other mills process copper, zinc, aluminum, magnesium, and nickel ores. Large chemical and paper mills have risen along the Kama River. Important rail centers, such as Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Molotov, and Ufa, have turned into top-ranking machine-construction centers. One of the longest high-voltage power lines of the USSR links the several power plants and industrial sites of the region.

The main industrial district of the Siberian realm is the Kuznetsk Basin. On the site of extensive coal mines, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and machine construction have developed to a very great extent. The iron and steel mills of the Kuzbas work on the basis of local coal supplies and iron ore, partly of local origin, partly from the Urals. The once all-important Ural-Kuznetsk *kombinat*, involving the exchange of coal and iron ore between the two industrial regions, is gradually losing its importance as local iron ore deposits are being further developed in the Kuznetsk Basin. The principal industrial sites are Stalinsk (steel milling and machine construction), Kemerovo (coal and chemicals), Novosibirsk (machine building), and Belovo (zinc metallurgy). Another industrial region has been created in the Far East, with the principal centers at Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, and Komsomol'sk. Shipbuilding, oil refining, and machine construction are the principal activities.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

standards of formal education, low level of agricultural technology, undeveloped means of transportation and too many idle days handicapped the advance of agriculture. In such circumstances the peasants did not even produce sufficient food to nourish themselves, much less a surplus to exchange for manufactured products. As a consequence the peasants were exposed to periodical famines during which many died of starvation.

Periodical epidemics of cholera, typhus, small pox, and other diseases took a toll as high as famines. A low degree of personal hygiene in crowded living conditions also increased the death rate. In addition there was a great dearth of doctors, nurses and hospitals, and no measures of preventive medicine. Equally ruinous were the periodical cattle epidemics due to primitive techniques of cattle raising. One should add to these misfortunes the figure of more than one hundred thousand peasant homes destroyed each summer by fires, many of them the result of arson. And if one considers the widely spread robbery, theft and murder that went undetected and unpunished, one gets an idea of the distressing personal and social conditions in which the Russian peasant lived. It was in such circumstances, left entirely to his own resources, that he developed an ideological, emotional and symbolical world of his own.

17
THE ATTITUDES OF THE PEASANTRY

I

STUNNED by the magnitude of the inimical and arbitrary social and physical forces which surrounded him and completely controlled his life, the Great-Russian peasant felt impotent and helpless. In the family circle if he had to be submissive and he was exposed to arbitrariness of the elder, he also might have enjoyed a certain degree of protection and succor.

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of strata, whose interests were often conflicting. There were the *obshchiniki* (the communal landholders), the *otrubniki* (the peasant private property owners), the *khutoriane* (isolated homestead owners), the *bednyaki* (the poor and indebted peasants), the *serednyaki* (the middle peasants), and the *kulaki*. Finally, there were still the pomeshchiki who owned manorial estates with arable lands, timber-forests and pasture grounds. These were, however, gradually selling their land to the better-off peasants.

The peasant private landholders prospered better than those in the communes. The yield per acre on communal lands has always been much lower than on the private lands. The communal landholders had to rely for a part of their income on wages. These they got as seasonal industrial workers or as agricultural laborers on the lands of the landed gentry. They also worked on the lands of better-off individual peasant property owners whom they resented and called *"novye pomeshchiki"* (the new squires). The poor, landless, and indebted peasants antagonized the better-off peasants. The lower and the middle peasants resented the kulaks and the pomeshchiki.

At the same time the individualization of the Great-Russian peasantry was proceeding very slowly in spite of government help and encouragement. By 1912 the proportion of consolidated peasant holdings, as compared to those remaining in the communal system, was less than 11 percent. Between 1907 and 1915 only about 20 percent of the peasants left land commune.[16] This slow decommunalization did not, however, indicate lack of desire for private land ownership. The reasons for the persistence of the old communal land system lay in the shortage of land, in peasant poverty, in vested interests within the village commune, and finally in traditional lack of self-reliance among the peasants.

As long as a large part of the Great-Russian peasantry remained in the system of communal landholding where lack of initiative and primitive techniques of cultivation prevailed, no great general improvement in land cultivation and in the standard of living of the peasantry could have been expected in spite of all government efforts. Thus, economically insecure and

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hungry for land, resentful of degrading dependency and inclined to be hostile to the existing authorities, many peasants were ready to follow the leadership of professional conspirators and demagogues who incited them to revolt and promised them "land and freedom." Such feelings and attitudes were of decisive importance in the revolutionary days of 1917, as well as later in the civil war.

20
ASCENDENCY OF BOLSHEVISM

I

WHEN the Czardom in the eighteenth century embarked on its policy of industrialization, the newly built industries, both those state owned and those owned by the landed nobility, were based on serf labor. Also the non-noble entrepreneurs purchased or rented serfs to work in their mines and factories.[1] In such conditions the technical equipment and the production output of Russia's industries remained at a very low level. There was no incentive to introduce technological improvements as long as the labor was abundant, and its cost low. Only a few industries, such as the cotton industry which was in the hands of non-noble owners, and which from its start was based on free labor, had introduced modern machinery.

Thus since the Russian industries did not advance technologically and were unable to compete with the European industrial products, they had to be protected by high tariff barriers, by grants and subsidies. This situation kept the level of prices of manufactured goods high in comparison with the buying power of the industrial workers, of peasants and of middle urban strata. The resulting lack of buying power of these broad strata of the population made the progress of industrialization in Russia very slow, uneven, unstable, and chronically affected by crises

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

welcomed them as liberators in World War II, indicate such possibilities.

III

In studying personality growth in the Soviet society, one should take into account also the differences between the urban and the rural environments and the influences of those environments on interpersonal relations within the family circle. Owing to the very rapid pace of urbanization and low rate of production of consumption goods, most of the families located in the urban areas are exposed to the housing shortage and lack of home privacy. Many of these families live in community apartments in which there is only one room per family and in which a number of unrelated families share a common kitchen and toilet facilities. Family conflicts and tensions tend to be intensified in such circumstances. Lack of privacy, noisiness, and lack of sleep in crowded quarters, together with the lack of sufficient food, long hours of work and unsatisfactory conditions of work increase dissatisfactions and magnify existing family conflicts. An outlet for dissatisfactions is found then in trivial scandals and bickering, in petty squabbles, but also in violent emotional outbursts.[31]

Conditions in rural areas are somewhat different. Though virtually all peasant families live in one or at most two-room cottages, which they often share with a few heads of livestock, yet the rural family does have its own privacy. Most peasant families possess a small lot of land around the cottage, on which they raise some poultry or a pig; some might even own a cow. Though this is all very modest, yet with some labor, after the work for the kolhoz has been done, the peasant family has been able to raise some food on its own property and perhaps to sell it on the open market and then buy some clothing and other bare necessities.[32]

Compared to the situation of the city worker, the peasant, though receiving lower wages for his work, and often going in rags, perhaps does feel relatively more independent. If he is an adult with a family he is much less likely to be pushed around, though he is constantly exhorted by kolhoz officials to work more

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

and harder and to produce more for Socialist Motherland. Not infrequently the brigade leaders have to use physical force to make him get up early enough to work on collective property.

Yet in spite of such unfavorable circumstances, compared to city workers, the peasant might still be in a somewhat better position in regard to security and stability, attachment to his family, to his cottage, to his small plot of land, and to his village. For this reason he has been able to put up resistance against the Party and the government.[33] It is against these scanty remnants of emotional and economic security, of personal independence, of group solidarity and resistance that the Bolshevik rulers are campaigning; it is to eradicate this psychology of group intimacy and opposition that the Party had recently attempted to resettle the farmers and move them into concentrated and urbanized surroundings; the Bolsheviks are exerting all efforts to eradicate these "residues of kulak psychology" root and branch and to make the peasants as completely helpless, insecure and subdued to the Party will as they have done with the industrial and intellectual workers.

There is a considerable disproportion in sex ratio in Soviet rural areas. Owing to great casualties in wars it is estimated that at present there are about fifteen million more women than men in the Soviet Union. And due to the increasing need of manpower to maintain huge military forces and to feed the inefficient city industries, the Soviet leaders are constantly draining both male youths and adult men from the villages in the form of military and labor drafts. They are therefore increasingly relying for agricultural work on peasant women. Hence peasant villages and peasant families tend to be composed predominantly of women.

Here too a family structure with semi-matriarchal traits, similar to the Old-Slavonic family, is being formed. Though in such circumstances the number of illegitimate children is increasing, it is quite possible that the women, especially those who are traditionally strongly attached to their family, are exerting a moderating and softening influence on the personality of the peasant child. An indication of such possible differences in the psychological atmosphere of the city and the country is given in

1: Fedotov S-4 (no date) 1954 RF1 Great Russia RF1

ooo ably well the nature of the historical process, the drama of the perpetual dissensions and crises, and the very possibility of development.

181 157 If today, in exile, we ask this or that émigré of the rank and file to describe the Russian character, we are sure to be offered two contrasting pictures. As often as not these different images correspond to the political camp of the émigré. To those of the Right and to those of the Left, Russia and the Russian show a different face.

Let us have a look at the left-wing image. This Russian is a lifelong seeker after truth, an enthusiast serving ideals with self-sacrificial ardor but frequently changing his gods and idols. He is utterly devoted to the people, to art, to ideas; eager to become a martyr for some noble cause; an irreconcilable foe of dishonesty, of compromise. An extremist in his dedication to ideas, he lives in the clouds and is estranged from reality—rootless, yet a saint in the full meaning of the word, a saint above material interests. Of the four elements, he is closest to fire and most alien to the earth—and yet he wishes to serve the earth, envisaging this service in terms of flame, conflagration, molten metal. In terms of religion, his is the eschatological type of Christianity—without a terrestrial home, but thirsting for the City of God. Or rather in search of a "New Heaven" and a "New Earth." He loathes nothing so much as moderation, regularity, the virtues of restraint and reasonableness, the smugness of a self-complacent culture. Culture, as the realm of consummate form, leaves him cold; he dreams of remolding all forms in his own crucible. The process of creation is more important to him than its product, the search for truth more important than truth itself, heroic death more important than a life full of labor. Usually he regards Belinsky as his ancestor and (today!) Dostoevsky as his supreme spokesman. It is not difficult to recognize in this image the self-portrait of the Russian intelligentsia,—not of the Russian educated class as a whole, but of that "order" whose origin goes back to the eighteen thirties.

181 ● 517 However, the intelligentsia, this latest layer of Russian culture, is not entirely lacking in national roots—or, more exactly, counterparts. For here we have to do not with the direct influence of deep popular forces but with the obscure subconscious play of the folk-soul, which in the destiny of these pseudo-renegades of nation and country repeats the features of another type, deeply embedded in the national psyche. Apostates, runaways, seekers, pilgrims—are

1: Fedotov S-4 (no date) 1954 RF1 Great Russia RF1

found not only on the upper level but also in the lowest stratum of the people. We meet them among the adherents of the numerous religious sects as well as among the wider circle of spiritually disturbed Russian men and women, restless seekers after religious truth. They embody the kenotic, Christ-centered brand of Russian religiosity, eternally opposed to the prevailing ritualism in liturgy and customs. These kenotic forces of folk religiosity were released by the schism of the seventeenth century, when the Church lost its former unity. The quest for a new spiritual haven began with the first doubts about the absolute orthodoxy of the Muscovite-Petersburg tsardom. Thus this national type, so vividly brought to life by the Russian literature of the nineteenth century, while comparatively of late formation, is yet much older than the intelligentsia and approximately coincides with the Empire. This does not mean that it did not spring from more ancient sources: it had a forerunner in the kenotic type of ancient Russian holiness. But its estrangement from reality, its restlessness, stamp it as a spiritual phenomenon belonging to modern history.

It is interesting to note that the Russian intelligentsia, beside its popular counterparts, has still another parallel, ever more noticeable towards the close of the nineteenth century. It is the Jewish parallel. It is not an accident that ever since the eighties, with the beginning of the exodus from the ghetto, an intimate fusion of the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia became apparent—not only in the common revolutionary struggle but in all spiritual aspirations and the essential attitude towards life: the ardent rootlessness, the eschatological prophetism. It was a spiritual atmosphere which in its intensity recalls early Christianity—deprived, however, of the central pivot of faith and therefore apt to breed aberrations of the most fanatically sectarian kind. Russian reactionaries are right in linking the intelligentsia with Judaism. But they distort the historical perspective in representing the Jews as the seducers of innocent Russian youth. The "order" of the Russian intelligentsia had long been in existence and had taken up the fight against autocracy at a time when the influx from the ghetto—attracted by spiritual affinity—had hardly begun. It is this affinity that makes the short-sighted Western observer describe the "âme slave" in Jewish terms. While many are inclined to view the Zionist endeavor in Palestine as the work of Russian intellectuals, Spengler regards the coteries of the Russian intelligentsia—which he abhors—as reflecting the spirit and tradition of the Talmudists. There certainly

1: Fedotov S-4 (no date) 1954 RF1 Great Russia RF1

181 517 was prevalent a specific Russian-Jewish atmosphere, of which a Jewish poet has said: "Blessed he who ever breathed that air."

000 And yet, only a foreigner may be forgiven for not distinguishing between Slavic and Semitic features in the amalgam of the intellectual-sectarian type. Surely there was nothing Jewish in Belinsky; and when Tolstoy spoke of Dostoevsky's Jewishness, he meant it, of course, in the widest metaphorical sense. The difference is subtle but plainly perceptible—rather one of style, of aesthetic pattern, than of ethical contents—which, after all, is true of most national distinctions. The kinship between the intelligentsia and popular sectarianism, on the other hand, is a primary phenomenon, sufficient in itself to establish this type of intellectual as one of the historical formations of the Russian soul.

181 157 I believe that many, and not only among the right-wingers, will refuse to acknowledge the intelligentsia as the deepest manifestation of Russianness. To myself, whenever today, in exile, I try to conjure up a pure image of the Russian, he presents himself under a different aspect. Profound calm, taciturnity, on the surface even apathy. An organic aversion for anything high-flown, high-strung, extravagant. Simplicity often carried so far as to shun a word, a gesture too much. "Silence is golden." Serene, self-confident power. The silence reflects profound Oriental experience absorbed in the blood. Hence a strain of fatalism. Hence also the humor—the tolerant smile at the foreground of life, at the ceaseless fretting and fussing of the intellect. Humor and restraint are features this type of Russian shares with the Anglo-Saxon. In the opinion of some, by the way, only the Russians and the English possess a genuine sense of humor. Tolstoy and his set—the "high society" of Anna Karenina—in all of Europe felt most at home in the Anglo-Saxon world, the only one they respected. However, this superficial similarity covers a vastly divergent experience—Western activism and Oriental fatalism; but in both worlds the violence of elemental forces was tamed by centuries-old discipline.

I shall not attempt here to define the moral aspect of this type of Russian. I believe that, as a rule, one should avoid over-precise moral characterizations of national types. The good and the wicked, the vicious and the pure are found among all of them, probably in the same proportion. What matters are the shades of goodness, of purity etc., the "how" and not the "what,"—which means definitions rather in aesthetic (in the widest sense) terms. Is the Russian kind? Quite often he is. When he is, his kindness combined with

1: Fedotov S-4 (no date) 1954 RF1 Great Russia RF1

has its own key to Christianity, or at least its own nuances of it. There is no need, however, to distinguish between fine shades of Christianity in the Russian soul; all the contradictions stand out with stark boldness. Just try to express in one formula the religiosity of St. Sergius and the Archpriest Avvakum, that of the Metropolitan Philaret and of Dostoevsky. For good measure, add to these Greek-Orthodox folklore and the religion of Tolstoy!

The opinion is widely held that the Russian people are set apart from other European peoples by the peculiar intensity of their religiosity. Actually this impression derives from the fact that the twentieth century finds Russia and the rest of Europe in different acts of the religious-historical drama. In Russia, among the great mass of the people, the Middle Ages lived on right down to the middle of the nineteenth century. The Europe of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries would offer a closer analogy to imperial Russia. But the collapse of Russian medievalism was stormy and destructive in the extreme. Today the attitude towards religion, both on the part of the masses and of the intelligentsia, is not markedly different from that in other European countries.

. . . And now let us turn to our basic problem: which historical layers of the Russian soul have been destroyed by the Revolution and which will survive it? The answer now should be clear. The extermination of the old educated class and the suppression of all the sources that fed it were bound to remove the two uppermost strata from the spiritual structure of Russian society. The man of Empire and the intellectual perished together with the "bourgeoisie," the upper layer of the old society. As to the imperial type, the Russian of universal culture, some relics of it still survive within the ranks of the "specialists." Some time ago, the [Soviet] government belatedly realized that the liquidation of the upper cultural stratum was doing irreparable harm to technical progress. The surviving old-timers became the object of special attention. However, they were valued only in their capacity of specialists in some narrow field; as has been wittily said, golden watches were used to drive in nails. Their broad culture, no longer needed by anyone and even offensive to the new ruling class, still subsists within some tiny groups or even families. The new educated class produces exclusively specialists who often lack the rudiments of a general culture, even plain literacy. On the other hand, never since the Muscovite tsardom has Russia been fenced off from Europe by such a high wall. This wall has been erected not only by censorship and

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178 181 517 the ban on foreign travel, but also by inordinate conceit and outright contempt for decaying bourgeois Europe. Here lies the essential difference between the semi-literate technical intelligentsia of Tsar Peter and a similar intelligentsia under Stalin. That of Stalin has deliberately turned its back on Europe and in so doing has cut short the line of the "universal" Russian.

More complex was the fate of the intelligentsia proper. By the time the revolution broke out, this extraordinary formation had already lost its former vitality. After 1905 the intelligentsia began to dissolve, losing its identity within the whole of the "cultured" class. It was unable to survive the collapse of its political mysticism, desecrated by the pathetic Russian constitutionalism; the new brilliant religious-philosophical culture of the Russian renaissance of the twentieth century demoralized it with its many seductions; the war drew it into the stream of a national consciousness new to it. By 1917 the revolutionary enthusiasm of the intelligentsia was already a warmed-up dish. Its roots did not go deep, and the size of this social group, the only one to give loyal support to the Provisional Government, had shrunk considerably. The October Revolution hit it with all its weight. Dedicated to principles and uncompromising, the intelligentsia was utterly unable to acquiesce in the triumph of brute force. No wonder that the struggle against the new rulers bled it white. The few who survived either went into exile or filled Soviet prisons and concentration camps. Some managed to adjust themselves to the conditions of Soviet bureaucracy and turned into "specialists," gradually losing the last features of their noble "order." The mills of a brutal way of life were grinding without mercy. In the words of a Russian proverb—"to live with wolves one has to howl with them." Those unable to adjust themselves were cast out of the new life. The new intelligentsia now emerging is organically devoted to the Soviet régime; it feels a blood kinship with both the people and the ruling class. And for this reason it can never—not even in opposition, not even (let us anticipate the future) engaged in a revolutionary struggle against those in power—degenerate into that rootlessly-ideological, extremist, and eschatological type, let alone the dedicated fraternity we call the Russian intelligentsia.

However, this defunct Russian type is not entirely without successors. Sectarianism and spiritual journeying have not died out in the people, as insistently testified by the "godless" press. The Revolution has even given rise to some new sectarian formations,

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usually of an eschatological nature. On the other hand, part of the old intelligentsia have found a spiritual foothold in the Church. Here the last remnants of the vanished "order" can quench their spiritual thirst from the same spring that, unknown to them, had generated it. Within the Church they have, of course, preserved their psychological characteristics: their restlessness and extremism, their thirst for an integrated, consecrated life. Here they find themselves on common ground with the searchers and pilgrims of the people. One should keep in mind that the spiritual barrier between Church and dissenters is no longer what it was before the Revolution. Persecution has brought the various creeds closer together. The remnants of the old intelligentsia act as a ferment upon the whole religious mass. So far, however, this force has either been completely eliminated from all constructive cultural work or else has voluntarily turned away from it. Insofar as Russian culture of the immediate future is concerned, the old type of intellectual is definitely extinct.

What remains is the Muscovite with his vague ancestral heritage. The masses of the people who, molded by Soviet schools, produce the new human being, until quite recently lived and thought after the Muscovite pattern. The most radical ideological upheaval is powerless wholly to remake a spiritual mold. In the internationalist, the Marxist of today, whoever he may be, it is easy to recognize the village lad, the factory worker, as we remember them from the turn of the century. Paradoxical as it may sound, *homo Europaeo-Americanus* seems closer to Muscovy than to the more recent Petersburg era. The paradox is easily explained. *Homo Europaeo-Americanus* has little claim on the rich heritage of Europe's culture. He emerged in Europe in the period of her barbarization and assimilated a civilization already narrowed down to its athletic, technical, military contents. The savage of our time, technician or athlete, is the product of the disintegration of ancient culture going hand in hand with the absorption of barbarians into the civilized world. The Muscovite who, biding his time in rural Russia, outlasted two centuries of imperial culture, does not need any great effort to keep step with a Europe that has come to curse the last two centuries of her history. What might seem really amazing is the ease with which religion has been repudiated. But this is a special, highly complex theme. As to everything else, the Muscovite lout only had to be shaken up and kicked around for a while, to be jolted out of his indolence and sluggishness. What the tsarist barracks once did to

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Church. In these protest movements on the folk level, demand for acceptance on equal terms in an all-human brotherhood of men was emphasized.

In the meantime, with the increasing technological, economic, and intellectual advance of the West, the Western pressures against the Czardom were intensified. In order to meet this challenge and withstand the threat, the Czardom, by the time of Peter the Great, embarked on a series of reforms aimed at Westernization of the Empire, such as secularization of the State, bureaucratization, industrialization and mass education. As a result of such developments, a new elite of parvenu salaried bureaucracy, and of parvenu salaried military, distinguished by the rank and not by the possession of land, was gradually taking the place of the old service nobility as the main pillar of the Czardom. At the same time, the old nobility who were freed of their obligatory service to the State, became hereditary owners of their estates.

In this manner, the old service nobility evolved into a class of economically independent landed squires, even though losing their former political status and privileges, such as monopoly on land and on service. This new gentry however, were by tradition, upbringing, and personal traits, interested in ruling, in political and military careers, not in land cultivation or industry. Many of them, when without office, tended to lead a life of leisure, and to emulate Western manners and styles, to cultivate arts and letters and to indulge in philosophical speculation and formulation of political theories. Few showed an inclination to identify themselves with the productive strata of the population and to devote time and energy to improve techniques of economic production and management.

Such an attitude of the nobility was an important agent in the retarded economic growth of Russia and in the lack of development of a numerically strong and influential middle class, which might have served as a cementing force in a culturally and ideologically split society. And it was from among this leisured class of rural gentry who had lost their status as the main pillar of the Czardom, but who had also emancipated themselves from their economic dependency upon the Czar, that the first

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leaders of an organized opposition to the Czarist autocracy were recruited.

By the nineteenth century, this landed gentry opposition to the Czarist regime took two main forms. One was pro-Western, seeking the reconstruction of the Czardom along humanistic, libertarian and juridical lines, brought about by the ideas of Humanism and Renaissance, by the Reformation and by the French and American Revolutions. The other was anti-Western, reacting against Western rationalism and materialism, against Western "heathenism" and cosmopolitanism, and against the Western system of impersonal formalism and open class strife which was beginning to infiltrate Russia.

In an attempt to bridge the widening cultural and ideological chasm between the ruling classes and the common folk, the anti-Westerners exalted the anarchic community relations and equalitarian and humanist values of the Old-Slavonic world and of the Russian peasant commune. But they also emphasized the value of the Church-State unity, and sought a Messianic redemption of the whole world through the absorption of the State by the Orthodox Church and reestablishment of a paternalistic system of community relations ruled by collective conscience and based on Christian love and compassion.

In the meantime, that is, by the second part of the nineteenth century, with the growing impoverishment of the rural gentry and with increasing educational opportunities for all strata of the population, the ranks of the educated classes (*intelligentsia*) were being swollen by many declassed people as well as by increasing numbers of young people from the families of clergymen, of lower government employees, of petty tradesmen and other lower classes (*raznochintsy*). Even though Czardom at the time was still governmentalized to a high degree, it was not totally regimented. Moreover, by the second part of the nineteenth century, under the pressure of the West, and in order to match the military, the educational, the industrial and the social levels of the Western world, Czardom abolished serfdom and made other concessions in the direction of a libertarian and a juridical state. This trend of events reinforced the penetration of Western political and social philosophies which tended

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[XIX century]

517 178 177 565

to undermine the existing Church, State and family system based on self-abnegation and on unconditional submission.

As a result,[1] a number of raznochintsy intelligentsia, freed of fear and awe before God, the Czar and the Father, but feeling thwarted in their political ambitions and socially rejected, expressed their dissatisfaction and their hostility toward the existing conditions of inequality and oppression by developing ideologies of denial and destruction. Their aim was to reject and to annihilate all the basic institutions and authorities on which Czardom rested: the family, religion, property, the power of the Father, the authority of the Church, as well as the rule of the Czar. These revolutionaries denied God and conscience as well as any existing ethics or rules of conventional conduct. They sought to destroy Czardom "root and branch" and to seize power for themselves by all and any means. Their professed objective was to establish on the earth an all-human stateless society of totally free men living in a system of equalitarian justice and fraternal love.

517 668

Thus, while seeking to reestablish the anarchic and group-oriented values of the early Slav folk and of the Russian peasant commune, these revolutionaries exhibited also Messianic power-centered urges and destructive drives common in the ruling classes of Czardom. Hence a number of these people became professional conspirators, advocating establishment of an underground organization with rigidly centralized total power commanding expendability of its members, and demanding their complete dedication to the cause of the revolution. They considered this system of organization to be the only effective way to fight the Czarist rule. In this "mortal struggle," these dedicated young men and women tolerated no opposition or differences of opinion, propagated extreme hatred and pitilessness in dealing with all adversaries, organized assassinations, mutinies, strikes and mass risings, thus preparing the ground for the ascendancy of Bolshevism.

The Bolsheviks were a group of professional conspirators. In common with Messianic and power-oriented aims of all raznochintsy, the Bolsheviks endeavored to seize absolute and total power exclusively for themselves, by any and all means, as a way

1 [i.e. at undermining due to penetration of western influences -- Analyst]

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517 668 to bring about an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men on a global scale. Seeking to realize these bi-polar objectives, the Bolsheviks have inherited and reinforced the basic contradictions and conflicts between the aspirations of the rulers and those of the subjects which have throughout centuries undermined the stability of Czardom.

668 661 In their effort to perpetuate themselves in power, the Bolsheviks had to remain organized as a ruling elite of professional conspirators and to reinforce dominance-submission relationships in a system of total power concentrated in their hands. To maintain such a political rule, the Bolsheviks had to introduce a system of total dependence of all upon the holders of power and thus to reinforce the attitudes of self-effacement. They also established a planned system of social differentiation and isolation to prevent social intimacy and group solidarity and hence the potentiality of organized opposition to their rule.

668 771 In such conditions, feelings of rejection and traditional longings for an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men have been greatly strengthened among the subjects. It is this situation that points out the fundamental weakness of the Soviet system. To counteract the effects of this basic vulnerability of their regime, the Bolsheviks have endeavored to deify the Soviet rulers, have resorted to the damnation and anathema of the Western world, and have embarked on a propaganda campaign for a Messianic redemption of all suffering and exploited humanity. In this manner, the Bolsheviks have been able to appeal to supra-ethnical and supra-personal loyalties and to all-human longings, not unlike a universal church.

[208] The Bolsheviks have also endeavored to build up the morale of their subjects by means of prestige projects, by mythical undertakings, by mass pageantry, mass unanimous voting and large scale militarization. All these devices are conceived as ways to provoke emotional identification of the masses with the Soviet State and to find in this identification a substitute for their yearnings for a community of free and equal men.

642 665 Total dominance and total submission relationships which have to be maintained to perpetuate this conspiratorial system of power have introduced other basic strains and stresses in the

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ture was detrimental to the development of trade and industry. For centuries its economy remained founded on a system of primitive agriculture. Lack of large centers of trade and industry adversely affected rural economy. There was no stimulation for agricultural improvements and for freeing of the serfs. Instead, the emphasis was on the exploitation of serf labor as the most expedient means to satisfy the demands of the landlords and of the state. The landlords were mostly absent on military campaigns or other state duties and were generally disinterested in land improvements. At the same time the system of using the land as a pay for military or other state services, in a country whose war campaigns and military contingents were increasing, tended to diminish the size of the donations and increase the burdens imposed on the serfs.

The lack of urbanization, together with the low standard of education of the service nobility, kept also the intellectual development of Russia far behind that in the West. Intellectual activity was limited mainly to the court circles. The ideology and practices of the Russian Church favored intellectual stagnation. Russia accepted Christianity from Byzantium after the Greek Church had already given up classical traditions of Hellenism. By the time Byzantine Christianity entered Russia, Byzantine literature had assumed an almost exclusively ecclesiastical character, and education consisted almost entirely of religious teaching and the reading of the lives of the saints. Art, too, became exclusively religious and stereotyped. All thought was regimented according to religious dogmas and political objectives of the power-holders.

In Russia this type of intellectual rigidity and inactivity was emphasized because of the use of the Old-Slavonic language in the Church, which resulted in neglect of Greek language. And it was considered a sin to learn the "thrice accursed Latin tongue." Thus, the Russian clergymen became isolated from the West because they lacked the possession of the only instruments in which human knowledge was communicated in those days. Moreover, Russian Orthodoxy, like the Byzantine Orthodoxy, was based on monasticism. But unlike the manifold monastic practices of the Western Church, the monks in the Russian

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[Dobrolyubov]

humiliating treatment which Dobrolyubov experienced at the hands of his father. As a reaction to such a family situation, Dobrolyubov developed strong needs for emotional attachment and felt very disillusioned and deeply embittered when his need for dependency was frustrated. When he was sixteen years of age this "forerunner of Bolshevism" wrote in his diary:

> No matter how many attachments I had formed in the past, always the evil fate would whisk the beloved being far away from me; and in my soul remains only the sorrowful memory and bitter realization of my despair . . . I could never live without love, without attachment to someone. This has been so ever since I remember myself. But this constant irony of fate, which makes all my hopes and dreams usually crash into dirt, constantly hardens and chills my heart, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that soon it will be both hard and cold as stone.[5]

Later, apparently, Dobrolyubov found an outlet for his repressed hostilities, in his writings in which he tended to emphasize the dark sides of Russian society ("Realm of Darkness"). He joined that group of "Nihilists" who excelled in their philosophy of extreme individualism, who attacked the existing society and devised the ways to destroy "coldbloodedly" its very foundations, including the family. It was in this ideology of "Nihilism" that Russian Anarchism as well as Bolshevism have been rooted.

The demand for unlimited power as a means of compensation for humiliations and deprivations and as a means of satisfying craving for acceptance and support tends to perpetuate a political system which gives one a chance to indulge such needs through relationships of absolute dominance and unconditional submission and through destructive action. Such a social and political structure, in its own turn, tends to reinforce paternal despotism and absolute obedience in the family. In this manner, just as in the society of steppe marauders, power-seeking, mistrust and destructive aggression are perpetuated, become generalized and are manifested in many social relations.

On the folk level desire for power was manifested, for instance, in the customs connected with childbirth. On that occasion the midwife would place the child on a sheepskin coat or furcoat so

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12
IDENTIFICATION WITH SUFFERING AND DEMAND FOR ACCEPTANCE

I

WANT of affection and self-pity experienced by a rejected child could be generalized. Identification with a humiliated and suffering mother might foster or reinforce the same tendencies. As a result sympathy is extended to others who suffer and desire might be expressed or action may be taken to alter conditions which cause all human misery. These ideas and attitudes are then strengthened by those patterns of family relationships which stress responsibility of one for well-being and salvation of all and which favor group orientation and social solidarity.

Such family experiences might affect the whole life careers of some people. If these happen to be intellectual and political leaders, their emotional responses could have a significant influence on the course of the intellectual and political history of their countries. Thus, in Russia feelings of rejection and identification with those who suffer gave a strong emotional support to ideologies which sought a Messianic salvation of all suffering humanity.

A number of outstanding literary figures of Russia in the middle of the nineteenth century, such as Herzen, Belinsky, and Nekrasov, demonstrated in their writings a strong aversion for the existing social system in Russia, expressed irreverence for the old values, showed love of new and challenging ideas, and exhibited a remarkable fighting spirit of revolutionary character. At the same time, they all tended to idealize the Russian people, professed great love, enthusiasm and admiration for the common folk and felt a great compassion for the poor and the suffering everywhere. They believed that the main purpose of literature

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[Belinsky]
[Nekrasov]
[Herzen]

was to convey to the masses a social message. In their literary essays they stressed the social and political ills of Russia and believed in the Westernization of their country as a way out of its social and political difficulties.

It is reported that Belinsky grew up with the feeling of revolt against the despotism of his father who tyrannized the family. Nekrasov, "at the age of 17 . . . broke with his father whom he detested even as he idolized his mother" . . . And it was Nekrasov who in his writings showed an especially "great and unfeigned compassion for the poor and the suffering" and who "idealized and worshipped the Russian people,"[1] that is, the people who have been exposed to an age long misery. In a similar manner Herzen had generalized his childhood experiences and had transferred his reactions to all human kind. As a child he showed a strong reaction against his "inaccessible" father and a deep sympathy for all those whom his father abused:

> . . . the hushed voices and noiseless steps of the servants were no sign of devotion, but of repression and fear. All impulsiveness and frankness my father disliked and called familiarity; and all display of feeling passed with him for sentimentality. And when this proud old man, with his clear understanding and sincere contempt of mankind, played this part of a passionless judge, whom did he mean to impress by the performance: A woman whose will he had broken, though she never tried to oppose him; a boy whom his own treatment drove from mere naughtiness to positive disobedience; and a score of footmen whom he did not reckon as human beings! . . . Always on his guard, discontented with everyone, he suffered when he saw the feelings he inspired in every member of the household. Smiles died away and talk stopped whenever he came into the room. Stinging mockery and cool contemptuous irony were the weapons which he could wield with the skill of an artist, and he used them equally against us and against the servants. There are few things that a growing boy resents more; and, in fact, up to the time of my imprisonment I was on bad terms with my father and carried on a petty warfare against him, with the men and maids for my allies . . . did I deserve that he should preach even the truth in a manner so repulsive to the heart of youth? His intelligence, chilled by a long life spent in a corrupt society, made him suspicious of all the world; his feelings were not warm and did not crave for reconciliation; and therefore he remained at enmity

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absolute and unconditional liberty and denial of any laws, conventions or obligations.[2] Ideologies which sought universal salvation and identification with Christ's teaching (Dissent, Slavophilism) had their counterparts in the ideologies which demanded universal destruction and identification with anti-Christ (Nihilism, Terrorism).[3]

Among the intelligentsia a lack of a sense for methodical work, and lack of initiative were combined with preoccupation concerning grandiose and utopian plans on a world scale. There was a noticeable lack of preparation for these programs and a tendency to consider that having made plans was equal to their fulfillment. Such traits were so striking among some intelligentsia that they were given a special name (*Oblomovshtina*).[4]

It is known that a number of outstanding Russian intellectuals have shown a remarkable lack of emotional balance in their behavior. These would often move from one ideological camp into that of their bitter opponents. In ideological controversies no tolerance was shown for the opposite point of view. There was a tendency to treat all in the opposite camp as enemies. "Who is not with us is against us," was the principle applied in theory and practice. Some outstanding Russian intellectuals themselves admitted such traits in their character. Dostoyevsky, for instance, analyzing his own feelings stated: "In all things I go to the uttermost extremes; my life long I have never been acquainted with moderation." Not unlike this self-analysis of Dostoyevsky was that of Bakunin. In his "Confession to the Czar" he said: "There was in my character a radical defect: love for the fantastic, for out-of-the-way, unheard of adventures, for undertakings which open up an infinite horizon and whose end no man can foresee."[5]

According to General Golovine among the army officers there was a "tendency to drunkenness, churlishness and tyranny toward their subordinates," but there were also "many heroes among these negative types," and often a "regular officer showed such readiness to sacrifice himself that his superiors were forced to restrain his excessive ardor."[6] Lack of balance and stability was also reflected in the differences between military units. Often "next to a first class regiment there was another completely worthless."[7]

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Some Russian intellectual leaders and men of letters, such as Dobrolyubov, Ostrovsky, Herzen and Kropotkin were very much impressed by the effect which Russian family atmosphere had in shaping the personality of the Russian people, especially the intelligentsia. Herzen pointed out that in a family in which there was "much to hate and despise, and almost nothing to love and to respect," the psychological development was not full, but warped. In a similar manner Kropotkin explains that people who are brought up in families in which the personal relationships between children and their parents are based not on love and mutual respect but on fear and unconditional submission become both domineering and servile, as well as rebellious:

[861] A child's spirit is weak. It is so easy to coerce it by fear . . . They make the child timid, and they talk to him of the torments of hell. They conjur up before him the sufferings of the condemned, and vengeance of an implacable God . . . and by that habit of submission the thought of the next generation attains this religious twist, which is at once servile and authoritative; for authority and servility walk ever hand in hand. . . . Then the degradation of the ruler and of the judges, of the clergy and of the more or less comfortable classes becomes so revolting that the pendulum begins to swing the other way.[16]

The family environment, however, is itself an integral part of the society to which it belongs and is therefore interacting with it. Hence an understanding of the structure of the whole society, of the view of life, traditional culture and general orientation of its various strata, of the configuration of its interpersonal, institutional and power relationships is necessary in order to explain personality formation and peculiarities of behavior of a people.[17] It is in such a total context that also the direct and the indirect influences of physical environment or of any other "external" pressures might be correctly appraised.

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IV

Ideologies and Movements

14

REVOLT OF THE LAND-OWNING INTELLIGENTSIA (WESTERNISM AND SLAVOPHILISM)

I

IN CONSEQUENCE of the reforms of Peter the Great the dvorianstvo obtained hereditary rights on their lands. At the same time their service to the state ceased to be obligatory. But the traditions of this class consisted of warfare and ruling, not of land cultivation. Thus when this newly formed landed gentry did not have to serve the state, many of them became a leisure class of people who occupied themselves by visiting Western lands, cultivating Western languages and fine arts and studying Western political and social ideologies. Few among these people were inclined to retire to the country and dedicate themselves to the management of their estates. The result of such a trend of events was that a large part of this leisure class people Europeanized themselves and developed high educational and intellectual standards. And it was from this group of a well educated landed gentry who were losing their

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former role as main instruments of the Czar's power to a parvenu bureaucracy and military that leaders of first opposition movements were recruited.

Even before and during the French Revolution a number of Russian landed nobility became aware of the ideas of the Revolution. They were also becoming increasingly interested in constitutional forms of government in which they could take part in their own right, not depending upon the whims of a despotic monarch. Some of these people even became dissatisfied with serfdom because of its economic inefficiency. They were also becoming increasingly impatient with absolutism because of its oppressive and degrading aspects.

Such ideas and feelings penetrated the officers' corps and a number of this military intelligentsia organized themselves into a secret society and formulated a concrete program for constitutional changes.[1] Some of these people came from high nobility. Others, especially those from the South, were impoverished nobles living on meager officer's salaries. In December, 1825 these people attempted to seize power. However, owing to ideological differences and the traditional factional splits within the dvorianstvo, the attempt of this faction of military intelligentsia to gain power was thwarted.[2] Nevertheless, this uprising of the "Decembrists," though abortive, was the beginning of increasing revolutionary activities of the intelligentsia[3] which finally brought about the overthrow of the Czardom in the Revolution of 1917.

The revolt of the Decembrists was a sign that the Czardom had already gone through such changes in its social structure that a change in its political system was overdue. The most important change in this structure was the formation of a class which, for the first time in Russia's history, became economically independent of the Czar, and which, though economically idle and not always prosperous, became intellectually very alert and also very sensitive to Western ideas.

In accordance with the traditional behavior pattern of Russian nobility, their reactions to the conditions at home and to Western thought tended to develop in the direction of two opposite extremes. One was that of the "Westerners" who were

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inclined to take a defeatist attitude and who in their defeatism tended to acknowledge little in the achievements of Russia. They took a very negative attitude toward Russia's social and political system, demanded a break with Russia's past and wanted a thorough Westernization of the country.[4]

Another group of this landed gentry tended to idealize the values of the Old-Slavonic culture and those of the pre-Petrine, pre-bureaucratized, pre-secularized, and Holy Russia. These people, who were highly learned according to Western standards, were aware of many of the inadequacies and deficiencies of the Russia of their times. At the same time they feared the expansionistic designs of the West and the infiltration of Western thought, institutions and practices. They were extremely sensitive to the criticism of Russia and the Russian people prevalent in those days among Western scholars and other Western observers.

Apparently as a reaction to such a threat and criticisms, and perhaps also because seeking compensation for their wounded pride, these people resorted to a flight into Russia's past and projected an idealized image of former values of Russia and of Slav people into the future. They were inclined to criticize the political and social system which Peter the Great had introduced and in which he followed Western patterns; they demanded a return to pre-Petrine and Orthodox Russia reestablished in all its former glory. Such a visionary image of Russia enabled these well off landowning intelligentsia to see also themselves regaining the grandeur, the self-respect, the social prestige and the political power which they were rapidly losing to a parvenu military and bureaucratic hierarchy.

These people reacted aggressively against a challenging Western world by over-stressing what they thought were superior qualities of Slavs and superior values of Russian and Slav culture. It was in this manner that a romantic view of Slav folk society and of the Russian man was developed. These ideas left a strong imprint on literature, art, philosophy and political thinking both of the nineteenth and of the twentieth century Russia and became known as "Slavophilism."

Brought up in a patriarchal family system which had condi-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

tioned them to dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships, but yearning also for the Old-Slavonic anarchic and egalitarian justice, the "Slavophils" tended to idealize especially those institutions in which paternalistic, as well as equalitarian, relationships were well established, but which they saw distintegrating in new circumstances. Such was, for instance, the *mir* institution, according to their view.

According to the Slavophil interpretation, the old Russian and Slav community was founded on the principles of obedience, mutual responsibility, social justice and equality, Christian love and humility.[8] They asserted that the Russian land commune was the foundation of an original and highly satisfactory culture which was exempt from the vices of the Western civilization, untainted with proletarianization, pauperism, and the problem of wages. The mir was an institution in which man felt as an organic and integral part of his community. There was no uncertainty, no insecurity, and no frustrations in that social system since in it the values were absolute and unchallenged.[9]

The Slavophils idealized Russia's patriarchal relationships based on absolute and unchallenged values, on faith and on total fusion of man and community, as contrasted to Western individualism, cosmopolitanism, rationalism and skepticism. They contended that reason, if separated from faith, introduces doubts, splits and conflicts between man and his society. They stressed the organic totality and harmony of the Old-Slavonic and pre-Petrine Russian society in contrast to the materialism and class strife of the West.[7]

The old pre-Petrine order which the Slavophils idealized had greatly depended upon Church support and religious sanction for its perpetuation. The Slavophils therefore feared that Western liberalism which was beginning to penetrate Russia would undermine its religious foundation. As a defense against such demoralizing influences, the Slavophils pointed out that the Western world was rapidly disintegrating because of the spreading of free thought and because of the decline of the faith. The West was a prey to Roman heathenism, they said, and it was from this traditional anti-Christian spirit that revolutions, free thought, the papacy, and the Reformation had sprung.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

According to Slavophils the doom of the Western civilization was sealed when rationalism was allowed to destroy faith. It was then that the human spirit became divided against itself, which meant its disintegration. God and man, intuition and reason, beauty and truth are one, they claimed. As soon as man does not possess such a mystic unity with the absolute, he is plunged into skepticism and disbelief, his reason is separated from his soul and he becomes a "split man."

Owing to the organic totality of his body and soul, of his faith and reason, the Russian man possessed the "inner truth," which is the real truth, as against the "outer truth" or superficial truth of the Westerner, the Slavophils said. Therefore in contrast to the "split man" of the West, the Russian man was a "total man" (*vsechelovek*).[8] In this manner, the Russian man who has achieved his unity with God has achieved also the unity of his nation with God. The Russian nation is therefore a "God-bearing" nation (*Bogonosets*):

> . . . do you know who are the only 'god-bearing' people on earth, destined to regenerate and save the world in the name of a new God, and to whom are given the keys of life and of the new world . . . Do you know which is that people and what is its name?[9]

Aware that without strong religious feelings such a man and society could not exist, and fearing the decline of the old Orthodox-patriarchal values in a bureaucratized and secularized Russia, the Slavophils demanded a return to the old pre-Petrine theocratic system, one in which the Church would absorb the state. In accordance with such an ideology the Slavophils asserted that when the Church has absorbed the state, then the state will ascend and become a Church over the whole world, a Church kingdom ruling over all the earth which is the "glorious destiny ordained for the Orthodox Church."[10]

The Slavophils asserted that the political organization as developed in the West was a system of conquest and force. Being therefore an instrument of oppression, such a political organization was foreign to the Slavs and to the Russian people, and it should not be maintained.[11] In accordance with the anarchic and egalitarian traditions of the Old-Slavonic society, the Slavophils

6: Tomasic 3-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

claimed that the commune should be the main unit of social organization of mankind. In the commune, it was not force or external coerciveness, not the minority or majority rule, but the collective mind, the inner motivations, the principle of unanimity and organic totality that prevailed.[12] It is only by being completely rooted in his own community and completely identified with his own people that man can be creative and can reach all-human ideas, they said.

In such a society in which the state disappears in the Church and in which the commune becomes the basic unit of social organization, instead of external and formal law and authority imposed from above, emotional bonds of unity, self-discipline, informal egalitarian justice and charity will prevail.[13] It is only in such an integrated community which has been fused with the Church and in which the total and organic unity of all members is established that real freedom of the individual can be realized,[14] according to Slavophilism.

Slavophil ideas exerted considerable political influence in Russia and in the rest of the Slav world. Exposed to the growing pressure of imperial designs of Western powers, and embarked on a program of their own imperial expansion in the direction of the Mediterranean and the Pacific, some of Russia's political circles welcomed Slavophil ideas as an ideological justification of Russia's foreign policies. Thus the idea of protection of Orthodox and of Slav peoples,[15] the idea of defense of the Slavs against the encroachments of the Germans and the idea of uniqueness and superiority of Slav culture played an important role in a series of nationalist movements and wars in which Russia became involved since the middle of the nineteenth century.

According to this Pan-Slav movement Russia was the only Christian land, the world outside Russia was "the land of the anti-Christ," the "incorporation of Satan." Accordingly, struggle with the West was not only inevitable, but necessary and salutary, both for Russia and the rest of humankind. And the victory will be undoubtedly on the side of Russia.[16]

For the continuance of its organic life the world required a centre. This centre must be found in a single nation able to

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

lead the others. Russia was therefore predestined to fulfill this world mission. Hence the Pan-Slavs looked to Moscow, the ancient Russian capital, not the Westernized "City of Peter" (Petersburg) as the heart of Russia[17] and of mankind of the future—the Third Rome.

15
REVOLT OF THE RAZNOCHINTSY INTELLIGENTSIA (NIHILISM AND ANARCHISM)

I

BY THE second part of the nineteenth century, new changes were taking place in the economic relations as well as in the political and class structure of the Czardom. First of all, the process of disintegration of the old order under the impact of the industrialization and bureaucratization was rapidly coming to an end. Serfdom was abolished and with it there came the disastrous ruin of manorial estates which were not prepared to cope with the difficulties of a money and market economy. The result was that the number of impoverished and pauperized gentry was greatly increased.

At the same time the new laws tended to place emphasis on property. Thus, for instance, in the local assemblies of the noblemen the elective franchise was granted only to noblemen possessing a certain amount of land or a certain value of industrial establishment. This difference in civil rights according to the amount of property introduced a sharp cleavage into the gentry class. Earlier all dvorianstvo and all chinovnichestvo were considered equal in rights and had at least theoretically an equal chance to rise in power or to win the favor of the Czar. But now the new laws disfranchised and declassed a large part of the gentry. Similar laws favored the richer class among the merchants which meant that even in municipal affairs birth and education decreased in value in comparison with wealth.[1]

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668 647 701 554 In a similar manner revolt was brewing in the bureaucracy and the armed forces. In a system which was founded on the principles of absolute dominance, subservience and unconditional submission, it is to be expected that the civil service employees as well as many officers would be often exposed to caprice, arbitrariness and wrong doings on the part of their superiors. These, too, were left without possibility of redress as were the clergymen. Strong sense of rank and social distance were as marked in these strata as among the clergy.

871 565 The lay schools[1] were not much different in strictness and discipline from the priests' seminaries, and students in these schools were often as ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and as exposed to the rod and other degrading treatment. The student's parents, who were often impoverished gentry, petty chinovniks, or small traders with meager incomes and big families, were not always able to support their children throughout long years of schooling. At the same time in an economically and technologically [555] undeveloped society with strong traditions of service nobility, there was nothing that young people from such families could do but to enroll at a university or a military academy in order to obtain government office, or to engage in free learned professions. In Russian society of those days these were the only possibilities of obtaining positions of some prestige. Many of these students from impoverished strata had therefore to depend upon public or private munificence to finish their studies. Some of them became police informers to secure a meager income and to finish schooling. Many had to drop out of school because of lack of financial resources.

871 668 All Russian schools, therefore, on the middle as well as on the university level, became centers of revolt against an order which exposed them to humiliating treatment, but did not offer them opportunities in accordance with the established traditions of higher classes. Hence the higher the school, the more it was imbued with the revolutionary spirit. And the words "student" and "revolutionary" became synonymous.

517 647 641 When new laws were introduced and these ambitious and rebellious young men and women finally entered state service they found that in addition to being ill-treated and ill-paid, a

[1] [i.e. in the second half of the XIX th century — Analyst]

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large part of them were disfranchised as well, because in municipal self-government and in district and provincial assemblies even persons holding university degrees, if they did not own a sufficient amount of property, were devoid of the right of suffrage.[4] And it was this underprivileged group of declassee nobility, of priests' sons, of former clerics, of sons and daughters of lower government employees, of unemployed professionals, of students and of former students who never had a chance to finish their studies, that became known as the *raznochintsy*.

The raznochintsy intelligentsia tended to lead a bohemian life and to engage in literary activities and journalism. But these vocations were greatly limited because of strict censorship laws. When the bar was established some raznochintsy practiced law as barristers, though they were very restricted in their activities because of traditional extra legal practices of the police. When under local self-administration (*Zemstvo*), a health, educational, and economic program for the improvement of rural areas was developed, a number of raznochintsy were employed by the Zemstvo as physicians, veterinarians, agronomists, teachers and bookkeepers. At the same time, their traditions and training, and especially their ambitions and expectations had conditioned the raznochintsy for intellectual pursuits and political leadership, not for routine administrative work or for business promotion and enterprise.

In such a situation the deeply rooted feeling of rejection which had been developed on the family level was greatly magnified.[5] Accordingly, self-centeredness, power-seeking, lack of trust, destructive aggression, as well as identification with suffering which were developed on the family level were heightened in these circumstances and found expression in ideologies which manifested extreme hostility and an urge for universal destruction. Many of these young rebels, for instance, denied all existing social institutions, conventions and restrictions, and demanded their total obliteration.

This ideology of extreme negation and destruction ("Nihilism") manifested, perhaps, the feelings of utter despair of the ambitious and self-seeking raznochintsy who felt impotent before the God-like power of the Czar and his omnipotent police.

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Thwarted in their drive for power and political leadership, these young men and women gave vent to their feelings of deprivation in phantasies and plans of destruction and death.

Much of the sadness, tragic sarcasm, morbidity and preoccupation with death and suffering which dominated Russian literature in the second part of the nineteenth century reflects such moods of despair. The predominance of social and political themes in the literary creations of these people and the insistence of literary critics of those days on literary "realism," that is, that a work of art should be judged not by artistic and esthetic criteria but by its portrayal of existing life and its faithfulness to reality, especially the brutal and dark reality, manifested the same feelings.

Pisarev, describing this psychological reaction of impotence and the urge for destruction before seemingly uncontrollable forces, stated that when men "find it impossible to transform life, their anger at their own impotence makes itself felt in the sphere of thought, where the destructive work of criticism proceeds unceasingly."[6] That the basic drive behind this urge for negation and destruction was extreme self-seeking is witnessed by some other ideas of the same writer. "Every living being," said Pisarev, "is for himself the center and the meaning of the universe . . . his personal joys, vexations, aspirations, and cares, are more important than universal revolutions. . . ."

Starting with such premises, some of the Nihilists refused to recognize any regulation, any moral law, any principle, whether above, external, or within a person as being "absolute." The result was preaching of extreme materialism and individualism, and denial of all "absolute" ethics, of duty and of responsibility, of ideals and of social values.

II

In the meantime, however, the effects of European revolutions of 1848 and the defeats of the Russian armies in the Crimean War (1854–1856) led some of the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia to the belief that the Czarist system was not as invulnerable as generally accepted. These people proposed direct and organized action against the Czarist regime in order to raze it to

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the ground together with all its fundamental institutions. Such plans for direct action aimed at total destruction of the existing order were developed by the Anarchists ("Our task is terrible, total, inexorable, and universal destruction".)[7]

Not unlike the Slavophils and the Nihilists, the Anarchists revolted against the existing formal law which was abused for personal gains of those in power. Just as the Nihilists, the Anarchists revolted against the family institution whose sacredness in Russian society often veiled arbitrariness, cruelty, injustices, and humiliations imposed by the elders upon the weak and unprotected. Like the Slavophils and the Nihilists, the Anarchists revolted against private property, the official Church, and the state because these institutions in the Czardom joined hands in supporting the system of serfdom and bureaucratic regimentation. "The only revolution which can do any good to the people is that which destroys, from top to bottom, every idea of the state, overthrowing all traditions, social orders, and classes. . . ."[8]

The Anarchists demanded a return to an anarchic and equalitarian brotherhood that strongly reminds one of the Old-Slavonic world. But following the patriarchal and Czarist traditions of unconditional power and dominance, the Anarchists, just as the Nihilists, usurped for themselves the right to cheat, to steal, to lie, to destroy, and to kill, as a means to do away with "deceit, cunning, exploitation, depravity, vice," of the ruling classes. Said Kropotkin:

> I will be immoral to snap a weapon abused by religion; I will do it, were it only to protest against the hypocrisy imposed on us in the name of a word to which the name morality was given.[9]

"The revolutionary defines as moral only that which assists the revolution, and defines as immoral and criminal that which stands in his way," says the *Catechism of Revolution*. In the same manner, Kropotkin, speaking of the Russian terrorists who assassinated Czar Alexander II, said that "these men and women . . . had conquered the right to kill. . . . 'They have the right to steal' . . ."[10]

In order to be able to destroy, to cheat, and to kill the exploiters and the representatives of the government, it was neces-

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sary to know how to hate them. The Anarchists therefore undertook to find ways by which extreme hatred could best be promoted. This, they said, should be done first by arousing passionate and uncompromising love for equality and freedom and becoming ready to suffer and to sacrifice oneself for these ideas; then by instilling burning hatred and urge of destruction of those who stand in the path of these objectives. "The terrorist," said Stepniak, "is noble, terrible, irresistibly fascinating for he combines in himself two sublimities of human grandeur: the martyr and the hero."[11] Such a revolutionary will "not hesitate to destroy any position, any place, or any man in this world. He must hate everyone and everything with an equal hatred."[12]

Ambivalence of hatred and love and justification of violence for the sake of salvation of others had their roots in the family and were reinforced by conditions in the society at large. Identification with suffering, guilt feelings, desire for martyrdom and self destruction had the same roots and reinforcements. On the ideological level of Anarchism these feelings and attitudes were formulated into principles of thought and action:

> . . . we do not forego our own capacity to love what seems to us good and to hate what seems to us bad. Love and hate, for only those who know how to hate know how to love . . . We only ask one thing, e.c. to eliminate all that impedes the free development of those two feelings in the present society, all that perverts our judgment: the state, the church, exploitation; judges, priests, government, exploiters . . .[13]

But since the primary sources of this ideology and conduct were feelings of rejection, hate and killing took the upper hand over love. Accordingly the Anarchists demanded severance of the relations with the rest of the society and complete dedication to destruction. "The revolutionary has broken all ties with society." He "should have no . . . attachments, no property and no name. All these must be wholly absorbed in the single thought and the single passion for revolution."[14]

Detachment from the rest of the society promoted self-pity and therefore reinforced destructive aggressiveness both against the others and against the self. Renouncement of all ethical, moral or other consideration in dealing with adversaries, pitiless-

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ness and ruthlessness both toward themselves and toward those who were not with them became in this manner an integral part of the revolutionary movement in Russia.[15] On such foundations a "science of merciless destruction" was developed:

> The revolutionary is wholly dedicated. He must show no mercy to the State or towards the civilized classes of society; nor does he ask for mercy for himself. Between him and society there is waged a mortal war declared or concealed, a relentless and irreconcilable fight to the death. He must accustom himself to torture.
>
> Tyrannical towards himself, the revolutionary must be tyrannical towards others. All the emotions that move human beings, all the soft and enervating feelings of kinship, love, friendship, gratitude and honor, must give way to a cold and single-minded passion for revolution. For him there exists only one pleasure, one consolation, one reward, one satisfaction—the success of the revolution. Night and day he must have but one thought, but one aim—merciless destruction. Coldly, relentlessly, he pursues his aim, and he must be prepared to perish himself, as he must be prepared to destroy with his own hands those who stand in his way.[16]

A revolutionary organization engaged in a life and death struggle with the rest of society precluded any internal disagreement. Bakunin, for instance, conceived a secret organization with a disciplined membership, a system of strict control of its members, and a rigidly centralized authority vested in one man only. Bakunin's secret society was to consist of three separate and independent groups which would function under different names and would be unacquainted with one another. Each one of these three groups was to operate in a different stratum of society. But each group was to be subject to a rigid hierarchy of power and each member of the group subjected to unconditional obedience to his superiors.

These secret societies were to be limited to a small number of people and were to include, as far as possible, only able, experienced, energetic, and influential men, professional conspirators, who, in strict obedience to a central control would lead the masses. All three secret societies were to be coordinated by a central committee which would have consisted of Bakunin and of three or four other members selected by him. Bakunin wanted

By the end of that century[1] a faction of Russian radical intelligentsia fused the Russian Narodnik and Anarchist ideologies and practices with those of Western Socialism and formed the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries. The program of this Party was agrarian socialism and terrorism. They published leaflets and manifestos, and spread their ideas in the villages. The Socialist Revolutionaries preached open violence as a means of overthrowing the Czarist regime. They relied on the peasantry to start uprisings against the landlords and government officials, and to commit individual acts of terror to achieve their ends. Just as earlier, the Anarchists and Terrorists, the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, had a separate organization which specialized in perpetrating acts of terror:

> Where the lash and the whip are, there are also the bomb and the revolver! So has it been, so is it now, and so shall it be. When public indignation and hate become centered upon an agent of the regime whether he be placed high or low; when that agent becomes a symbol of violence and despotism; when his activity becomes harmful to the commonweal; when no means are available to render him harmless and his continued existence represents an affront to the social conscience, then is the door open to terror in the executor of the sentence pressed from the hearts of public-minded citizens.[7]

The terroristic organization of the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries enjoyed complete autonomy within the Party. It had its own sources of revenue and was independent in selection of prospective victims. In the course of a few years of its existence it perpetrated more than two hundred acts of terror. Most of these consisted of assassinations or of attempted assassinations of highly placed officials of the government, including a member of the Imperial Family, two Ministers of Interior, thirty-nine governors, seventy-four ranking officers of the army and the navy, and fifty-two high police officials. Seventy percent of these acts of terror were perpetrated by workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors.[8]

The Socialist Revolutionaries relied mainly on middle and poor peasant strata. They attempted to widen the gap between the better-off and the poor, to set up the lowest strata against the upper, to stir class hatred against the kulaks. In their manifestos, leaflets, and speeches, the Socialist Revolutionaries harangued

[1] [i.e. 19th century — Analyst]

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self. And after the army which Czar Nicholas personally commanded in 1917 had suffered defeats at the hands of the enemies, and the chiefs of the armed forces suggested to the Czar that he should resign, he realized that his prestige had fallen and his authority gone. As out of spite he abdicated not only for himself but for his heirs as well. And as it has already happened in Russia's past, when the central authority suffered defeat and loss of prestige, all seething internal forces of revolt, relieved of the controls that kept them under check, burst out in violent eruptions. In such circumstances everybody deserted the Czar, even the Orthodox Church:

> Even the Orthodox Clergy, that class that had been an integrated part of the Czarist system deserted the Czar in the hour of his doom. Showing as much lack of a sense of proportion as the other classes of Russian society the official hierarchy went as far as to pass a decision according to which all lines containing the word "king" in the Psalms of David were to be deleted.[13]

III

All these circumstances, combined with the extreme factionalism within the intelligentsia, greatly facilitated the seizure of the power by the Bolsheviks. All the four national *Dumas* which were convoked since 1905 were composed predominantly of the intelligentsia and semi-intelligentsia. The same situation existed in the leading circles of all political parties.[14] But in each party, self-centeredness and lust for power led the intelligentsia into constant bickering among themselves and neverending fighting for leadership, a situation that manifested itself in numerous party splits.

It was only in the Bolshevik Party that the Party's Central Committee was well disciplined and unified under one leader who had absolutist and dictatorial powers. This situtation spared the Party too many splits. This Bolshevik system favored the reduction of Party leadership to a rather small number of intellectuals who relied on the semi-intelligentsia and industrial workers in local Party work. It was this dictatorial, centralistic and "aristocratic" organization of the Bolsheviks, as well as the extreme ruthlessness and aggressiveness of its leaders and fanat-

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565 icism of its rank and file, that gave this Party an advantage over
517 its main rival for power, the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, in the chaotic days of 1917.

727 Just as it had happened in the past, a weakening of the prestige
669 of the ruling classes as a result of defeats on the battlefield led
565 to peasant uprisings. Almost immediately after the Czar's abdication, that is, in March, 1917, peasant rebellions arose in 34 districts and by June spread to 325 districts. The distrubances were again especially intensive in the upper Don and in the middle Volga, the regions where the tradition of revolt was strong and the situation for revolt matured owing to unsatisfactory conditions within the land communes.

665 The chaos that ensued in the village was emphasized by fac-
669 tional strife and indecision in the center. As a result of the fall of the old Czarist regime, the two most extreme revolutionary parties, the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Bolsheviks, entered into a contest for power. While the Socialist Revolutionaries controlled the Provisional Government (since May, 1917), the Bolsheviks did everything to undermine their regime and to seize the power for themselves. In the question of rural policies, the government of Socialist Revolutionaries attempted to stop the outbreaks of lawlessness and disorder in the villages by promising an equitable solution of all rural problems on the basis of laws that were to be passed by a Constitutional Assembly.

[425] But the Bolsheviks counteracted such policies by inciting the peasants to seize the lands at once. The Bolsheviks also deliber-
[565] ately sharpened the existing social cleavages in the villages by inciting the lower peasant strata against the upper. The Bolshevised soldiers, on leave or deserting the front, pushed more moderate elements into the background and led the peasant mobs not only against the landlords, but also against the more prosperous peasant classes. Hence, attacks on *Khutoryane* (hereditary peasant homestead owners) and *otrubniki* (peasant individual property owners) were as frequent as those against the manorial estates.

Many soldiers deserted the front because the Bolshevik agitators told them that the land was being distributed back home and that those who were present would get the choice grounds. The government, controlled by the Socialist Revolutionaries,

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much possibility for self-expression, creativeness and personal satisfaction.[24]

On the other hand an atmosphere of domineering and vigilantism offers a great opportunity for advance to the fanatic Party member as well as to the ambitious and unscrupulous careerist within the labor ranks, and the ranks of technicians and engineers. Even among those managers and foremen who might otherwise have different inclinations, the need to maintain their positions often forces them towards a policy of vigilantism, cynicism and oppressive labor driving.

22
INSTRUMENTS OF POLITICAL CONFORMITY

I

THE SYSTEM of dominance, based on economic dependence, social isolation and lack of trust, which has enabled the Bolsheviks to monopolize all social power, has helped them also to force the intellectual strata into unconditional submission to the will of the ruling minority. Just as the land has been collectivized and industrial production governmentalized to make the peasants and the industrial labor dependent upon the Party, so all sources of income in the intellectual fields have been monopolized by the Party-state to make the intellectuals completely dependent for their lives and livelihoods upon the ruling faction of the Bolsheviks. The office tenure of this new service nobility has been conditioned upon their blind submission to the rulers in the Kremlin, just like in the days of the old dvorianstvo.

The educated strata are of a special strategic importance from the point of view of self-perpetuation of the Bolsheviks in power, because it is these strata that provide ideological and political leadership and Party cadres. The party has endeavored therefore to make the intelligentsia even more socially split and dependent

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upon the regime than the peasantry and industrial labor. The objective of this policy has been to prevent among the intelligentsia formation of an *esprit de corps* and opposition to Bolshevik rule, and to command the services and unquestionable obedience of every educated man. These are the political foundations of the growing and deliberately fostered stress on rank and distinction, on social differentiation, sense of superiority and inferiority, absolute superordination and blind subordination.

In the upper strata, much more so than in the lower classes, the process of hierarchal and functional differentiation is fostered and maintained not only by means of specialization of work and differences in rank, but also by means of sharply differentiated income, and by means of differential distribution of spoils, and of privileges. This sharp stratification of Soviet society, rooted in the traditions of the Czardom, in its own turn promotes power-seeking and domineering, dependency and subservience, as well as lack of social intimacy and lack of trust.

The highest privileges in the Soviet society are accruing to the top ruling faction of professional conspirators. But this group is itself internally sharply differentiated. It is headed by the Party Leader (*Vozhd*), and is divided into a number of policy making bodies, among which the Political Bureau (Politburo), now to be known as the Presidium,[1] is of foremost importance. Though the members of the Presidium and of other top policy making bodies, such as the Secretariat, are formally appointed by the Central Committee of the Party, they are *de facto* selected by the supreme leader and therefore depend upon him for their position. Such a situation fosters bickering among top ranking officials in their mutual struggle to win the favors of the head man, which in turn enables the supreme Party leader to play one faction of his camarilla against the other one or—not unlike in the days of the Czars—to select a more intimate inner circle of a few most trusted persons on whom to rely for advice and help. These then assist the leader in selecting and in eliminating the members of the top ranking hierarchy, according to expediency and circumstances.

This highly concentrated power structure is supported by a

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They believe that politics is the business of the government, the business of the Central Committee, and as for the writers that their business is not to interest themselves in politics. They believe that if a man wrote well, artistically, and beautifully, one should let it go, in spite of the rotten passages which disorientate our youth and poison it. We demand that our comrades, both the supervisors of literature and the writers themselves must be guided by something without which the Soviet regime cannot exist, and that is politics. Lenin wrote: "Literature must become Party-minded . . . Against bourgeois literary careerism and individualism . . . socialist proletariat must put forward the principle of party literature . . ." Comrade Stalin described our literati as the engineers of human souls. It is necessary therefore that our literature, our literary magazines, . . . should help the Party and the people to educate the youth in the spirit of supreme devotion to the Soviet regime . . .[16]

Special attention is paid in this respect to dramatic art because of its popularity and effect. It is stated therefore that "a playwright must be a politician" and that the producer and actor must be "politicians" of the same stature. Appointment of a group of actors for a Soviet play "is a political question for the producer . . . and how the hero must be played in a Soviet play is a political question for the actor."[17] In the same manner in painting, sculpture and music the Party demands "Soviet realism" which means that the artists and the musicians must have recourse to "topical themes and images of contemporary Soviet reality" and must discard "formalistic trickery and subjectivist insularity."[18]

Accordingly any alien, especially Western, influence on Soviet thinking must be completely eliminated. Western philosophy of liberalism and free individual expression could undermine Bolshevik endeavors to create a completely regimented and submissive "new man." Hence a crusade against "cosmopolitanism, objectivism and other manifestations of bourgeois ideology"[19] has been initiated together with the severance of all closer contacts of Soviet intellectuals with the Western world.[20]

Such policies of complete subordination of one's thoughts, feelings and behavior to the needs of the Party demand not only strict censorship of all published matter[21] but dictate even the use of statistics to suit the objectives of the ruling class. A ruling

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There is also a deliberate policy on the part of the ruling class
177 626 609 to prevent personal contact and exchange of ideas between the Soviet subjects and the foreigners. In this way the Bolshevik Party is performing the same role in the social and psychological development of Russia as the Orthodox Church has done in the past. Xenophobia and a deliberate avoidance of strangers easily develops in such circumstances, traits which have been noticed by all the observers of Soviet society. Xenophobia is so outstanding in the Soviet world that it has been noticed even by the most casual and most friendly visitors. Soviet authorities have done their best to encourage this feeling. "We were completely cut off [625] from the great bulk of the Russian people by constant police surveillance, by propaganda and by the threat of punishment."[7] "The air itself was clothed with hate and suspicion . . . penetrated even to the child world. . . . Our next door neighbours, too, were grilled, and though we had known them for years, they took to avoiding us utterly."[8] As a rule, only police informers are assigned to foreigners as servants because everyone else is afraid to work for them.

517 647 In such conditions original ideas and independent intellectual pursuits are fraught with great risks and it is often the less original, the mediocre, the cynical, the shrewd and the unscrupulous that take the lead. Some independent and creative people in such circumstances tend to become apathetic, to withdraw, to sever social contacts and put an end to their creative activities.[9] Others tend to seek safety in bureaucratic routine and in avoidance of initiative and responsibility. For each decision they tend to cover themselves by presenting the matter to various committees, or by seeking the Party's advice, thus letting others shoulder the responsibility.

517 665 The social consequences of such a development are then manifested in a pronounced anti-intellectualism, bureaucratism and vigilantism. The ascendancy of anti-intellectualistic and watchdog trends in Soviet society is well expressed, for instance, in the change in the composition of the membership of the Politbure. In this topmost ruling body the more intellectual types of revolutionaries have been gradually purged and replaced by the activists, the semi-educated professional conspirators, Party organizers, agitators and former security officials.

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The trend toward pauperization of the intellect which develops in such a society will be emphasized the more when that society is bent upon increasing war preparedness. In such a case, particularly when faced with low labor productivity, the ruling faction will need to mobilize all available intellectual resources for its political and for its military objectives; basic research and many fields of knowledge not directly related to such objectives will have to be neglected and might even be completely paralyzed.

But dogmatism and lack of free criticism, anti-intellectualism and vigilantism lead to stagnation not only in the fields of theory, basic research, and art, but also in the fields of applied science, including political and military affairs. Even if industry, state administration and military science could conceivably make substantial advance on the basis of regimented, conscripted, and convict labor, they must be constantly fed with new ideas and inventions both in the field of technology, and in the field of organization to keep pace with the industrial and military development in the free enterprise countries which are looked upon as potential enemies.

The Bolshevik rulers are well aware of this problem. In Soviet publications it is often pointed out that various scientific institutes established to develop applied science in the field of industry and agriculture do not fulfill their plans, fail to assure proper cooperation, work on "secondary problems" and neglect questions of "vital importance." High cash prizes known as Stalin Premiums have been offered each year to stimulate the work on such problems of "vital importance." Nevertheless the Bolsheviks had to a great extent to rely on acquiring essential blueprints from abroad either by purchase or by intelligence.

In Czarist Russia a certain degree of criticism in civil and military matters was allowed while a considerable degree of criticism existed in philosophical, literary, and historical fields. The all-powerful Czarist bureaucracy was often very anxious to accept the ideas put forward by the opposition. Many reforms in the Czarist administration in the direction of liberalism and democratization originated in the leading minds of the opposition. The opposition was often able to express their views in

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newspapers, books, and pamphlets, some of which were printed abroad and circulated freely though often clandestinely among the leading circles of the Empire.

The ruling circles of the Bolshevik Party themselves were always aware that without criticism intellectual stagnation, lack of creative initiative, and bureaucratism would set in. But they could not afford to allow complete freedom of thought and of expression which might eventually undermine their own power. As a result the Bolsheviks introduced a system of "criticism and self-criticism," known as *samokritika*.

According to this practice it is the duty of every Soviet subject to criticize his own work and the work of others in his shop or office as a means of stimulating alertness, initiative, and hard work, and as a way to correct errors. But among the officials who closely watch each other's activities, each hoping to rise on the cadaver of the other, samokritika is often used as a means of intrigue and ruin in jockeying and struggling for ranks, positions, and power. Samokritika therefore has developed into a weapon employed to detect the ideological deviations and diversions and to criticize any lack of sufficiently positive attitude toward the "Party line." In this manner "self-criticism" in the Soviet Union has become another instrument of regimentation and means to increase conformity.

Samokritika is also employed by the ruling circles to manipulate hostilities generated by the Soviet system and to direct them away from themselves and against the managers and bureaucrats located mostly on the lower levels of the Soviet social pyramid. These people conveniently function as scapegoats. It is such people who, together with a sprinkling from the higher echelons, are periodically offered as sacrifice and "purged" or "liquidated." Samokritika is therefore employed also as a check against abuses of power, though mostly on the local level.

In an atmosphere of complete dependence upon and subordination to an overwhelming and infallible power which instils fear and awe, the slightest deviation from the line of thought and emotions as laid down by that distant and inscrutable force might easily provoke anxieties, and a strong sense of guilt. In circumstances in which one feels isolated and without support,

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dissenters, in the civil wars as well as in the struggle between the Czarist police and the revolutionary intelligentsia; it was even formulated as an ideology and became a credo of Anarchism.

In the Bolshevik ideology this anti-humanism is justified by representing the "enemies" as not being human beings. Just as in the folk attitudes toward enemy aliens, the oppositionists and the adversaries, actual and potential, real and imaginary, are identified in Bolshevik writings with "gnats," "insects," "reptiles," "dogs," "wild beasts," and "beasts of prey." It is by such ways of reasoning that the Soviet pedagogists have come to the assertion that indoctrination of the people with "burning hatred" of the enemy does not contradict the ideas of humanism, because, they claim, the ideas of humanism and humane feelings do not apply to beasts. In this manner even acts of cruelty toward the "enemies" are condoned and encouraged:

> Hatred of the enemies of the socialist Motherland by no means contradicts the principles of humanism, since it is devoted to the protection of the rights and liberty of the worker from the designs of beasts of prey.[24]

The need for such an appeal to extreme animosities against the adversaries is in itself an indication of instability of the Bolshevik system. The ruling faction had to resort to such a means in order to promote complete identification with and fanatical devotion to the Cause and to the Leader. Here, however, we see a noticeable difference between the Czardom and the Soviet Russia. Though the Czarist system often exhibited aspects of extreme ruthlessness, the whole ideological and intellectual development of the Czarist Russia, especially in the last century of its existence, was in the direction of increasing Westernization and humanization. This trend coincided with certain gains in the field of personal, economic, and cultural freedoms in the Czardom.

As a result terrorism and acts of violence, though widely practiced, were not openly advocated as official Czarist policy. Many moderate and conservative factions of the intelligentsia strongly denounced all acts of terror performed either by the government or under the auspices of the revolutionary intelligentsia. One

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A Note on Russian Folk-Music.

517 "To husband and wife it (song) suggests many a form of loving words, and teaches them how, with croons about the evil Tartars of olden days, to lull their babies to sleep and to soothe restlessness of their elder children. Song lightens the toil of the working hours, whether carried on out of doors, amid exposure to sun and wind, and rain and frost, or within the stifling hut, by the feeble light of a pine wood splinter; it enlivens the repose of the holiday, giving animation to the choral dance by day and the social gathering at night. The younger generation grows up, and song escorts the conscript son to the army, the wedded daughter to her new home, and mourners over the sorrow of the parents of whom their children have taken what may be a last farewell. Then comes the final scene of all, and when the tired eyes are closed forever, and the weary hands are crossed in peace, song hovers around the silent form, and addresses to its heedless ears passionate words of loving entreaty. Nor does its ministering stop even then, for, as each returning spring brings back the memory of the past, together with fresh hopes for the future, song rises again above the graves of the departed, as, after the fashion of their pagan ancestors, the villagers celebrate their yearly memorial of the dead."

IT IS thus that Ralston describes the part which the people's songs play in the social and domestic economy of the Russians. In his words there is nothing of extravagance or hyperbole. Each of the incidents mentioned is to be understood as an episode of great significance in the regular cycle of Russian family life. Music accompanies these people literally, not only from the cradle to the grave, but beyond the grave, being a leading feature in certain post-burial ceremonies which have survived from a period earlier than the introduction of Christianity in the empire.

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in that family, the new circumstances call for more leniency and more intimacy on his part toward his wife and his children. The mother at the same time, because now closer to her husband, is in no need to become over-attached to her children. Such well-balanced family relations come to closely resemble those in the Old-Slavonic family.

It is the children with such close family ties in an emotionally balanced family atmosphere that develop traits of moderation, self-control, responsibility, group orientation and humane feelings. It is in such families that patriotism, idealization of the past and longing for a more humane and more equalitarian political system are nursed.[28] In such families skepticism concerning Bolshevik mythology and opposition to Soviet system may be safely expressed. In such families also religion is cultivated or secretly practiced.[29] In such families apparently numerous anecdotes which ridicule Soviet regime circulate and are spread throughout the Soviet Union.[30] It is to break such family intimacy and solidarity which breed opposition to their regime that the Bolsheviks have shown increasing concern for the control of family relations.

But if the opposition to the Bolshevik regime centers in such families of patriots and humanists, the fate of the Soviet system might rest upon them, in the final analysis. These people might be reluctant to support a Soviet war of aggression led by careerists and fanatics, but ready to defend their Mother Country in the event of hostile aggression from the outside. However, in a war against the Soviet Union which the patriots and the humanists would interpret as a war of liberation from the oppressive, inhuman and destructive policies of Soviet rulers, they might be inclined to take the side of the invading liberators. Inasmuch as such people already find themselves at the fringes of Soviet power structure as specialists and experts in economic management and government administration, in times of crisis the shift of power to these people could easily take place.

Such a trend of development will be even more emphasized among the oppressed, but nationally-conscious minorities, than among the dominant Great-Russians. Millions of Soviet subjects who willingly gave themselves up to the German invaders and

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May the right shine in our country, Glory!
Brighter than the sun, Glory!
May his treasure chest, Glory!
Always be full of gold, Glory!
May his glory descend, Glory!
By the great rivers to the sea, Glory!
And by the creeks to the flouring mill, Glory!
This song we sing to the bread, Glory!
And we offer praise to the loaf, Glory!
As a solace to the old people, Glory!
And for the public to hear, Glory!

This song has been utilized by Beethoven in his op. 59, Rasoumovsky Quartet in F.

*By *prince* and *princess* are meant in this song, the newly married people.

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21. THE SOWING OF THE MILLET.

(*A mi prosso Ssegali.*)

[776]

This song is at least a thousand years old and dates from the heathen times of Russia, as the invocation of Lado, the deity of the Spring testifies. It typifies the custom of obtaining the bride by purchase.

The first chorus begins:

We have sown, we have sown millet,
Oy, Did-Lado, we have sown,

to which the other replies:

But we will trample it, trample it,
Oy, Did-Lado, will trample it.

Then the two choruses sing alternately:

1. But with what will you trample it?
2. Horses will we turn into it.
1. But we will catch the horses.
2. What will you catch them with?
1. With a silken rein.
2. But we will ransom the horses.
1. What will you ransom them with?

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2. We will give a hundred roubles.
1. A thousand is not what we want.
2. What is then you want?
1. What we want is a maiden.

On this, one of the girls in the second choir goes over to the first, the two sides singing, respectively "Our band has lost," and "Our band has gained." The game lasts until all the girls have gone from one side to the other. Of course in the concerts the action is abridged.

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22. WHAT DUST IS THAT ON THE ROAD.

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(*Chto vo pole pilno.*)

Dear Mother, what is that dust on the road?
Beloved, what dust is that on the road?
My child, the horses are playing and running about,
My sweet child, the horses are playing and running about.

Dear mother, visitors are entering the yard,
Beloved, visitors are entering the yard!
My child, fear not, I shall not give you up,
My sweet one, fear not and be not scared.

Dear mother, the guests are mounting the porch,
Beloved, the guests are mounting the porch!
My child, fear not, I shall not give you up,
My sweet one, fear not, I'll not let you go.

Dear mother, they are entering the front room,
Beloved, they are entering the front room!
My child, fear not, I shall not give you up,
My sweet one, fear not, I'll not turn you away.

Dear mother, they are sitting down at the table,
Beloved, they are sitting down at the table!
My child, fear not, I'll not give you up,
My sweet one, fear not, I shall not give you away.

Dear Mother, they are taking down the holy image,
Beloved, they are blessing me with the holy image!
My child, the Lord be with you,
My sweet one, the Lord be with you!

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HOLIDAY IN A RUSSIAN VILLAGE.

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his power over others, so unshakable is his belief in his own sovereignty. . . . There is tremendous strength in *Boris Godunov*, the part I would sooner play than any of the others of my repertory. Here again the Russian temperament is overwhelmingly manifest in the seditious license of the boyars, as it is in the boundless autocracy of Ivan the Terrible. It appears also in the lawlessness and drunkenness of Prince Galitski, one of the chief characters of Borodin's admirable opera *Prince Igor*. Galitski's excesses are as extreme as his cynicism.[9]

Some observers of Great-Russian music find in it traits similar to those of Great-Russian belles-lettres. According to Leroy-Beaulieu the Great-Russian music shows an "alternation between extreme emotionality and extreme peacefulness."[10] And according to General Golovine this music is a "combination of the vague and salient softness and harshness of sound, deep sorrow and uncontrolled gaiety, dreams and drama, restlessness and calm . . ."[11] Golovine specifically referred to the music of Glinka, Chaikovsky, Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakoff, and Rachmaninoff.

Extremes of self-aggrandizement followed by self-maceration, murder followed by tears, is noticeable also in the Russian folk psychology. The Great-Russian folk songs, for instance, are often full of cruelty, but are also heart-breaking and plaintive, full of sadness, melancholy and tragedy, sung in minor key. In folk tales and folk songs about Stenka Razin, this robber-bandit is represented both as magnanimous and cruel, as savage and pitiful. He revolted against those in authority, but rallied the poor and rebellious beneath his banner. At the same time he himself showed traits of barbarism and of self-laceration. One of the popular Russian folk songs, tells us, for instance, how once Stenka, "drunk with wine and mirth together," lifted the Persian Princess, his beloved "new-vow bride," over the side of his barque and flung her "forth into the hungry deep" of the Volga, as "a gift from a Cossack of the Don." Stenka acted in such a violent manner because some of his comrades had scornfully reproached him that in his affection to his bride he behaved like a *baba* (woman).

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A number of interpretations are offered for such behavior.[12] Most of these explanations are either "geografic" or "cultural-

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attention of the world as if through the magic of an irresitible charm. 114

We are, however, concerned directly with Russian art only in so far as it reflects those primitive impulses which give it character and individuality. These things are the very soul of the people's songs, and the customs of which those songs are an integral element. It was a happy idea to bring the marriage customs of these people on the stage and thus to give us a beautiful object lesson in the scientific study of which I have spoken. Books, paintings and musical performances have done much to make us understand Russian thought and feeling, but nothing could be devised to vitalize this understanding better than a dramatic representation of the chief incidents of the wooing and wedding as they have existed from time immemorial. The antiquity of the ceremonial observances is indicated in the relics of savagery which they contain—the obvious modification of marriage by theft or capture and marriage by purchase. The subservience of wife is characteristic of the patriarchal system still prevalent; but there are not wanting suggestions of a much earlier system when descent was traced in the female line and the husband became a member of the family, or gena, of his wife. 121

But it is not my purpose to dwell on this, to which reference will be found hereafter in the description of the wedding ceremony. I am more directly concerned with the music of the songs which occur in the course of the ceremony. The predominant note of Russian music is profound melancholy. This is true even of songs with which the maiden friends of the bride beguile their labors during the *devitchink* at which the wedding garments are prepared. As a rule climatic and geopraphical conditions explain the prevalence of the major or minor mode in folk-music. Thus the music of all Europe above the southern line of the North Sea is predominantly minor. South of that line it is major except in Russia. Even in the Oukraina the melancholy mode prevails. It is obvious, therefore, that the question is not distinctly one of latitude, but of the consequences of latitude. Suffering is a familiar idea to people living in the cold, gloomy and rugged northland; and the symbol of suffering in 633

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533 music is the minor mode. But suffering from climatic and geographical conditions has its analogues in suffering produced by other causes, and this fact sufficiently accounts for the melancholy burden of the songs of the Russians who live in the sunlight of nature's smiles. A special cause of the mournfulness of the songs of the *devitchink*, moreover lies in the circumstance that once they dealt with things which were in themselves mournful. Formerly marriage, to the maiden, meant being sold or given into involuntary servitude. She was not consulted about the match, which implied not only permanent separation from parents and friends, but also possible ill-treatment by her husband and his family against which there was no sure safeguard but death. In the *Lootschina*, sung in the first scene of "A Russian Peasant Wedding," one of the most beautiful as it also is one of the most truthfully expressive of Russian folk songs, one may hear the voice of suffering caused by the persecutions of the Russian mother-in-law. "It is sad and joyful on a quiet summer's night," says Tolstoi, "in the midst of a wordless forest, to hear the wide-sweeping song of the Russians. In it is yearning without end, without hope, also power invincible, also the fateful stamp of destiny, iron preordination, one of the fundamental principles of our nationalty with which it is possible to explain much that in Russian life seems incomprehensible. And what, besides, may not be heard in that drawling song in the summer night and the silent forest? . . . We are like the sharp arrow; it flies from the string, where the hard point pierces there is its home. . .. . Clouds concealed the moon, the wind shook the tops of the linden trees, and scattered blossoms in an odorous rain on the prince and on Yelena. The old branches trembled, as if wishing to say, 'For whom do we blossom, for whom do we blow?'"

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Along with the gloom of the folk-music of Russia, however, we find a boisterous humor—the humor which whirls us off our feet in the *scherzos* and *finales* of the Russian symphonists. The phenomenon is startling but not inexplicable. The most profoundly melancholy composers that have ever lived have also been the maddest ones. So under the conditions of their life the

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music of the peasants of Russia, swings from the one extreme of deepest melancholy to the other of desperate and reckless hilarity. This tone has capital expression in the dance song *Kamarinskaya*, which Glinka made famous the world over by his admirable orchestral fantasia. 533

Out of the communal village system which prevails in Russia has probably grown two peculiarities which distinguishes Russian folk-song from that of all other peoples. It is always sung in harmony and it is frequently antiphonal between solo and chorus. The structure of the harmonic fabric is unique, moreover, in that it is polyphonous. The harmony, which seems to lie in the consciousness of the singers, is not highly developed in respect of variety, but occasionally effects of singular power and charm result from the method which has been adopted for the purpose of securing the desired polyphony. The harmony voices are improvised and the basis of the improvizations is free imitation of the melody.

H. E. KREHBIEL.

New York, September 20, 1893.

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SONGS OF GREAT RUSSIA.

A. KHOROVOD SONGS.

(CHORAL DANCE.)

539

1. THE AUTUMN NIGHT.

(*Notchka.*)

Oh, thou dark autumn night,
Thou dark night, and not the last one.
A young and sorrowful maiden,
Here I sit and wait all alone,
I lie down, feeling lonesome ;—
Sorrow and worry overcome me,
Worry about my dear lover.
My lover lives far away,
On the other side of the river.
My dear one walks on the other side,
And waves his right hand to me,
With his black hat in the hand.
"Come over," says he, "to this side!"
I would like to come, but I find no ford ;
I found a crossing, but it is over a pole,
And that pole is thin and the creek is deep,
And the water is so awfully cold in it.

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The musical construction of this song is based on the principle of *imitation*, which denotes the repetition of the principal melody in harmonic variations, for the secondary voices. The tune is very simple, consisting of a descending scale of notes, in groups of four, and the different voices are beautifully interwoven. The effect is very characteristic and fine.

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2. DUCKY DARLING.

(*Outitza.*)

Oh, ducky, my darling,
Down by the meadow,
My own young one,
Where have you been?
Where did you stay?
Last night, in the woods,
By the willow trees,
Under the raspberry bush,
There saw I pass,
Two bold young men,
Not married yet.
They each had a knife,
They cut shoots off the willows
And made whistles of them.
Oh, whistles, blow not so loud,
Wake not my father dear.
Do not disturb my mother,
Who is over the river,
Brewing beer for the son-in-law.

The principle of *imitation* is also very strongly carried out in the melody of this song, so as to make each part of it important. [533]

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3. THE GREEN FOREST.

(*Zelionaya rostcha.*)

The green forest roared the whole life-long night,
And I, poor young maiden, did not shut an eye;
I dreamt not, I slept not, I sat up and spun;
And while I was spinning, so lazy I felt—
I felt very tired, with grief overcome.
I had been invited to come to a feast,
To come to a wedding, my false lover's own.
My lover was handsome, so curly and fair,
The horse that he mounted went proudly along.

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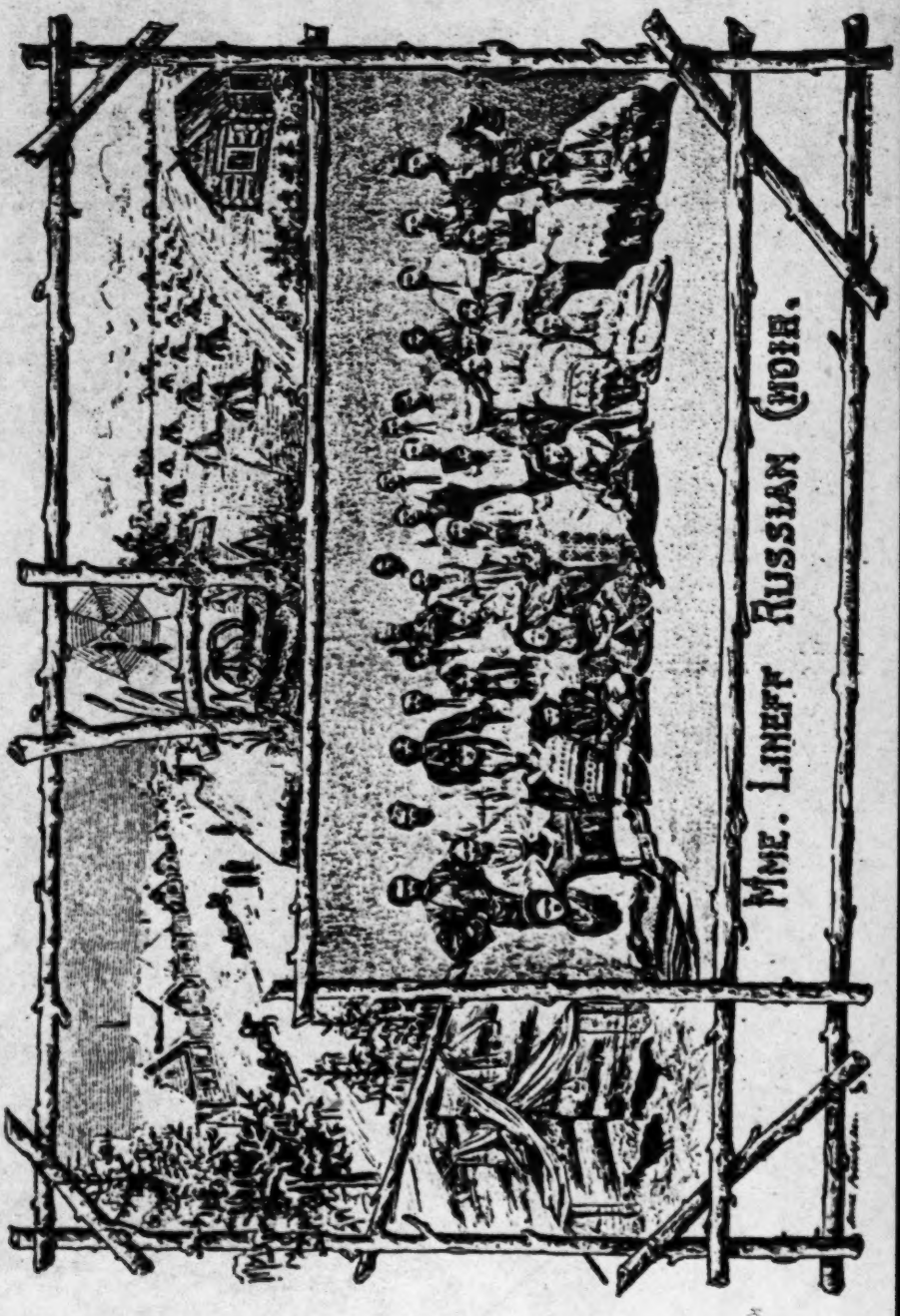

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The Mustaches have met in the grogshop,
And sat down in a circle by themselves;
The biggest Mustache was the chief of them all,
Gryshka Mourishka, a nobleman's son.

And he says, stroking his mustaches:
"Brethren mine, you bold Mustaches,
"The summer is passing, the winter is near,
"And we must consider how we will feed our bellies."

"Go, boys, and grind up your axes,
"Have the blacksmith make pikes for you,
"Whet your long knives to a good edge—
"For we shall need all these weapons soon."

"I know of a man who is very rich,
"And he lives on a mountain far away;
"He does not plow, but has wheat to sell,
"And the money for it he puts in a box."

[534] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries organized bands of robbers were frequent in Russia and were a ready refuge for young men, unable to bear the petty restrictions of law and custom at home. As they also often were protectors and avengers of the poor, they were rather popular with the masses: the strain of romance in their mode of life added to the regard in which they were held. For these reasons the number of robber songs, which passed amongst the people was quite great.

Mustache was probably the nick-name of some robber chief, adorned with particularly long mustaches, and his gang may have been called after him—the Bold Mustaches.

[533] A peculiarity of the robber songs is that they are hardly ever executed as solos; many other songs are used by a single voice as well as choir, but these it is customary to render by many voices together. This fact evidently is directly connected with the essence of the subject, which they deal with, as robbers did their work also in organized bands.

This same feature is observed in the laboring songs, which are translated herein; they also must be sung by a choir, as the work must be done by a gang of men together.

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000 a thing of the past. We mean by this that the people—not the musically trained minority—of most European nations have lost the faculty of creating new musical themes, worthy to take rank as addition to their musical lore. The old songs and poetry are forgotten and do not form, as in earlier days, a portion of the artistic heirlooms of each family, generation after generation. Although every nationality has made valiant efforts to preserve in writing the remnants of its old songs, yet it is not at all certain that with the help of such collections we can form a true idea of the folk-songs and the manner in which they were sung *by the people* in olden times. Several circumstances concur to strengthen this doubt. The old collectors of folk songs, as a rule, were not trained musicians, so that often the melodies and the rythm were not correctly noted down. Any amateur who has tried his hand at this kind of work knows with what difficulties it is attended. It is as if an amateur painter should attempt to make a picture *of some complicated building, without knowing anything about* the law of perspective. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that all the old collectors were content merely to note down the principal melody and the words, leaving out the accompanying voices as superflous. The more recent publications of the same folk-songs were usually harmonized or provided with accompaniments by professional musicians who never heard the songs performed by the people, and moreover entertained a certain professional prejudice in musical matters. The musical lyre was silent, the jolly performers a thing of the past; and there was no means of comparing the real thing with its assumed presentment in books on musical folklore. Consequently, with regard to real *people's music* we are as much in the dark as about the music of the old Greeks; some scientific authorities affirming that the choruses in the classical tragedies were sung in unison, while others maintain that they were sung in fifths, etc.

814 533 The most valuable addition to the musical folklore and the art of collecting songs have been made by Russian collectors during the last twenty years. An immense energy and almost devotional love for art were requisite to accomplish this result. As an example of an ideal collector of Russian folklore, we may

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mention Pavel Yakoushkin, a nobleman of culture and means, who spent all his life amongst the humble classes, frequenting public houses, country taverns, fairs, etc., in order to obtain access to the great source of folklore, the Russian peasantry. In the tattered costume of a country peddler, coarse patched boots and headgear to match, he crossed and recrossed Great Russia in all directions, singing with his beautiful tenor voice the songs he loved best, and collecting fresh ones. Then of a sudden he would appear in Moscow to unburden his soul before his admiring friends and various scientific societies of the new material he brought with him. He would delight the few real connoisseurs of the national music by his masterly singing, and then disappear for years in the mass of the peasantry and laborers. The result of his life's study is a classical collection of Russian songs and ballads (words only), the most complete and reliable work of this kind ever produced.

With such an example, and no lack of enthusiastic song collectors amongst the educated classes; with the most beautiful music lore still flourishing, it was only natural that the musicians soon entered the field and surpassed the old traditional collections of Russian folk songs.

Russia possesses about the oldest musical collection of songs, the more important of which, by Pratch, was published at the end of the last century. This work was followed by similiar publications of Kirsha-Daniloff, Kashin, Ssacharoff and many others. Pratch was considered for a long time the classical book on Russian folk songs, but we must add that it shared the same faults which have been mentioned with reference to European collections. The old Russian collectors, without exception, were quite ignorant of the fact, that the scales, and consequently the intervals, used by the Russian people are different from those adopted by musicians of Western Europe; accordingly, in order to bring uniformity, melodies had to be "doctored," the mistakes of the people "corrected," sharps and flats added, the rhythm altered, and the song generally "improved" according to the scientific notions of the collector. And to add insult to injury, a piano accompaniment was provided of chords in true Italian *canzonetta*

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fashion! What wonder, then, that a Russian melody thus polished and "improved" should sound quite strange to the ear of the people, and artificial and commonplace to students? True, some fragments of the beautiful melody were still there, but, on the whole, the soul, the color and the emotional element of the song were eliminated.

As mentioned before, the new school of musicians, aimed at reproduction of folk songs *exactly as they were sung by the people.* This work was carried out with great energy and perseverance; not only were the principal melodies faithfully reproduced and each syllable of the words written down, as pronounced by the singers, but every other part of the accompanying voices was similarly noted. Such reproduction was to all intents and purposes a photograph of the song. This plan was first proposed and carried out with infinite pains by J. Melgounoff, a thorough musician, and now the great Russian authority on folk songs. For some years he carried on his investigations among the peasantry of the province of Kalooga, and for the first time in the annals of musical lore, a set of true folk songs was published in 1879, followed by another volume in 1885. This work accompanied by a theoretical introduction of the principles underlying Russian folk music, produced an immense sensation in the musical and ethnological circles, not only in Russia, but abroad as well. It revealed most characteristic properties in the Russian songs; *natural* scales (major and minor) as basis of the music; and complete polyphony—*i. e.*, each voice in choral songs takes the principal melody slightly modified to suit the polyphonic requirements; the leading voice gives out the principal melody as a kind of solo, and the same thing in turn is done by other voices in true fugue style.

The harmonic treatment in Russian songs is so interesting that an example of it will not be out of place. As an instance, we will take "Notchka"—a *Khorawod* (choral dance) *song*, which stood usually first in the programmes of Mme. Lineff's concerts.

It is evident that each voice is reproducing the same melody with harmonic variations, and, if sung separately, the individ-

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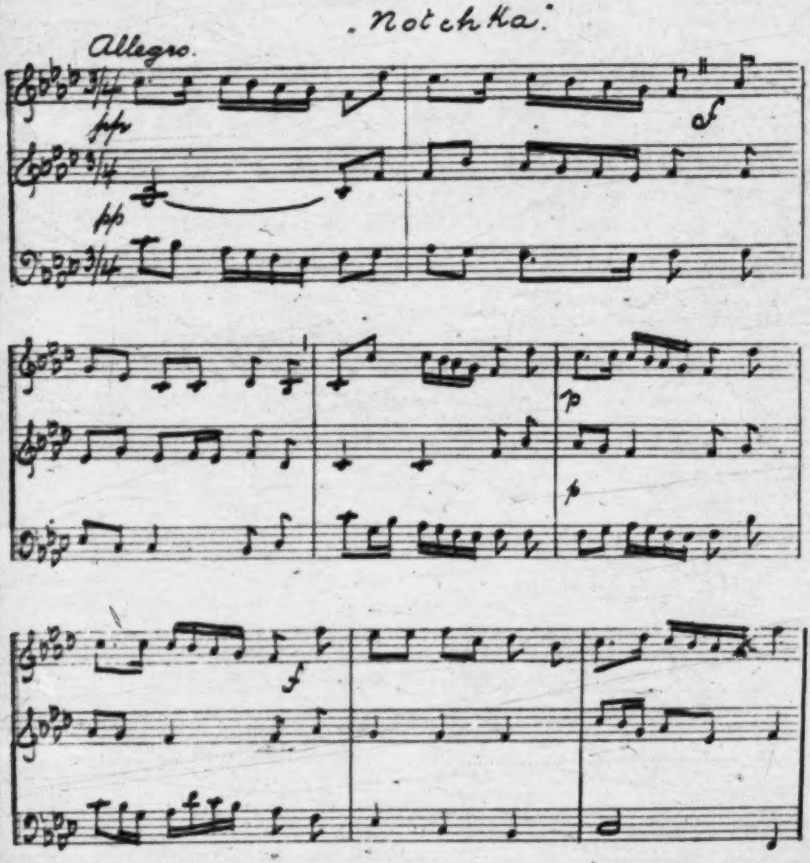
uality of the song can be recognized by the most inexperienced hearer. J. Melgounoff noticed when analysing the singing of large peasant choirs, that almost each singer joins the choir with a somewhat modified melody, not two singing alike, but always improvising some new variation of the same melody; hence that



wonderful harmonic fullness which is characteristic of Russian peasant singing. The peasants call each subordinate voice in the choir—*podgolosok* (*pod*—under; *golos*—voice) and by noting them down, Melgounoff found a rich source of melodic variations and in his now famous collection of "*Russian songs as sung by the people*," some of them are accompanied by dozens of such

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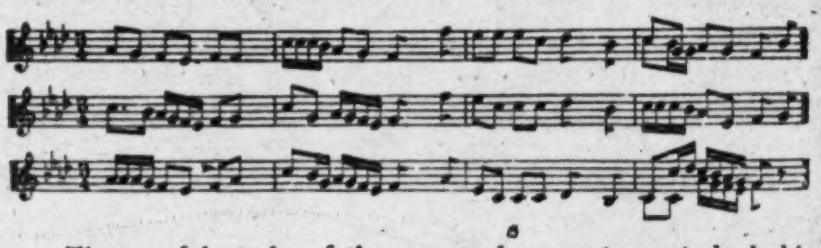
podgoloskies or improvised parts. The following parts from "Notchka" will serve as an example:



The careful study of these secondary parts or *podgoloskies* by Melgounoff was a great step forward in the studying of Russian folk-music, as it gave means to reproduce *exactly* the melodic and harmonic conception of the song as it existed in the consciousness of the people themselves. It is a matter of regret that the songs of other nations had not been treated in the same scientific manner when the folk-songs were still a living reality. Fortunately for Russia, where the natural part-singing is not yet extinct and in some remote parts even flourishing, this kind of study is still practicable and is pushed vigorously by a band of young and enthusiastic investigators.

A great movement was started in order to find means to carry on this work of investigation systematically in various parts of Russia. Since then very valuable additions have been made to the collection of musical lore, notably by Messrs. Lopatin and Prokoonine for Great Russia, and Mr. Lissenko for South Russia (Oukraina).

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To this faithful band of investigators belongs Mme. Lineff, with the difference that her training and experience as choir conductor eminently fitted her to make a powerful propaganda of these exquisite songs, not by mere books, but with a choir of singers trained by her, and therefore appealing to a much larger audience.

Mme. Eugenie Papritz-Lineff is a native of Moscow. Very early she showed a talent for music, and when a mere child she sang melodies heard from her mother, who is an accomplished musician, and pupil of the great Russian composer Michael Glinka.

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Mme. Lineff received her education in "St. Catherine's Institute for Daughters of Nobility," and showed such aptitude for singing, that at the age of fourteen she was selected as assistant conductor of the church choir of the institute, and later superintended the practice of a choir of over one hundred pupils. After having gained at the final examination the highest honors of the institute, she remained as conductor of the choir for nearly two years. She then went to St. Petersburg to study singing at the Conservatory of Music, and later to Vienna to become a pupil of the celebrated Marchesi, with whom she studied three full years.

MME. EUGENIE LINEFF.

In Vienna she met Anton Rubinstein, who invited her to sing at his musical *soirees*. One evening she brought with her some of Rubinstein's beautiful Persian songs. "Oh, no, no!" he exclaimed, good-humoredly, "enough of this trash; let us have some really *good* music; sing us something of Schubert!"

Her *debut* was in the farewell concert of the violinist Ole Bull. In consequence of a favorable notice from such musical critics as Dr. Hanslick and Dr. Schelle, she was engaged by an operatic company in Hungary, which engagement was followed by another from her Majesty's Italian Opera Company in England. Her *debut* in Russia was in the concerts given by the Moscow Syphonic Society under the direction of the late Nicholas Rubinstein, which was followed by an engagement at the Imperial Opera House in Moscow.

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The strong Liberal tide which swept over the best part of Russian society subsequent to 1860—the year of liberation of serfs in Russia—was not without a radical influence on Russian art, especially music. The study of national songs and poetry was cultivated energetically by a band of enthusiasts. Mme. Lineff became a diligent worker in this field. In summer she used to live amongst the peasantry in some out-of-the-way places, studying the best and purest Russian singing. It is an unquestionable fact that in Russia all the principal outward adjuncts of modern civilization—large towns, factories, railroads, hotels, etc. —exercise a blighting effect on the beautiful old folk-song. This disappears at the sound of the steam whistle, and is gradually superseded by commonplace melodies with stupid words, not seldom of doubtful propriety.

Several summers were thus spent by Mme. Lineff, in various parts of Russia and Oukraina, her aim being to compare the different styles of singing in various provinces. She also traveled a good deal on foot with female pilgrims to the various convents held in veneration by the Russian people, to study the peculiar songs of the wandering psalmodists (*Kaleyky-Perekhazie*) who frequent those places.

During her residence in Moscow, while still singing in concerts, her energy was directed particularly to the organization of choirs in schools, amongst university students—male and female —and amateurs. The folk songs were cultivated assiduously, and became the favorite pieces on the programmes. Mme. Lineff still uses a baton presented to her by the University Choir, which she directed during five seasons.

In 1890 she took up her residence in London. In one of the aristocratic gatherings at which she appeared she made a bold experiment by singing for an encore a Russian folk-song, "Lootchina," without accompaniment. The effect produced by the song was striking; she was surrounded by people eager to know the name of the composer and the author of the words. The surprise was still greater when the artist had to answer that the author both of the words and music was the Russian People, and that the date of its composition was quite unknown, and

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might have been contemporaneous with England's dependency under the Roman Empire.

So began Mme. Lineff's active propaganda of Russian folk songs abroad. She earnestly believes "that nowhere the originality and the wonderful effect of the beautiful songs of her land can be better appreciated than by the American public—so justly eager for novelties of merit."

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Before analyzing the typical Russian folk-songs contained in the programme of Mme. Lineff's concerts, I will say in few words on the lectures of Mr. H. E. Krehbiel, the well-known musical critic of the New York *Tribune*, who introduced these folk-song concerts to the American Audiences, and explained the significance and importance of the folk music in general. "The study of this branch of science," he said, "has a great value not only from a musical point of view, but also as a means of obtaining new and valuable ethnographical and philological data. If it be truly said that speech is often used to conceal the real intention and feelings of the speaker, then it is really true that music reveals the innermost feelings and real life of the soul. Folk songs can reproduce to our minds pictures of social and family life in ages gone by, far more vividly than any treatise on the same subject. For the music of folk songs necessarily reflects the inner life of the people who evolved it. Like physical and mental habits, occupations and dwellings, its characteristic traits are the product of the geographical, climatic, social and political condition of the people. The people of Russia are intensely musical. All the significant features in the life of the Russian peasant are accompanied by ceremonies in which song plays a very important part. In the character of these ceremonies and the allusions found frequently in the songs may be discovered relics of ancient customs and religion. This point was illustrated by the performance of a Khorovod (choral) song, in which can be found the remains of the primitive drama, as it was developed among all the civilized peoples. The parallel can be followed through the religious dances of the ancient Egyptians and Greeks, and of the Teutons of the Middle Ages in Europe. Children's games of to-day in Germany, England and America may also be

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regarded as a degenerate form of the old ceremonies which once in Germany and England were performed by adults as they still are in Russia."

The programme of the concerts of Mme. Lineff was made up of the most characteristic and beautiful songs which the soil of Great Russia and Oukraina has produced. It was, however, only a very slight portion of the rich *repertoire* of Mme. Lineff's choir. Her original plan was to give a series of three concerts: one embracing exclusively songs of Great Russia; the second, songs of Oukraina; and the third concert was intended to illustrate the modern music of Russian composers in its relation to the folk songs. But for reason of practicability, the three concerts were provisionally curtailed and incorporated into one.

IN OUKRAINA.

The type of Oukraina songs differ considerably from those of Great Russia. Although just as melodious as the latter, the harmonization of Oukraina songs resembles much more the treatment usual in Western Europe, *i. e.*, by means of chords, and consequently the various parts of the score have nothing in common with the principal melody but are mere "filling in" for the sake of forming the necessary chords. Thus the whole character of the Oukraina songs gives an impression of a more modern origin, and the charm of strict polyphonic treatment, so prominent in Russian songs, is missing: The reason of this is not far to seek: the peasants of Great Russia perform their songs exclusively *a capella*, while in Little Russia a "bandura"—an instrument of the guitar tribe performs the usual accompaniment.

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HOLIDAY IN A RUSSIAN VILLAGE.

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626 517 They believe that politics is the business of the government, the business of the Central Committee, and as for the writers that their business is not to interest themselves in politics. They believe that if a man wrote well, artistically, and beautifully, one should let it go, in spite of the rotten passages which disorientate our youth and poison it. We demand that our comrades, both the supervisors of literature and the writers themselves must be guided by something without which the Soviet regime cannot exist, and that is politics. Lenin wrote: "Literature must become Party-minded . . . Against bourgeois literary careerism and individualism . . . socialist proletariat must put forward the principle of party literature . . ." Comrade Stalin described our literati as the engineers of human souls. It is necessary therefore that our literature, our literary magazines, . . . should help the Party and the people to educate the youth in the spirit of supreme devotion to the Soviet regime . . .[16]

536 626 Special attention is paid in this respect to dramatic art because of its popularity and effect. It is stated therefore that "a playwright must be a politician" and that the producer and actor must be "politicians" of the same stature. Appointment of a group of actors for a Soviet play "is a political question for the producer . . . and how the hero must be played in a Soviet play is a political question for the actor."[17] In the same manner in painting, sculpture and music the Party demands "Soviet realism" which means that the artists and the musicians must have recourse to "topical themes and images of contemporary Soviet reality" and must discard "formalistic trickery and subjectivist insularity."[18]

177 186 Accordingly any alien, especially Western, influence on Soviet thinking must be completely eliminated. Western philosophy of liberalism and free individual expression could undermine Bolshevik endeavors to create a completely regimented and submissive "new man." Hence a crusade against "cosmopolitanism, objectivism and other manifestations of bourgeois ideology"[19] has been initiated together with the severance of all closer contacts of Soviet intellectuals with the Western world.[20]

656 Such policies of complete subordination of one's thoughts, feelings and behavior to the needs of the Party demand not only strict censorship of all published matter[21] but dictate even the use of statistics to suit the objectives of the ruling class. A ruling

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his own peculiar quiet wisdom, produces one of the finest human types. How we long for it in our warped life, swayed as we are by all kinds of passions—and be it spiritual passions! But the Russian can be cruel too—this we know well by now—and not only in a brief flare-up of fury but in a smugly callous, ruthlessly selfish way. Most often he amazes us by a kind of Oriental indifference to the lot and the sufferings of others—coupled with gentleness and superficial compassion (Karataev!). There is something Chinese in the impassive attitude of the Russian peasant towards his own and his fellowmen's death. This kind of wisdom takes us beyond the limits of Christianity. Tolstoy was profoundly aware of the primeval, prehistoric roots of this indifference ("The Three Deaths").

Nor is it easy to generalize about the volitional nature of the Russian. Is he indolent or active? More often than not he appears lazy; he works under pressure, pulling himself together only at the very last; but then he does not spare himself and is capable of making up in a few days for months of idleness. But there are also Russians of dogged industry, performing their tasks with restrained but intense passion; such were to be found among kulaks, inventors, scientists, even administrators. The amorphous mass of the people readily submits to the leadership of this sturdy élite, while seldom respecting it. Without this ruthless and strong-willed type the creation of the Empire, and even of the Muscovite state, would have been unthinkable.

In mentioning the Muscovite state, we are offering a clue to the understanding of this second brand of Russian. Its embodiment is the Muscovite, as his hard historical destinies have shaped him. For two or three centuries rough hands had been at work kneading the Slavic dough, knocking, bruising, breaking in the recalcitrant stuff, molding it into an extremely tenacious form. The Petrine Empire overlaid the Muscovite tsardom with a varnish of European culture, but it was still the Muscovite type that remained the real mainstay. To this type belong all those classes that were little touched by the Petersburg culture. All the clergy, the merchant class, the thrifty part of the peasantry (insofar as it was not undermined by spiritual restlessness). We meet this type again in the great Russian literature, where it is, however, pushed into the background by later spiritual formations. It is reflected most vividly in the regional literature—the writings of Aksakov, Leskov, Melnikov, Mamin-Sibiriak. And Tolstoy, of course. Although he cannot be fitted altogether into the Muscovite mold, he stemmed from it, had a

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deep fondness for this type, and was apt to idealize it. Karataev, Kutuzov, Levin are Muscovites; and so are Captain Mironov and Maxim Maximovich—Muscovite state servants who have survived the Petrine upheaval. The plodding official under Nicholas I, so ill-treated by the satirical literature of the time, represents the last layer of the Muscovite formation. We meet this type also on the highest cultural level: Pososhkov, Bolotov, the Aksakovs, Zabelin, Kliuchevsky—all these are authentic Muscovites. Here is the source of Russian creative power—which, however, like all things ultra-national, is rather limited in outlook. The narrow-mindedness of Tolstoy and Mussorgsky can assume truly tragical forms.

Such are the two polar types of Russianness, to whose conflict the high drama of the nineteenth century is largely due. They may be regarded as the expression of the basic dualism inherent in the Russian soul. They are, however, only the latest historically conditioned manifestations of this duality. Of all the successive cultural layers of the Russian soul, they represent the Muscovite stratum and that latest formation, the intelligentsia, born in the eighteen-thirties. But the historical approach to the problem of the Russian character makes it imperative to look beyond the limits of this duality. Between Muscovy and the intelligentsia there lies the Empire. Nor did Russia begin with Muscovy. What remains today of the Russian of the Empire, the Russian of the Kievan era, of Novgorod?

When, basing our claim on Pushkin, we assert with Dostoevsky that the Russian is a universalist, and that in this lies his national mission, it is actually the imperial Russian we have in mind. Universality is characteristic neither of the Muscovite nor of a true representative of the intelligentsia. On the contrary, the distinctive feature of both is narrow-mindedness, sectarianism. The Petrine reform, however, had brought Russia out into the open spaces of the world, had placed her at the crossroads of all the great Western civilizations and had brought into being the species of the Russian-European. His main attribute is freedom and openness of mind—such as to set him apart not only from the Muscovite but also from the European of the West. European culture, taken as a whole, was more intensely alive on the banks of the Neva or Moskva than on those of the Seine, the Thames, or the Spree. It is this imperial upper-class stratum that has given rise to the myth of the Russian's peculiar gift for foreign languages. Actually the average Russian,

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were directed not only against this cult, but also against that of the Fire and of the Sun.[25] There was no cult of war-gods in the mythology of the Old Slavs nor was there any epic poetry in their folklore.

Unlike the patriarchal, rigidly stratified and dualistic religious system of steppe nomads which was full of tensions and struggles, the supernatural world of the Slavs of Polesie was anarchic, equalitarian and peaceful. Apparently projecting their own social organization into the supernatural world, the Old-Slavonic plowmen conceived it as being composed of both sexes but without a hierarchy of power among themselves. The deities that inhabited that world were neither arbitrary nor corrupted, nor did they fight among themselves for the control over man. Festivals in their honor were celebrated with the accent on drink, song, dance and lovemaking.

Accordingly the Slavs of Polesie did not have to appease their deities nor try to be on good terms with both the bad and the good ones. They believed that after death bad and wicked people would roam the earth in the form of werewolves and vampires; but, they also possessed simple means of protection against these evil ghosts, such as pieces of torn clothes, which were accessible to everyone.[26] There were always persons of both sexes who maintained contact and control over the spirits of evil and were willing to help anyone in distress. Hence the Old Slavs trusted their wizards, the *veshchy*.[27]

According to the religious and social philosophy of the Slavs of the Dnieper, there are some general all-embracing rules of behavior to which all people, all the universe as well as all the deities, are subjected. In such a religious and philosophical system, the deities could not be capricious. They could be relied upon to behave according to commonly accepted rules of conduct and should not therefore be distrusted and feared. It is this optimistic view of destiny and of the universe, in which order and anarchic equity, not sword or might nor caprice prevail, that perhaps had found expression in the Old-Slavonic concept of law which was identified with truth and justice (*pravda*). The same view of life had perhaps found expression also in the Old-Slavonic concept of judgment which was identified with destiny

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role of the women and children in his family and on complete subjection of all people under his control. To accept anything else would have been contrary to his view of life, to everything he stood for. It would have conflicted with his temper and his character to have acted differently. It might have meant not only loss of face but loss of power as well.

The invader was therefore likely to maintain his social distance, to resort to physical force and violence, to the *knut*,[8] to impose his dominance on and to expect unconditional obedience from all the members of his household as well as from all others who were settled and worked on the land which he had conquered and which he controlled. He was backed in such attitudes and practices by the traditional philosophy of the steppe warriors which tells them that might is right and that only unchallenged power imposed by means of fear and awe brings personal satisfaction and security.

Such conflicting marital and social philosophies, however, provoked intense social conflicts, witnessed, for instance, by the history of Slav-Avar relations. The oppressed Slavonic concubines and wives, together with their children, tended to revolt against their tyrannical and inscrutable Avar husbands and fathers:

> The Chunen [Avars] came every year to the Slavs to spend the winter among them, and abuse the wives and daughters of the Slavs. . . . But the sons of the Chunen men and the wives and maidens of the Wenden [Slavs] did not tolerate this oppression; they refused to obey the Chunen and started an uprising.[9]

Such resolute and fighting women have been perhaps personified in Russian epic narratives by Polenitsi (steppe women), the female warriors. The physical strength of these Russian Amazons is represented as being greater than that of the Bogatyri, the legendary heroes. Polenitsi are pictured as daring, bold women, who fight, torture, maim and kill the Bogatyri. But they also invite these heroes to sleep with them and resort to various tricks or to sheer force to coerce the Bogatyri to take them in marriage.

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These feuds did not affect only the relations between local lords; intense strifes and vendettas were flourishing within the family of each one of the princes. Struggle for power and expansion often caused fratricidal warfare among the brothers after the death of their father. The old chronicles and other historical documents are full of examples of such family feuds. Murder, torture and blinding among the brothers and even between fathers and sons apparently were frequent.[20] The life of each one of these local potentates was spent in perpetual warfare, in feuding, and in plundering adventures.[21]

Power-thirstiness, factionalism, and rule of crude force prevailed among these petty rulers in no lesser way than among their nomadic predecessors and overlords. The internal system of rule on the domains of each prince was not more advanced. As the Russian written laws of that period testify, the killing of prince's representatives on the part of the peasants must have been frequent. City populace often rose in riots and revolutionary outbursts against the oppressive conditions imposed by these lords.[22] It was such conditions of physical, social and emotional insecurity that favored perpetuation of the institutions, practices, and other behavior traits which were introduced by the nomadic invaders and conquerors.

III

The changes that in the course of several centuries were taking place in social and psychological structure of the Old-Slavonic world as a result of the imposition of the rule of the nomadic warriors seem to have been well reflected in the Great-Russian folklore, especially in its epic legends. The military, the peasants, the burghers, their conflicts and their character traits are personified in these narratives by a number of popular heroes.[23]

The general picture which these folk documents present shows that the social stability which existed in the Old-Slavonic society was completely shattered as a result of nomadic invasions and conquests. The invading warriors not only caused great havoc but they provoked rapid and fundamental changes in the structure of the old society. Moreover the social disorganization and the political and economic instability that resulted out of these

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events were apparently manifested in a widespread sense of emotional and physical insecurity which fostered destructive aggression and mass violence. In such circumstances extreme self-seeking and dominance-submission relationships tended to substitute the Old-Slavonic egalitarian and anarchic system.

The plight of the Slavonic peasant strata has been symbolized in these products of folk imagination in the person of Mikula Selyaninovich ("the Villager's son") and in that of Ilya of Murom, who is often referred to as "the peasant's son," and as "the old Cossak." Mikula is pictured as a superb plowman and field laborer. He has a keen knowledge of husbandry and possesses the best mares and the best farming equipment.[24] He is endowed with such tremendous strength and is entrusted with such heavy responsibility that he carries "the weight of the whole world" in a little shoulder bag. This villager, however, comes into conflict with the city people over the custom duties and over the haughty manner of the urbanites. The tolls imposed by the city are too high. Moreover, the burghers treat Mikula in a despicable and undignified way. So he is enraged and loses his self-control:

> I was in the city no longer ago than the day before yesterday,
> On my light bay mare,
> I carried thence two whole bags of salt,
> Two bags of salt of forty pud each.
> The folk there are no better than robbers.
> They demand two kopecks toll;
> But I had a leaded whip for toll
> I paid their two kopecks toll.
> Whoever was upright I left seated
> And whoever was seated I left prostrate,
> And whoever lay prostrate would never rise again.[25]

As a result of such conflicts, Mikula finally came to the conclusion that tilling was not profitable any more. He found that there were other and better ways which would guarantee to one safety, economic gain, and self-respect. So he gave up husbandry and joined Volga Buslavlevich, the bandit-warrior. In his new role in which he uses great physical power not as a productive force, but as a means of coercion, he makes a strong imprint on

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the mind of the burghers. As a result, the city folk changed their attitude and instead of haughty bearing they now "bow low" to Mikula.

Ilya of Murom, the other hero of peasant origin, is portrayed as "being crippled" for many years. Then suddenly he acquires gigantic strength from two sources: from psalm singers and from Svyatogor, a hero of supernatural origin and superhuman powers. By means of this acquired strength and by employing cunning, Ilya gets rid of Svyatogor and, like Mikula, joins the bandit-warriors. However, the professional warriors do not accept Ilya on equal terms because of his low origin. But by constant demonstration of superior physical strength employed as a means of intimidation Ilya is finally accepted by the ruling military aristocracy. After a terrifying demonstration of physical strength which shook the whole town to its foundation Prince Vladimir became so panicky that he hurried a messenger to humbly invite Ilya to a prince's feast:

> Knock upon the door five times
> Then cross yourself in the prescribed manner
> Make your bow as it is enjoined,
> Offer humble salutations, and beat with your forehead
> Upon the floor of bricks,
> Upon damp mother earth herself,
> Before the old Cossack, Ilya of Murom.[26]

It seems clear that in these two heroes of peasant origin we find reflected the vicissitudes to which the Old-Slavonic society has been exposed after it has been subjugated to warriors and traders. The moral and productive values of the peasants, symbolized by Mikula's strength, his skill in productiveness, his social responsibility and feelings of dignity and equality, were rapidly declining in the changing conditions. The peasants became an easy prey of the new ruling classes. The result was moral corruption on the part of the soil cultivators, disinterest in land, and an urge to revolt. The peasantry became "crippled." First they expected help from supernatural forces. Then finally they began to rely on guile and on terror to protect themselves. They realized that in the new political atmosphere it was superior physical force which was admired and respected. Many peasants

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

therefore were leaving the land to move to the cities or to join the bandits as traders and warriors.

These bandit-warriors are pictured in the Russian folk epic as ruling by such terrifying violence and dreadful terror and craft that all the living beings on the earth flee and hide, or lie prostrate, and even the earth itself shrinks and the sun sinks away at their appearance:

> The red sun was sinking
> Behind the dark woods, behind the broad sea,
> Multitudes of stars studded the clear sky
> When Lord Volga Buslavlevich was born
> In holy Russia.
> When Volga Buslavlevich was five years of age,[27]
> Lord Volga Buslavlevich went forth over the damp earth
> Damp mother earth was rent,
> The wild beasts fled away up to the clouds;
> And the fish scattered in the blue sea:
> And Lord Volga Buslavlevich went
> To learn all craft and wisdom,
> All the various languages;[28]
>
> Volga grew in strength and stature.
> He chose for himself a bold druzhina,
> Of thirty youths save one,
> He, Volga making the thirtieth.
> His dear 'uncle' bestowed upon him,
> Gracious Vladimir of Royal Kiev,
> Three cities with their peasants.[29]

The hero knights of these legendary *Byliny* (the events of the olden days) when they find themselves in circumstances which appear to be under their control, are likely to be boastful, quarrelsome, disrespectful, sensitive to rank and inclined to belittle the strength of their adversaries. In such circumstances they spend their time either in plundering, fighting, maiming and killing, or in feasting, debauchery, and drunkenness.[30]

The extreme power-compulsion and delusions of grandeur of these supermen, as well as their complete lack of self-control, are well symbolized in folk narratives about Svyatogor. This hero has an irresistible urge to bring the heaven and the earth to-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

gether and to subdue the whole of the universe to his personal control. But he is at the same time utterly incapable of controlling his own gigantic strength. Hence he provokes the whole earth against himself ("Mother Earth could not bear his weight"):

He saddled his heroic steed
And rode forth on his way.
His young heart was throbbing,
His strength vibrated in his sinews,
His energy was like to overflow,
And he was heavily burdened with his strength,
Heavily burdened as with a grievous load;
He could not control his heroic strength.
And he threw away his steel club
Which vanished out of sight about the clouds,
And caught it again in his white hand;
"If I should take to walking on the earth
I would fasten a ring to heaven,
I would bind an iron chain to the ring,
I would drag the sky down to mother earth
I would turn the earth on its end,
And I would confound earth with heaven."[31]

There is no deed that these warriors and bandits would hesitate to commit in order to increase their personal power. The Great-Russian folk narratives agree with the early Russian chronicles and with later Russian historical documents that these men were ready to murder even their own closest kin in order to achieve their personal aims. In a folk epic this extreme bloodthirstiness and quest for power is symbolized by young Shchelkun, a hero of Tartar origin who murders his own son, and then, like the Scythians of old, drinks his blood. By this act of extreme cruelty he seeks his own self-aggrandizement:

Stab your son
Your beloved son,
Fill a bowl of his blood,
Drink up this blood,
This warm blood,
And then I will grant you

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Tver the ancient,
Tver the wealthy,
And the two brothers,
The two bold Borisovichi.
At once young Schelkun
Stabbed his son,
Filled a bowl of his blood,
His warm blood,
And drank up the bowl of that warm blood;
And straightway Tsar Azvych
Bestowed upon him
Tver the ancient,
Tver the wealthy,
And the two brothers,
The two bold Borisovichi.[32]

However, as soon as such "Good bold youths who have robbed and slain" find themselves in circumstances which appear to be unsurmountable, they are inclined to become cowardly, are overwhelmed with gloom and fear, and tend to rely on crouching servility and on guile and cunning as a means of self-preservation. When in such a mood they picture their enemies as superhuman, beastly beings possessing supernatural strength, thus justifying the lack of fair play in dealing with them.

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It is possible that this radical change of social structure was projected into the new folk concept of the supernatural world. The Old-Slavonic fairyland inhabited predominantly by benevolent spirits was apparently transformed under the new conditions into a demonland full of beings with terrifying and macabre qualities. Blood-sucking vampires, heart-devouring witches, fiends that feast on human flesh, and other murderous and rapacious beings similar to those found in the underworld of the steppe nomads replaced the Old-Slavonic helpful deities and moderately malignant spirits.

In the same manner the Old-Slavonic benevolent wizards apparently evolved into rapacious and slaughterous witches who specialize in child eating. The Old-Slavonic beautiful and benevolent water spirits developed into monsters who bewitch people, especially the youths, and then draw them down into the deep waters to put them to death. The Old-Slavonic friendly and

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There will be no place to run and hide oneself; it will be woe and pain without comfort, particularly for the repenting sinners. They will see the anger of God, full of rage and wrath, bearing the woe of revenge.[55]

Also the folk religious poetry began to emphasize the gloomy aspects of *post-mortem* life, especially that of the *Strashny Sud*— The Terrible Judgment. It was perhaps in such conditions that Destiny, together with the Truth, became dissociated from the idea of a supreme Justice that reigned everywhere and came to be looked upon as being subject to the caprice of arbitrary and uncontrollable forces that now dominated the Universe.

Such circumstances might have meant quick disintegration of this society, not unlike the rapid dissolution of the Turco-Mongol empires, had it not been for agents that favored the stabilization and the perpetuation of this social system in spite of its internal weaknesses. One of the most important instruments in this process of social consolidation was the Byzantine Church.

5
THE BYZANTINE CHURCH AND MUSCOVITE MILITARY THEOCRACY

I

FOLLOWING the traditions established by the Roman Caesars, the Emperor of Byzantium (Basileus) was looked upon as the supreme war-lord, the sole legislator, and the chief justice, as well as the universal ruler. Therefore, the Church, which was subjected to the absolute and autocratic will of the Emperor, developed a religious ideology in accordance with the dominant political philosophy and practices of the Empire.

The Emperor assumed the duty of defending the Church, combating heresy, and spreading Orthodox faith throughout all the globe. In return, God had promised him universal dominion

1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 52-55 -- Analyst]

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another instrument at the disposal of the father in imposing
discipline on his son consisted of threat of disinheritance and 596
banishment. If an unmarried son left the paternal house during 428
the lifetime of his father to establish his own separate household, the father was not obliged to give him anything and might even let him go "with nothing but his cross" (*s odnim krestom*).[8] But if a married son left with his father's consent, it was the privilege of the father to determine what his share should be.[9] Also in his testamentary disposition, the father was entitled to dispose of family property at will. The father also had the right to disinherit his son and chase him away from home as a punishment for bad behavior, especially disobedience.[10] He also had the power to select the disobedient son for military conscription. According to some sources the father had the right to sell his son "four times."[11] He might show predilection in testamentary disposition.[12] Many tales tell of a father's favoritism toward an obedient son.[13]

But the way the father used most often to impose his will and 593
assert his power was coercion (*prinuzhdenie*) by means of phys- 861
ical beating (*poboi*). The horse whip and the birch rod (*rozga*) were used freely in family relations. The *Domostroy*, a code of Great-Russian family practices and ethics of the urban strata compiled and edited in the sixteenth century by Priest Sylvester, a councillor and confessor of Ivan the Terrible, prescribes in detail the application of corporal punishment as a sanction of the father's authority and rule:

> Beat your son in his youth, and he will comfort you in your old age . . . And do not weaken in beating the child. Beating with a rod will not kill him, but will make him healthier . . . If you will be weak in his childhood, he will make you suffer when he grows up . . . And give him no power in youth but crush his ribs while he is growing, because when he is big he will not obey you, and you will feel annoyed and ill at heart, and your house will be ruined . . . and your enemies will rejoice at your misfortune.[14]

The popular philosophy of life as expressed in the Great- 538?
Russian folk proverbs approves of the teachings of the Domostroy. "If God gives you sons, don't be lazy, teach them and beat them"; "If he did not obey his father, he will obey the whip,"

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II

[582] Perhaps as a result of family centeredness and the need of 606 keeping a distance from one's neighbor, there developed the practice of looking for the bride not in one's own but in another, more remote locality. Brides from afar, who did not have an opportunity to keep frequent contact with their own parents, were considered not only more amenable to control and easier to assimilate, but less dangerous from the point of view of the family's collective responsibility and isolation. "Do not buy a horse nor marry a daughter of your neighbor: both will run away"; "Get a wife from afar, buy a cow from near," the people would say.

[584] Very often there was nothing for a girl to look forward to in her new family. Her mate was not of her choice; he and his family were often complete strangers to her. She might not have even seen any of them before the day of her marriage. Wedding songs always refer to the bridegroom, his home, his father, and his village as "the abode of the strangers," "the unknown, far off land." As soon as the father had "stuck the hands" with the match-maker, the bride-to-be would start to lament and implore her father not to "give her away to the strangers." On the eve of the bride's marriage, her girl friends would come to her home and spend all evening singing *piesni plachevia*—"weeping songs,"[10] while the bride would cry and wail continuously. In these songs the future bride imagines herself as being left completely alone and without any affection in a distant, unknown and unfriendly world.[11]

[538] The anxieties and fears felt by the bride when going away to marry a stranger in a "strange land" might have found, perhaps, a symbolic expression in the *Zmey* tales. Zmey is a mythical being whose function is to deceive and rape young maidens and keep them forever in captivity. In the Great-Russian folk tales the Zmey is pictured as a terrifying "winged" and "many-headed" monster which throws fire from his nostrils and his mouth, but assumes the form of a youth of marvelous beauty before he abducts his victim.[12]

The prospect of the bride's relations with her husband's

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parents and brothers, and with her sisters-in-law was not any brighter. In folk sayings the father-in-law is often referred to as "worse than a dog," and the mother-in-law as a "wicked satan." Her expectations about the treatment on the part of other in-laws were not more cheerful, as witnessed by the folk songs.[13]

When married, she soon realized that "before the husband the wife is always guilty" (*Pered muzhem zhena vsegda vinovata*). And there was no one to whom to complain or from whom to seek comfort. Her own parents and brothers were "far away" or indifferent to her fate, now that she was "cut off from the loaf" and belonged to another family. And if she did not develop an attachment to her husband or to her children, she might have sought an escape from such a difficult emotional situation in extra-marital love affairs, or in fantasies about such affairs. The Great-Russian folk songs are abundant with such themes and often justify these liaisons as a need for love and attachment which was denied to the bride in the home of the husband.[14] Extreme husband-wife antagonism as expressed by murder is occasionally the theme of Great-Russian religious sagas and more frequently the theme of folk tales[15] and of folk songs:

Against my will was I married;
I have taken an evil wife,
An evil one, not to my liking,
Neither in feeling nor in thought.
Lovingly live with her—that will I not.
Across the stream will I go,
Love will I make to the girls.
As for that wife of mine
I will go pray for her death.
Along the bank of the stream
Death, the beautiful, goes.
"Ho there! My beautiful Death!
Turn thee back again, Death!
Make an end of my wife."
Scarce had I spoken—when Death
Began her work with my wife.
Scarce had I time to look around—
Shrouded in linen white was her corpse
Struck was the stroke on the bell.[16]

6; Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

desire for his father's death.[17] Only then was there hope for freedom. A folk maxim, for instance, says: "When the earth takes the parents, the children get their freedom." Such an extreme form of revolt, however, was not so simple because it went counter to the accepted image of the father, his supernaturally sanctioned absolute power, his care and solicitude for the welfare of all the family, and the traditional obligation of love and gratitude towards him on the part of the family members. Hence antagonistic attitudes against the father were regularly mixed with strong feelings of guilt.

Both the feeling of guilt and the fear of being rejected by the father might have perhaps been manifested in those folk tales which tell gruesome and frightful stories about children who were abandoned by their parents[18] and left at the mercy of wild beasts, frost, open sea, and in those folk tales in which the children are dismembered by their own parents and thrown away in small pieces. That the father himself sensed a potential feeling of rebelliousness on the part of his son and that he himself might have had a feeling of guilt because of his treatment of his son is witnessed by folk sayings which express a dread of old age with its dependency upon one's own children: "To pay old debts and to feed old parents are the hardest things in the world"; "One father will feed nine children sooner than nine children will feed one father"; "God take away my life rather than let me be under my son's care."[19]

There were other tensions and conflicting situations in the Great-Russian patriarchal family, particularly in the urban strata. The principle of seniority, for instance, reserved disciplinary privileges and responsibilities for the brothers in relation to their sisters, and for the senior brothers and sisters in relation to their juniors. At the same time a father's absolute power often took the form of favoritism in respect to a younger son, or to a daughter, which was counter to the established principles of seniority and therefore considered unjust. There was therefore plenty of opportunity for resentments, rivalries, jealousies, hatreds, and fights among the siblings, or between the older and the younger family members:

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ment of moderation and emotional integration. In the early Slav society, mother's role in all family affairs was very significant. With the growth of the patriarchal family, one of her important duties came to be that of intercessor and of protector against the wrath of the father. In the patriarchal family the mother was not the chief disciplinarian; therefore she did not have to resort to threat, violence, privations, and humiliation as a means of discipline. Her punishments were mild and her main means of control were those of love and reasoning. Her authority and self-respect were therefore not endangered by being close to children and by being on familiar terms with them. She was always available and approachable. The children, therefore, felt much more at ease and free in the presence of their mother than in that of their father.[1]

The mother, if feeling neglected, abused or degraded by a remote and harsh husband, was likely to seek compensation for the lack of love and for wounded self-esteem by being over-protective and over-affectionate in relation to her children, expecting indulgent response from them. The son, if barred in his desire for attachment to his father or if abused and humiliated by him, might feel the more attracted to his mother as a means of emotional outlet and as compensation for feelings of rejection and humiliation.

It is this role of the mother as warm protector and close friend that has been expressed in folk sayings and other products of folk philosophy and imagination. "Fear your father, and respect your mother" says a Russian folk proverb pointing out the sharp contrast in the attitude of a child toward his father and his mother. The folk sayings emphasize also the intimate and tender bond that exists between mother and child and the importance of such close ties for the child. "Without a father the child is half orphan, without a mother a child is a complete orphan"; "Mother's beating does not hurt"; "Mother raises her hand high, but does not strike hard." Because of such close mother-child relationship, it was considered in the popular view of life that mother's influence on the child was in the long run deeper than that of the father. "What mother puts into the child's head, the father will not knock out," the people would say.

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593 538 The Great-Russian epic legends have the same image of the mother. One of the most peculiar and significant aspects of these narratives is that in times of distress, in moments of gloom or when gripped by strong feelings of guilt it is often the mother who comes to the rescue of the *bogatyr* (legendary hero), gives him solace, helps him with advice, places her treasure at his disposal.[2] The mother is considered to be of such a great value that heroes, in the course of their feasting and drinking bouts, when boasting of their war exploits, of their horses and possessions, boast also of their mothers:

> One boasts of his good steed,
> One boasts his silken breeches,
> One boasts his villages with hamlets,
> One boasts his towns with their suburbs,
> One boasts of his dear mother,
> But the foolish one boasts of his young wife.[3]

593 771 Mother's role as a moderator *vis-à-vis* a harsh and detached father was expressed very early in the Russian religious lore. For instance, one of the most popular religious tales of early Russia was the one of the "journey of the Mother of God through the Inferno." In this story the *Bogoroditsa* (Birth-giver to God), impressed by the tortures of sinners, implored God to pardon them. At first God was implacable, but finally, as a result of Bogoroditsa's supplication, he promised some relief in their suffering.[4] In the same manner the contemporary Russian religious folk poetry often pictures the Mother of God as the "fastest helper" and as the "warm interceder":

> Mother mine—Mother Maria,
> Purest maiden—The Most Holy
> Mother of the World—Maria,
> Most holy Birthgiver to God,
> Beautiful sun,
> Purest dove,
> Mother of God,
> The fastest helper,
> The warm interceder
> Intercede, save and have mercy.[5]

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771 776 now my feelings have not changed) a feeling of wonder but at the same time also of fear. He created Heaven and earth. He too created me—and still even though I bow before Him, there is no love."[10] Michael Bakunin only elaborated on this basic popular concept of the Russian Orthodox God when he pictured the Lord as "God of vengeance and rage" who delights in eternal torturing of human beings and who is so "bloodthirsty and cruel" that he decided that his own son should be tortured and put to death by means of crucifixion.[11] A similar image of a self-seeking, dominating, arbitrary, and cruel God is found also in some Russian religious folk poems: [538]

> Your gifts are not dear to me
> But dear to me are your souls.
> And I will be God above Gods,
> I will be Tzar above Tzars.
> And I will pick the apostles myself,
> And I will give them my mark,
> And I will give them my baptism.
> I will send them in all countries
> Who will receive them, will save himself
> And who does not, he will be tortured.[12]

Before such a God, like before the omnipotent earthly powers, there is nothing one can do but resign himself to his fate and await for God's decision at his *Strashny Sud* (Terrible Judgment). Thus when Fletcher asked a Russian Orthodox Bishop if he knew he was going to be saved the answer was that ". . . he knew not whether he should bee saved or no: but if God would *poshallovat* (take compassion on) him, or gratifie him so much as to save him, so it was, hee would be glad of it; if not what remedie?"[13] Such an image of an omnipotent, fierce and arbitrary God, the same as that of an all-powerful and harsh Father or Czar, might inspire humility, blind obedience and unconditional submissiveness; it might provoke also strong feelings of guilt, and a need for repentance and expiation of one's sins. Thus, next to fear, Russian religion emphasizes meekness and asceticism as a means of survival in the face of all-mighty and arbitrary powers.[14]

In this manner popular religious ideas and practices which

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12
IDENTIFICATION WITH SUFFERING AND DEMAND FOR ACCEPTANCE

I

WANT of affection and self-pity experienced by a rejected child could be generalized. Identification with a humiliated and suffering mother might foster or reinforce the same tendencies. As a result sympathy is extended to others who suffer and desire might be expressed or action may be taken to alter conditions which cause all human misery. These ideas and attitudes are then strengthened by those patterns of family relationships which stress responsibility of one for well-being and salvation of all and which favor group orientation and social solidarity.

Such family experiences might affect the whole life careers of some people. If these happen to be intellectual and political leaders, their emotional responses could have a significant influence on the course of the intellectual and political history of their countries. Thus, in Russia feelings of rejection and identification with those who suffer gave a strong emotional support to ideologies which sought a Messianic salvation of all suffering humanity.

A number of outstanding literary figures of Russia in the middle of the nineteenth century, such as Herzen, Belinsky, and Nekrasov, demonstrated in their writings a strong aversion for the existing social system in Russia, expressed irreverence for the old values, showed love of new and challenging ideas, and exhibited a remarkable fighting spirit of revolutionary character. At the same time, they all tended to idealize the Russian people, professed great love, enthusiasm and admiration for the common folk and felt a great compassion for the poor and the suffering everywhere. They believed that the main purpose of literature

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[Belinsky]
[Nekrasov]
[Herzen]

538 517 was to convey to the masses a social message. In their literary essays they stressed the social and political ills of Russia and believed in the Westernization of their country as a way out of its social and political difficulties.

[593] 159 [157] It is reported that Belinsky grew up with the feeling of revolt against the despotism of his father who tyrannized the family. Nekrasov, "at the age of 17 . . . broke with his father whom he detested even as he idolized his mother" . . . And it was Nekrasov who in his writings showed an especially "great and unfeigned compassion for the poor and the suffering" and who "idealized and worshipped the Russian people,"[1] that is, the people who have been exposed to an age long misery. In a similar manner Herzen had generalized his childhood experiences and had transferred his reactions to all human kind. As a child he showed a strong reaction against his "inaccessible" father and a deep sympathy for all those whom his father abused:

> . . . the hushed voices and noiseless steps of the servants were no sign of devotion, but of repression and fear. All impulsiveness and frankness my father disliked and called familiarity; and all display of feeling passed with him for sentimentality. And when this proud old man, with his clear understanding and sincere contempt of mankind, played this part of a passionless judge, whom did he mean to impress by the performance: A woman whose will he had broken, though she never tried to oppose him; a boy whom his own treatment drove from mere naughtiness to positive disobedience; and a score of footmen whom he did not reckon as human beings! . . . Always on his guard, discontented with everyone, he suffered when he saw the feelings he inspired in every member of the household. Smiles died away and talk stopped whenever he came into the room. Stinging mockery and cool contemptuous irony were the weapons which he could wield with the skill of an artist, and he used them equally against us and against the servants. There are few things that a growing boy resents more; and, in fact, up to the time of my imprisonment I was on bad terms with my father and carried on a petty warfare against him, with the men and maids for my allies . . . did I deserve that he should preach even the truth in a manner so repulsive to the heart of youth? His intelligence, chilled by a long life spent in a corrupt society, made him suspicious of all the world; his feelings were not warm and did not crave for reconciliation; and therefore he remained at enmity

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[Catherine Breshkovskaya]
[Bakunin]

154 159 668 How many times, stupefied and shocked, I have been the witness of such humiliating, degrading, excruciating things! How many times I have thrown myself at my father's feet to implore pardon for a so-called culprit, whose only fault, perhaps, was to have fallen asleep while herding the sheep! How many times I have been indignant to see how hundreds of peasants would be kept waiting in the courtyard, bare-headed and shivering with cold, waiting for the master to appear, after making them wait all day, would send them off without a word, so taken up was he with gambling at cards with other lords, who in their turn were making their coachmen wait on the carriage box till their hands were frozen! These things tormented my childish mind, and pursued me even into my bed, where I would lie awake for hours, unable to sleep for thinking of all the horrors about me. Child as I was, I could not understand why these honest folk should bear the entire burden of work and of taxes. I saw that my father, good though he was, put much more heart into looking after his own interests than the interests of his serfs, and I was shocked at the inequality between the rich and the poor. From the age of eight, how to find justice was the question that troubled me.[5]

538 771 Identification with suffering is outstanding in the literary works of Dostoyevsky. Influenced by religious feelings, he considered his own sufferings as a blessing. He identified Russia with crucified Christ and regarded the sufferings of the Russian people as a means by which the wrongs of all mankind will be expiated so that a new and better order will prevail on the earth: "All men will be holy and love one another, and there will be no more rich nor poor, no exulted nor humbled, but all will be as the children of God, and the true Kingdom of Christ will come."[6]

II

593 159 668 Not in all families of Russian intelligentsia was the situation alike. There were families in which harmonious relations prevailed. There were also families in which reaction developed not against the despotism of the father but against the tyranny of the mother. Bakunin, for instance, describes his mother as "a vain, egotistical woman and none of her children loved her."[7] According to Carr, Bakunin "attributed his passion for destruction to the influence of his mother, whose despotic character

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[Bakunin]

[Saint Theodosius]

593 159 [668]

inspired him with an insensate hatred of every restriction on liberty."[8]

Identifying himself with all the oppressed, this leading Russian anarchist revolted not only against the family and the state, but against God as well, because God was a symbol of authority and fear. To Bakunin the concept of a God of fear implied abdication of reason and of justice, and was the negation of human liberty. He expounded therefore the overthrow of God as a necessary precondition of human liberation.[9] To Bakunin the revolt of Satan against God was the first attempt of free thought, of science, and of human freedom.[10]

Not unlike this was the reaction of Turgeniev toward the despotism of his mother. This outstanding Russian novelist apparently developed a great compassion for the Russian serfs and became a champion in the struggle for freedom and for the emancipation of the peasants because he identified his own sufferings with the plight of the muzhiks on the estate of his mother. Turgeniev's mother apparently gave vent both on her son and on her serfs for the sufferings of her unhappy married life, and in bringing up her own son she made few concessions. The same excessive strictness that she applied against serfs she exercised also against her own son. "I was flogged almost every day for merest trifles," says Turgeniev.[11] [538]

An earlier case of reaction against a despotic mother and resulting identification with those who are humiliated is that of Saint Theodosius. This Russian saint was one of the founders of Russian monasticism in the eleventh century. According to Fedotov, the main theme in the hagiography of Theodosius is the "strife with his mother . . . the cruel treatment he endured, and his threefold escape. Many scenes are painted with truly artistic skill, particularly the portrait sketched of the mother, with her passionate transitions from outbursts of anger to caresses, with her appearance as a virago: 'She was strong in body, vigorous as a man: anybody who would not have seen her but only heard her voice would believe it was that of a man.' "[12] 593 159 792

Theodosius reacted to the despotism of his mother by wearing "uncouth and patched garb" like the poor and the beggars to the dismay of his parents, who were well-to-do people and felt hor-

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[Saint Theodosius]

593 rified by such behavior. After his father's death, Theodosius used
159 "to go to the fields with the slaves and work humbly."[13] Later
792 when Theodosius finally escaped from his mother's tyranny by entering a monastery, he became the founder of that school of Russian monastic philosophy which emphasizes self-abnegation and meekness, as well as charitable love and compassion for those who suffer. In that manner Theodosius identified himself and his Church with all those who were tyrannized. But he was also active in protecting those to whom injustice was done. He became "intercessor for many before judges and princes, rescuing people."[14]

152 Deep sympathy for those who suffer and identification with
695 them might explain why the Russian juries and the peasant courts were so ready to acquit the repentants. Juries and courts would often set free criminals who were found guilty by well established evidence. The verdict in such a case might be "not guilty" because of "commiseration for the poor murderer." A jury sitting through Holy Week would tend to acquit everybody, because "at the time of our Lord's Passion, it does not become Christians to condemn their brethren."[15]

152 Sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them
● 538 is an outstanding trait of Russian literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Russian writings of those days exhibit a preoccupation with great social, political, religious and psychological problems of mankind. They picture a gloomy, painful, and tragic world, full of misery, injustice, blood and death. In the same manner the school textbooks of those days contained many heartbreaking stories full of compassion and commiseration for the suffering, unprotected, weak.

152 When identification with suffering is a manifestation of revolt
783 or is combined with the urge for revolt, strong feelings of guilt
538 might develop. On such grounds compulsion to suffer and to be
668 persecuted might thrive. This "Russian Kenotism" is found among the early Russian monastics[16] as well as among the Russian nineteenth century revolutionaries and men of letters. Some Russian revolutionary factions, for instance, emphasized sacrifice and martyrdom to the point of self-destruction.[17] In the like manner Count Leo Tolstoy claims in his diary that he, "often

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

wanted to suffer, wanted persecution."[18] A number of heroes in Dostoyevsky's novels show the same urge.

Undoubtedly such feelings contributed to that tone of fanaticism and that readiness for self-sacrifice which was characteristic of many Russian revolutionaries and conspirators of pre-Soviet days and which gave a special vigor and intensity to their activities. Such extremes in emotional reactions were supported also by another trait in these people, that of emotional instability.

13
EMOTIONAL INSTABILITY

I

FEAR and awe (*strakh*), submission (*povinovenie*), and sense of guilt (*sovest*) are rooted in the structure of the Great-Russian society and are supported by its traditions. But so is compassion (*zhalost*), humility (*smirenie*), demand for truth and justice (*pravda*) and for egalitarian acceptance, as well as revolt and terror (*ustrashenie*), lack of trust and urge to destroy (*unichtozhenie*). It is the propensity to experience such contrasting sentiments that causes behavior which is alternatively bent in opposite directions. A person's behavior which has been conditioned by an environment which fosters such feelings and attitudes might show a lack of sense of moderation and a tendency toward extremes in responses to his social milieu.

It is such unbalanced peculiarities of behavior that have drawn the attention of many students and observers of Russian society.[1] A tendency toward diametrically opposite extremes, and frequent alternation between these poles has been often noticed. Kindliness and gentleness have alternated with lack of consideration, excessive severity, brutality and cruelty. Rebelliousness has been followed by resignation. Periods of feverish energy and confidence have been superseded by spells of inertia, languor and despair. Extremes in feasting have alternated with extremes in fasting. Tyrannical rule had its counterpart in demands for

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Top ruling circles themselves often exhibited a great lack of self-control. A number of rulers showed a tendency toward excesses and extremes that bordered on insanity. Even the Czars of the nineteenth century, in spite of many Western moderating influences, showed tendencies toward instability and extremes in their behavior. Not seldom a new monarch would completely reverse the policies of his predecessor. The rulers tended to show great instability also in attitudes toward their advisers. They would turn suddenly against the old councilors and find new favorites. As a result often "the mighty of yesterday were sent to Siberia or the scaffold." But also barrack and bedchamber revolutions were frequent, reflecting the suddenly changing extremes in moods within the ruling cliques.

Lack of moderation and emotional instability was one of the favored themes of Russian belles-lettres of the nineteenth century. The heroes in these works often display an extremely unbalanced type of behavior. Feodor Chaliapin, who himself took part in producing such types on the Russian stage, states the following:

> . . . When I think of the characters I have created on the Russian stage, I am conscious not so much of the characters themselves as of an all pervading sense of the Russian temperament that is all extremes. . . . It seems as though Russian temperament is entirely devoid of moderation. . . . The fact remains that their contradictions are far more harsh and violent than those of most mentalities. . . . The Russian heart is infinitely pitiful and tender, but at the same time what gross and often completely aimless cruelty and tyranny are to be found in Russian life. The Russian soul is extraodinarily sensitized, but what brutality and lustful suspicion and vulgarism are to be found in human relationships. It is only too true that neither in good nor in evil can the Russian steer a middle course . . .[8]

In *Khovantchina* it is religious fanaticism, and how profound and powerful is that fanaticism! A normal mind could not possibly comprehend that perfect serenity which enables men to die for their belief. They stand on the sheer rampart, utterly oblivious of the stairway by which they might descend to safety. They batter their heads against the wall, unconscious of pain . . . In Rimsky-Korsakov's *Pskovitane* I take the part of Ivan the Terrible. He, the Tsar, cares nothing that the river runs red with blood, so illimitable is his knowledge of

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his power over others, so unshakable is his belief in his own sovereignty. . . . There is tremendous strength in *Boris Godunov*, the part I would sooner play than any of the others of my repertory. Here again the Russian temperament is overwhelmingly manifest in the seditious license of the boyars, as it is in the boundless autocracy of Ivan the Terrible. It appears also in the lawlessness and drunkenness of Prince Galitski, one of the chief characters of Borodin's admirable opera *Prince Igor*. Galitski's excesses are as extreme as his cynicism.[9]

Some observers of Great-Russian music find in it traits similar to those of Great-Russian belles-lettres. According to Leroy-Beaulieu the Great-Russian music shows an "alternation between extreme emotionality and extreme peacefulness."[10] And according to General Golovine this music is a "combination of the vague and salient softness and harshness of sound, deep sorrow and uncontrolled gaiety, dreams and drama, restlessness and calm . . ."[11] Golovine specifically referred to the music of Glinka, Chaikovsky, Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakoff, and Rachmaninoff.

Extremes of self-aggrandizement followed by self-maceration, murder followed by tears, is noticeable also in the Russian folk psychology. The Great-Russian folk songs, for instance, are often full of cruelty, but are also heart-breaking and plaintive, full of sadness, melancholy and tragedy, sung in minor key. In folk tales and folk songs about Stenka Razin, this robber-bandit is represented both as magnanimous and cruel, as savage and pitiful. He revolted against those in authority, but rallied the poor and rebellious beneath his banner. At the same time he himself showed traits of barbarism and of self-laceration. One of the popular Russian folk songs, tells us, for instance, how once Stenka, "drunk with wine and mirth together," lifted the Persian Princess, his beloved "new-vow bride," over the side of his barque and flung her "forth into the hungry deep" of the Volga, as "a gift from a Cossack of the Don." Stenka acted in such a violent manner because some of his comrades had scornfully reproached him that in his affection to his bride he behaved like a *baba* (woman).

II

A number of interpretations are offered for such behavior.[12] Most of these explanations are either "geografic" or "cultural-

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Thwarted in their drive for power and political leadership, these young men and women gave vent to their feelings of deprivation in phantasies and plans of destruction and death.

Much of the sadness, tragic sarcasm, morbidity and preoccupation with death and suffering which dominated Russian literature in the second part of the nineteenth century reflects such moods of despair. The predominance of social and political themes in the literary creations of these people and the insistence of literary critics of those days on literary "realism," that is, that a work of art should be judged not by artistic and esthetic criteria but by its portrayal of existing life and its faithfulness to reality, especially the brutal and dark reality, manifested the same feelings.

Pisarev, describing this psychological reaction of impotence and the urge for destruction before seemingly uncontrollable forces, stated that when men "find it impossible to transform life, their anger at their own impotence makes itself felt in the sphere of thought, where the destructive work of criticism proceeds unceasingly."[6] That the basic drive behind this urge for negation and destruction was extreme self-seeking is witnessed by some other ideas of the same writer. "Every living being," said Pisarev, "is for himself the center and the meaning of the universe . . . his personal joys, vexations, aspirations, and cares, are more important than universal revolutions. . . ."

Starting with such premises, some of the Nihilists refused to recognize any regulation, any moral law, any principle, whether above, external, or within a person as being "absolute." The result was preaching of extreme materialism and individualism, and denial of all "absolute" ethics, of duty and of responsibility, of ideals and of social values.

II

In the meantime, however, the effects of European revolutions of 1848 and the defeats of the Russian armies in the Crimean War (1854–1856) led some of the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia to the belief that the Czarist system was not as invulnerable as generally accepted. These people proposed direct and organized action against the Czarist regime in order to raze it to

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peasants. Such a situation in many cases bred extreme antagonism against the priests, especially when hostility against the priests was stirred up by systematic agitation, as in the case of various sects of Dissenters (*Raskolniki*). This agitation often took the form of folk songs:

hairy ones . . . the beasts:
These beasts are the priests
They howl, like wolves. . . .

• • •

In the churches they praise the Lord hypocritically,
And ensnare innocent people with their words;
In the churches they offer glory to God,
And send the Uryadniks to hunt innocent people;

• • •

And they drive innocent people to Siberia.
In the churches they open their mouths,
But before the government they keep silent.
Their hair is long like women's,
But their brain is a great deal shorter.

• • •

They howl like beasts;

• • •

They extort from all.
Wicked hairy priests . . .[2]

• • •

The peasants were attracted to numerous sects of the Dissenters which were spreading in Russia, especially since the seventeenth century when the great movement of the Old Believers (*Starovery*) began. In these sects and their ideologies the peasants protested against the conditions of serfdom. The teachings of a number of these sects expressed yearning for a new life, and for an anarchic brotherhood of men in which nobody would be rejected and everybody accepted on equal terms. Peasant Sutayev, for instance, who founded the Sutayevtsy sect in 1880, was considered to be one of the most pious churchgoers before he revolted against the official Church. He rebelled when he was over fifty. The occasion was a dispute that he had with his parish priest over a fee for the burial of his grandson. It was after this quarrel that he stopped going to

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church claiming that " . . . one is not better for going there . . . because everything there has to be paid for. Besides, I have the Church within myself."[3]

Sutayev then started a religious crusade aiming at "a new life, the organization of a Christian life." He preached that "the nobles and the rich must give back the land to those to whom it of right belongs." He disapproved of commerce, of money, of private property, of violence, and of any form of coercion. He claimed that if commerce, money and violence were eliminated, then the courts and the tax collectors would disappear too. The tax collectors and all the functionaries who live on the people will not be necessary any more, he said. The army and the war will be suppressed since "all men are brothers." "The Kingdom of God must be brought here on the earth," he asserted.[4] Similar protest against the existing conditions of serfdom and rejection, and demand for an all-human equalitarian brotherhood were expressed in many songs of the Dissenters:

All kinds of ignorance,
Moral wretchedness,
Falsehood and inconsistency,
Baseness, hypocrisy,
Coarse superstition,
Are contrary to Christianity!
Slavery, oppression,
Violence, constraint,
Every sort of pressure against people—
All this—
Is abomination before God,
Transgression of his commandments.
All people on earth
Are the children of one mother,
And above God there is no power.
And all without regard to standing in society,
Should be equal
And free in their conscience.
Everyone can pray,
According to what seems to him,
To be his obligation in relation to God.

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* * *

Why then in deeds of faith
Measures of compulsion
And all kinds of constraint?

* * *

Why then is this?[5]

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Protest against the existing conditions of abusive dominance and subservient submission and longing for acceptance on terms of anarchic equality seems to have been the driving power behind the ideologies of a number of Great-Russian religious sects, such as the *Dukhobortsy* (the spirit-wrestlers), and the *Molokane* (the milk-drinkers). Not unlike the Nihilists and the Anarchists (whose reaction was also rooted in feelings of rejection), all these sects showed a strong resentment against abusive and distant authorities. At first the religious dissenters attacked the Church authorities but then this anti-authority attitude was generalized and extended to all the authorities, including the family, the landlords, the state and the Czar.

As a result all the authorities were blamed for the existing social ills and their removal was considered necessary in order to achieve a better life. There was no need for official clergy, courts, churches, sacraments, fasts, confession, communion, or any Church rituals except simple hymn singing, these sects said. There was no need for the Czar either, they claimed. Anything that smacked of authority and power was rejected. "We behold what a spirit of impiety works and shall work to the end of the world in all holders of power," they stated.[6] In 1868, a sect decreed that anyone who prays for the existing authorities shall be excommunicated. Now all the authorities, not just the priests, were identified with the beasts! "How will you ever find grace at the hands of the Beast?" A number of these sects identified the Czar with the Anti-Christ.

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In their reaction against the suppression of the individual in the interest of those who hold power and in their strongly felt need for acceptance on terms of complete equality, the Dukhobortsy—not unlike the Nihilists—proclaimed the supremacy and the sanctity of the individual. Their demand for an anarchic acceptance was manifested in the emphasis of the

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in the political philosophy expressed in Soviet writings and in the speeches of outstanding Party members, extreme hatred of the internal and external adversaries is considered as a precondition of Bolshevik victory and of survival of Soviet society. Thus, for instance, in a May Day Order of the Day, Stalin, as People's Commissar of Defense declared: "You cannot defeat any enemy without having learned to hate him with all the power of your soul." In Soviet writings Lenin is hailed as a man who had "a holy hatred of the oppressors of the people . . . "[12]

Just like the Anarchists before them, the Bolsheviks claim that a deliberate cult of hatred is a precondition for the development of a "revolutionary passion." They justify hatred as a means to achieve their revolutionary goals. Following the same traditions the Bolsheviks insist that fanatical devotion should be instilled in people as a means to arouse passionate hatred. Therefore deliberate cultivation of hate together with the training in extreme identification with the Leader, the Party, the Motherland, and the Communist cause must start with kindergarten and with school training of Soviet children. Passionate hatred and passionate love are expected to mutually strengthen each other. According to pedagogical teachings, the Soviet children should be "saturated with irreconcilable hatred toward the enemies of socialist society," as well as with "passionate love of the Motherland." But here too just as in the Anarchist precepts, hatred appears to take the first place and love the second:

> Hatred gives birth to class revolutionary vigilance and creates a feeling of irreconcilability toward the class enemy; the weakening of such vigilance undermines the cause of the socialist revolution. It is necessary to learn, not only to hate the enemy, but also to struggle with him, in time to unmask him and finally, if he does not surrender, to destroy him . . . to vanquish the enemy is impossible without the most burning hatred of him . . . Passionate love of the motherlands breeds inevitably strong hatred of the enemy.[13]

Many outstanding Soviet novelists in their writings emphasize this cult of destructive aggression. Maxim Gorki, for instance, wrote an essay entitled "If the enemy does not surrender, he must be destroyed." Konstantin Simonov, another outstanding Soviet

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author, wrote a well known poem under the title *"Ubey ego"*—kill him.[14] In a similar manner Alexey Tolstoy, a well-known Soviet novelist, has published an essay entitled *Ubey Zverya*—Kill the Beast. "Kill him," writes Alexey Tolstoy, "that is your sacred command."[15] Mikhail Sholokhov, another prominent Soviet writer, wrote a pamphlet entitled *Nauka Nenavisti*—The Science of Hatred—in which he stressed, in a like way as the early Russian Anarchists and contemporary Soviet pedagogists, the necessity of ardent love for the Cause as a source of passionate hatred of all the opponents. To him, too, love seems to be necessary primarily as a means of hate.[16] "Hatred for enemies of the land of socialism is an inseparable feature of socialist ideology and the ideology of Leninism," the Bolsheviks repeatedly say.

Under the label "enemies" are classed not only the foreign "capitalists, imperialists, and reactionaries," and internal non-Party oppositionists, but also Party members who deviate from Party ideology, and "all sceptics, opportunists, capitulators, scabs, and traitors." Hatred and struggle against these "enemies" within the Party must be as merciless and ruthless as against external adversaries. This is considered to be imperative in a mortal struggle against the capitalist world:

> The history of the Party . . . teaches us that unless the Party of the working class wages an uncompromising struggle against the opportunists within its own ranks, unless it smashes the capitulators in its own midst . . . it cannot perform its role of organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution . . . If, while it is carrying on a life and death fight against the bourgeoisie, there are capitulators and traitors on its own staff, within its own fortress, the working class will be caught between two fires, from the front and the rear. Clearly such a struggle can only end in defeat.[17]

This conscious fomenting of intense hostility and animosity against internal, as well as external "enemies" as a means of survival in a "mortal struggle" is manifested in the language of Bolshevism. The words "liquidation" and "purge" which are often synonomous with killing and extermination of opponents became outstanding in Soviet vocabulary. There is an increasing use of words which convey ideas of hatred and violence and stimulate such feelings and practices. In Bolshevik stereotyped termi-

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SONGS OF GREAT RUSSIA.

A. KHOROVOD SONGS.

(CHORAL DANCE.)

539

1. THE AUTUMN NIGHT.

(*Notchka.*)

Oh, thou dark autumn night,
Thou dark night, and not the last one.
A young and sorrowful maiden,
Here I sit and wait all alone,
I lie down, feeling lonesome ;—
Sorrow and worry overcome me,
Worry about my dear lover.
My lover lives far away,
On the other side of the river.
My dear one walks on the other side,
And waves his right hand to me,
With his black hat in the hand.
"Come over," says he, "to this side!"
I would like to come, but I find no ford ;
I found a crossing, but it is over a pole,
And that pole is thin and the creek is deep,
And the water is so awfully cold in it.

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The musical construction of this song is based on the principle of *imitation*, which denotes the repetition of the principal melody in harmonic variations, for the secondary voices. The tune is very simple, consisting of a descending scale of notes, in groups of four, and the different voices are beautifully interwoven. The effect is very characteristic and fine.

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2. DUCKY DARLING.

(*Outitza.*)

Oh, ducky, my darling,
Down by the meadow,
My own young one,
Where have you been?
Where did you stay?
Last night, in the woods,
By the willow trees,
Under the raspberry bush,
There saw I pass,
Two bold young men,
Not married yet.
They each had a knife,
They cut shoots off the willows
And made whistles of them.
Oh, whistles, blow not so loud,
Wake not my father dear.
Do not disturb my mother,
Who is over the river,
Brewing beer for the son-in-law.

The principle of *imitation* is also very strongly carried out in the melody of this song, so as to make each part of it important. [533]

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3. THE GREEN FOREST.

(*Zelionaya rostcha.*)

The green forest roared the whole life-long night,
And I, poor young maiden, did not shut an eye;
I dreamt not, I slept not, I sat up and spun;
And while I was spinning, so lazy I felt—
I felt very tired, with grief overcome.
I had been invited to come to a feast,
To come to a wedding, my false lover's own.
My lover was handsome, so curly and fair,
The horse that he mounted went proudly along.

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4. ON THE SEA.

(*Kak po moriu.*)

Far on the sea, the wide sea;
Far on the deep, blue sea,
There swam a swan with her little ones,
With her little ones, her cygnets.
Suddenly a bold falcon appears;
He strikes and kills the white swan.
The blood flowed out into the sea,
The feathers flew to the beach,
The down was blown about by the wind.
Young maidens went out together
To collect the down of this swan.
There appears a nice young man:
"Good day to you, my dear young maids,
"Good luck to you, collecting down
"To fill the pillows of your lovers!"
All the girls made him a bow,
Only one of them did not do so.
"All right, my dear young maid;
"I wish you to wed my brother,
"And to stand by the side of your bed
"Until your feet are cold and tired,
"And to weep blinding tears."
When she heard this reproach
The girl humbled herself and bowed to him:
"I did not know that it was you,
"When you came and bowed to us so low."

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B. POSSIDELOTCHNY SONGS.

(SOCIAL GATHERING.)

5. THE BIRCHWOOD SPLINTER.

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(*Lootchina.*)

My dear birchwood splinter,
Why don't you burn brightly?
Or, may be, you have not been in the oven?
I have been in the oven all last night,
But the wicked mother-in-law crept into the oven,
She crept into it to put a pan of water,
And drenched me all over with water.

This is one of the possidelotchny or social gathering songs, which are used at the *possidelky*, as explained on page 17.[1] The subject refers to the unhappy condition of a newly married young woman, living with her husband's family, whom the mother-in-law does not like and annoys out of spite. The birchwood splinter was used formerly by the peasants for lighting the house at nights. [606] [373]

A long block of birchwood was carefully split into long pieces, like laths, which were dried in the big oven over night; when a light was necessary, such a splint was stuck into an iron fork, which stood on the floor, and the lower end ignited. This splint, even when perfectly dry, caused a great deal of trouble, as it had to be attended to frequently, to snuff it and to renew it. When wet, it was nearly useless, of course, and to work by it was nearly impossible.

In the next piece an allusion is made to the ends of the splints which had been left over from previous nights, and which the careful housekeepers required to be burnt when there was chance to do so, *i. e.*, when there was no company and not so much light was needed.

The simple and plaintive melody alone is sufficient to depict the deep grief caused by the tyranny of the family over a defenceless member of it

1 [See cat. 116 — Analyst]

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6. LATE AT NIGHT.

(*Posdno Vetcherom.*)

I was sitting late at night,
Keeping up the birch splint light,
Oh, hayduck, haydutchiok,
Keeping up the birch splint light.

Keeping up the birch splint light,
I burnt what ends I found
Oh, hayduck, haydutchiok,

I burnt up what ends I found,
Waiting for my dearest friend.
Oh, hayduck, etc.

I was waiting for my friend,
And at last my lover came.
Oh, hayduck, etc.

When at last my lover came,
I embraced him with joy.
Oh, hayduck, etc.

I embraced him with joy,
Wound my arms around his neck.
Oh, hayduck, etc.

Wound my arms around his neck,
While my eyes were shedding tears.
Oh, hayduck, etc.

Asked him with tearful eyes,
Not to stay away so long.
Oh, hayduck, etc.

The meaning of burning up the ends of the birch splint partly used has been explained in the previous song.

Hayduck—in the refrain is of uncertain origin; its latest meaning was that of a servant; haydutchiok is the diminutive of it.

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7. I FEEL SLEEPY.

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(*Spitsia mne.*)

I feel sleepy and am dozing,
My head is dropping on the pillow;
My father-in-law is walking in the hall.
Angrily he is making a noise.
He knocks, he raps,
He knocks, he raps,
He does not let the daughter sleep.
"Get up, arise, you sleepy-head
"Get up, arise, you sleeper,
"You useless girl, you lazy one!"

My mother-in-law walks in the hall,
Angrily she goes up and down.
She knocks, she raps,
She knocks, she raps,
She does not let the daughter sleep.
"Get up, arise, you sleepy-head
"Get up, arise, you sleeper,
"You useless girl, you lazy one!"

I feel sleepy and am dozing,
My head is dropping on the pillow,
My dear husband walks in the hall.
Easily, softly he is saying:
"Sleep, dream, my dear,
"Sleep, dream, my own!
"You have been scolded and persecuted,
"You have been given away
"Too early in marriage!"

This is another example of songs which refer to the ill-treatment of a young wife by her husband's parents; only the love of her husband makes life at all bearable to her.

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8. LAST NIGHT I WAS AT A PARTY.

(*Ya vetchor moloda.*)

Last night I was at a party,
At a pleasant and social party,
At a social party at my neighbor's.
I did not drink mead nor light beer,
But I drank some sweet brandy;
Not from a wine glass, nor from a tumbler,
But right out of a great, big bowl,
Over the brim, till I could see the bottom.
Home I went, through the woods without fear,
I went through the open fields without tottering;
When I reached my home, I stumbled
But caught hold of the post of the door.
"My dear, dear doorpost,
"Hold me up, poor woman,
"The drunken woman, the tipsy fool.
"My husband is a hard drinker:—
"He does not drink brandy, but keeps tipsy on water."

A humorous song, the lively melody of which agrees well with the words.

C. DANCE SONGS.

9. THE ENTRANCE HALL.

(*Sseny.*)

Oh, my new "sseny," built not long ago,
Of maple lumber, with latticed work.
I shall never again walk in that hall,
Never walk there hand in hand with my lover.
The young woman came outside the new gate,
She turned loose a falcon off her hand.
"Fly away, falcon, go high and far:
Go to my native country far away!

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In my native country lives my stern father;
He was harsh and had no pity on me.
He forbade me to walk out in the evening;
I disobeyed my father and pleased my lover."

This song is greatly liked at dancing parties amongst the peasants, but it really was not a dancing song originally. While the time is quick and lively, still there can be heard in it an undercurrent of sadness, and this combination of two opposing feelings is also expressed in the words of the song.

A young woman remembers her former home, from which she escaped against the wishes of her stern father, who did not allow her to atttend the social gatherings of her friends. Her present life with her husband seems to be a happy one, and this strain predominates in the tune, and she wants the falcon to go to her father and tell him so; but then she also has a feeling of homesickness, which can be heard beneath the rollicking tune. [593]

The simplicity of the melody gives it great strength, but it also contains the danger of being easily made trivial by an unfeeling execution.

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10. KAMARINSKAYA.

What a queer fellow you are Kamarinsky peasant,
As you run stumbling along the street!
"I am running to the rumshop, with a headache.—
Without drinking a peasant can not live."

One of the favorite male dancing songs; the words are humorous, but rather coarse, so that but one verse can be given here, and even that one slightly modified.

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11. THE MEADOWS.

(*Vo loosiakh.*)

In the meadows, in the green meadows,
There grew soft, silky grass,
There bloomed little blue flowers,
There spread sweet odors.
On that grass I will feed my horse,
I will feed it and comb it:
I will put on its silver bridle,

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Put on the silver saddle,
And lead the horse to my father.
"Dear father, my own master,
"Listen to a civil word:
"Do not give me away to an old man;
"I hate an old man worse than death;
"I can not go walking with an old one,
"I rather stay an old maid.
"I will then comb my hair nicer,
"I will then plait it finer,
"And wind a red ribbon into it."

D. RECRUIT SONG.

12. THE WHITE SNOW.

(*Ne bely snegy.*)

It is not the white snow that shines in the open field,
It is the white stone house of my beloved that shines.
In that house there stands two oaken tables;
Behind those tables sit two bold young men;
They hold in their hands pens of swan feathers.
Near them stands a young girl and cries bitterly.
One of the young men tries to console her.
"Do not cry, my dear girl, do not cry nor grieve,
Thy lover is not going to be a common soldier,
But he is going to join the bold Cossacks of the Don.

[702] The taking away of a young man for service as a soldier used to be as strong a cause for grief to his family and friends, as his death itself, because the term of a soldier used to be 25 years—practically all his life. Therefore the girl is crying before the recruiting officers and all the consolation they can give her is the fact, that the young man will be put into a Cossack regiment—the Cossacks enjoying some privileges over the regular soldiers, such as the election of their own officers, better treatment and generally a more democratic institution.

But the powerful melody of this song indicates another current of feeling, than grief alone. The victorious solemnity and energy of this tune represents the manly response of a young man to his country; we hear in it the self-reliance born in an army which has centuries of victories behind it, which has made the country what it is, and which is ready to go and die for it, when called upon. This bold and calmly strong spirit has already affected even the recruit.

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13. IN PRISON.

(*V temnitze.*)

In a gloomy prison a robber was lying,
Expecting a shameful death: he was saying:
"How soon shall I see the hangman?
"I shall expiate my crime then.
"Do not tarry with your whips, but punish me quickly;
"I have deserved that punishment.
"Let it burn me fiercer than a bonfire,
"Sharpen well your knives for me,
"Beat and cut me, I am a robber,
"And I have deserved my fate.
"A terror in the field I have been, killing and destroying,
"Without regard to any prayers for mercy:
"Like a raven striking a bird did I act."
Suddenly soldiers knocked at the door,
Their bayonets flashed and the words froze on his lips.
"Good bye, my beloved woods and hiding places;
"Do not worry for me, my dear ones!"

E. ROBBER SONGS.

14. THE BOLD MUSTACHES.

(*Oussy.*)

Up 'til now the Mustaches were not heard of,
Nor was anything ever seen of them;
But lately bold Mustaches have appeared in Russia,
In the new settlement of Strogonoff.

They walk proudly about the town;
Their hats are of beaver, with velvet tops,
Their dark gray coats are padded,
Are padded with damask silk.

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The Mustaches have met in the grogshop,
And sat down in a circle by themselves;
The biggest Mustache was the chief of them all,
Gryshka Mourishka, a nobleman's son.

And he says, stroking his mustaches:
"Brethren mine, you bold Mustaches,
"The summer is passing, the winter is near,
"And we must consider how we will feed our bellies."

"Go, boys, and grind up your axes,
"Have the blacksmith make pikes for you,
"Whet your long knives to a good edge—
"For we shall need all these weapons soon."

"I know of a man who is very rich,
"And he lives on a mountain far away;
"He does not plow, but has wheat to sell,
"And the money for it he puts in a box."

[531] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries organized bands of robbers were frequent in Russia and were a ready refuge for young men, unable to bear the petty restrictions of law and custom at home. As they also often were protectors and avengers of the poor, they were rather popular with the masses: the strain of romance in their mode of life added to the regard in which they were held. For these reasons the number of robber songs, which passed amongst the people was quite great.

Mustache was probably the nick-name of some robber chief, adorned with particularly long mustaches, and his gang may have been called after him—the Bold Mustaches.

[533] A peculiarity of the robber songs is that they are hardly ever executed as solos: many other songs are used by a single voice as well as choir, but these it is customary to render by many voices together. This fact evidently is directly connected with the essence of the subject, which they deal with, as robbers did their work also in organized bands.

This same feature is observed in the laboring songs, which are translated herein; they also must be sung by a choir, as the work must be done by a gang of men together.

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F. BARGEMEN'S SONG.

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16. VOLGA.

Down the Volga, down our mother river,
Down the broad and long river,
A storm has arisen,
Not a little storm either.
The waves run high;
Nothing can be seen in the waves,
But a small red boat.
White shine its sails,
And black are the caps of the rowers.
The master stands at the stern,
Dressed in his best attire.

This song is a favorite one with the bargemen on the river Volga, and is also much liked all over Russia; hardly a boating party takes place without the singing of the *Volga*.

This song originated amongst the robbers who used to infest the river Volga in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; they organized themselves into large bands and captured vessels; sometimes they were powerful enough to go out to sea and take and plunder large towns on the coast. [539]

The song describes the sailing of a band on the river in stormy weather; the crew is well dressed and the chief is in holiday attire. They are going down the river, and are going to carry away a young woman, who is waiting for them.

The song is quite old, several hundred years, but has been preserved in nearly the original form. The sustained boldness and freedom of the tune seem in perfect consonance with the storm on a broad and deep river.

G. LABORING SONGS.

17. HEAVE, HO!

(*Ay, oukhnem.*)

Oh, heave, ho!
Oh heave ho!

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Once more heave, ho, once more heave!
We untwist the little birch,
We untwist the curly one!
Ay, da da, ay da,
Ay, da da, ay da,
We untwist the curly birch!

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18. HEAVE, HO, STRIKE UP!

(Oukhnem, grianem!)

All through the dark night, the long dark night,
The autumn night, the long one,—
We heave, Strike up!
The boss calls out to us: "Heave, ho!"
And we heave, strongly we row.
Oh, heave! Strike up!

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19. DOUBINOUSHKA.

(Little Club.)

Here, old woman, be not angry
Catch hold of the oven lid!
Oh, doubinoushka, let us come down,
At the green one we'll pull;
We'll pull, we'll pull,
Come down!

Pull your baking out of the oven,
And treat your guests to some of it,
Oh, doubinoushka, etc.

Here our prince stands waiting,
For a chance to kiss his princess.
Oh, doubinoushka, etc.

The guests ask the young couple
To sweeten the drinks by kisses.
Oh, doubinoushka, etc.

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And for your bread and wine,
They will put rubles on the plate.
Oh, doubinoushka, let us come down,
At the green one we will pull.
We'll pull, we'll pull.
Come down!

The laboring songs here given are very common in Russia, where nearly all labor done by the concerted effort of a crowd is accompanied by a song.

The first two were originally bargemen's songs, but have been carried all over the country by this time. The tune is very simple but extremely picturesque and effective; the *oukhnem* represents phonetically the release of the breath after a violent effort—*oukh-* ; the meaning of *untwisting* the birch or the club has been lost to us during the progress of the song through many ages.

The expression of the melody is one of great physical effort and also of power to carry it on and to overcome obstacles.

A fine effect is produced by starting No. 17 pianissimo with a gradual crescendo, as if the choir was at first far away and approaches while pulling a boat; in the middle—the full power of the song is heard by the audience, and, the crew going on, the song diminishes in strength and finally fades away.

A pure laboring song is No. 19, which cheers up the tired men at work wherever the Russian language is heard. It is started as a solo by the leader of the gang, in most any kind of words, often extemporized; the choir takes up the refrain.

In our version it has been adapted to the humorous incident at the wedding. 1

H. WEDDING SONGS.

20. GLORIFICATION.

Praise be to the Lord in Heaven, Glory!
To our prince* on this earth, Glory!
May our prince never grow old, Glory!
May his festal dress never wear out, Glory!
May his good horses never break down, Glory!
May his faithful servants never fail, Glory!

1 [See cat. 116, p. 23--Analyst]

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May the right shine in our country, Glory!
Brighter than the sun, Glory!
May his treasure chest, Glory!
Always be full of gold, Glory!
May his glory descend, Glory!
By the great rivers to the sea, Glory!
And by the creeks to the flouring mill, Glory!
This song we sing to the bread, Glory!
And we offer praise to the loaf, Glory!
As a solace to the old people, Glory!
And for the public to hear, Glory!

This song has been utilized by Beethoven in his op. 59, Rasoumovsky Quartet in F.

*By *prince* and *princess* are meant in this song, the newly married people.

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21. THE SOWING OF THE MILLET.

(*A mi prosso Ssegali.*)

[776]

This song is at least a thousand years old and dates from the heathen times of Russia, as the invocation of Lado, the deity of the Spring testifies. It typifies the custom of obtaining the bride by purchase.

The first chorus begins:

We have sown, we have sown millet,
Oy, Did-Lado, we have sown,

to which the other replies:

But we will trample it, trample it,
Oy, Did-Lado, will trample it.

Then the two choruses sing alternately:

1. But with what will you trample it?
2. Horses will we turn into it.
1. But we will catch the horses.
2. What will you catch them with?
1. With a silken rein.
2. But we will ransom the horses.
1. What will you ransom them with?

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2. We will give a hundred roubles.
1. A thousand is not what we want.
2. What is then you want?
1. What we want is a maiden.

On this, one of the girls in the second choir goes over to the first, the two sides singing, respectively "Our band has lost," and "Our band has gained." The game lasts until all the girls have gone from one side to the other. Of course in the concerts the action is abridged.

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22. WHAT DUST IS THAT ON THE ROAD.

539

(*Chto vo pole pilno.*)

Dear Mother, what is that dust on the road?
Beloved, what dust is that on the road?
My child, the horses are playing and running about,
My sweet child, the horses are playing and running about.

Dear mother, visitors are entering the yard,
Beloved, visitors are entering the yard!
My child, fear not, I shall not give you up,
My sweet one, fear not and be not scared.

Dear mother, the guests are mounting the porch,
Beloved, the guests are mounting the porch!
My child, fear not, I shall not give you up,
My sweet one, fear not, I'll not let you go.

Dear mother, they are entering the front room,
Beloved, they are entering the front room!
My child, fear not, I shall not give you up,
My sweet one, fear not, I'll not turn you away.

Dear mother, they are sitting down at the table,
Beloved, they are sitting down at the table!
My child, fear not, I'll not give you up,
My sweet one, fear not, I shall not give you away.

Dear Mother, they are taking down the holy image,
Beloved, they are blessing me with the holy image!
My child, the Lord be with you,
My sweet one, the Lord be with you!

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23. THE MATCHMAKER.

(Svatoushka.)

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Matchmaker, you old matchmaker,
You stupid matchmaker;
You went after the bride, you came into the kitchen garden,
You spilled a keg of beer all over the cabbages,
You saluted the fence, you worshipped the door post.
Oh, door post, you good door post,
Show him the way to go after the bride.
Matchmaker, take a hint:
Pull out your purse,
The money in it is jumping about,
And the girls like the looks of it.

---

24. I WALK ABOUT WITH THE WREATH.

(Sso vyunom ya khojou.)

I walk about with the wreath,
I walk with the golden one;
I know not where to put it down,
I know not where to lay the golden one.
I will lay the wreath,
I will lay the new one,
In the bridal pair's room,
At the head of their bed, --
And may it do them good.
How can I redeem the wreath?
What can I give for the new one?
I will give for the new wreath
Two pieces of gold,
Three or four pieces of silver,
And two pacing horses.

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25. A GREEN PEAR SWINGS IN THE GARDEN.

(*Zelonaya grousha.*)

A green pear swings in the garden.
Dear Mary is crying bitterly,
The daughter of John is wailing loudly
Before her beloved father,
Before her beloved mother,
Because she is going away with strangers.

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26. ACROSS THE RIVER.

(*Kak za retchkoy.*)

Across the river, across the swift one,
Ay, luly, luly, the swift one,
Was walking a fine young man,
Ay, luly, luly, a fine young man;
His head was brown and curly,
Ay, luly, luly, brown and curly,
The hair was combed nicely,
Ay, luly, luly, nicely.
There came to meet him some young girls,
Ay, luly, luly, some young girls.
"Sell us, oh fine young man,
Ay, luly, luly, fine young man,
"Sell us your brown curly hair!
Ay, luly, luly, curly hair!"
"You foolish senseless girls,
Ay, luly, luly, foolish girls,
"I need my brown curls myself,
Ay, luly, luly, need myself;
"I am single yet and I need them,
Ay, luly, luly, I need them,
"To help me to get married,
Ay, luly, luly, get married!"

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27. THE LITTLE DUCK.

(*Outousńka.*)

A little duck was bathing herself in the sea,
A little gray duck was splashing about.
It went on the beach, shook itself, and said:
"How can I go away and leave the sea,
"How can I fly away from this high shore?
"The cold winter is coming,
"The hard frosts are approaching,
"The deep snows are nearing.
"I shall be forced to leave the sea,
"I shall be forced to fly from the high shore."
Young Thekla was washing herself in her room,
In the highceiled room she was dressing,
And bitterly crying over her fate.
"How can I part with my dear father,
"How can I leave my dear mother?"
Nahum is coming with all his friends,
The son of Pamphile with his friends,
He will take young Thekla by the right hand,
Lead her to the Lord's church,
And then home to his house.

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SACRED SONGS.

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35. HOLY LORD.

(*Svaty Boje.*)

Holy Lord, holy powerful One, holy immortal One,
Have mercy upon us!
Praise be to the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost!
Now and forever!

36. LET MY PRAYER BE RECEIVED.

(*Da ispravitsa.*)

Let my prayer be received,
Like incense before Thee!
Offered by my hand as an evening sacrifice!
Lord, I call out to Thee, hear me!
Listen to the voice of my prayer!
When I call to Thee hear me!

37. CHERUB SONG.

(*Kheruvimskaya.*)

Like the cherubim, secretly worshipping,
To the life giving Trinity let us sing a thrice holy song!
Let us put away now every temporary care. Amen!
Let us praise the King of all,
With the invisible angels, who offer their praise!
Hallelujah.

38. HOW GLORIOUS IS OUR LORD IN ZION.

(*Kol slaven.*)

How glorious is our Lord in Zion,
The tongue unable is to tell;
Majestic in the skies enthroned,
In dust and on the earth as well.
Almighty is the Lord and splendid,
By day, by night in equal force.

39. THE LORD'S PRAYER.

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need for personal responsibility is stressed in these sayings: "No one is to blame. He is to blame himself"; "For a good man all goes well."[21] And when they quarrel they are not expected to become vindictive, but to forget and say "Words are like wind."[22]

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These people are very fond of intoxicating drink which in their society seems to be a way to increase sociability and channel aggressiveness rather than a means of escape. They drink in groups, not alone, and then they sing and dance and appeal to Lada, who was the Goddess of Love in their heathen past. They tend to turn even sad and mournful events into occasions for merry-making and are inclined to minimize fear of death.[23]

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II

Interpersonal relations and philosophy of life of the early Slav plowmen seem to have been projected into their supernatural world. According to the early beliefs of these people, the universe was governed by a great many deities, fairies and spirits. Most of these supernatural beings were pictured as benevolent, some mildly malevolent. They lived in families and had children. They could be found everywhere; in the house as well as in the lakes and rivers; they could be seen swinging from every plant and tree; or heard singing and handclapping in every barn and on every threshing floor. Until very recently, the Bielorussian peasant could see the sun dancing if he got up early in the morning on a certain day of the year.

The whole cosmic view of the early Slav agriculturist seems to have consisted of pantheism and animism. All nature was possessed of spirits that behaved like human beings. Human beings themselves were identified with nature, with animals and plants.

[551]

This identification of man and nature found its expression, for instance, in personal names which were those of seasons and natural spectacles, of trees, flowers and fruits, birds and other animals. These semi-matriarchal plowmen also apparently practiced a special cult of Mother Earth and of Rozhanitsy—the female beings who presided over the birth and destiny of man. Sacrificial meals were offered to these fairy-like spirits, consisting of meatless dishes.[24] The sermons of the first Christian missionaries

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that he might be rich and powerful in life.[6] For the same reason money was placed in the water when the child was bathed for the first time.[7]

In marriage customs the urge for power was expressed in certain activities performed during the marriage ritual and believed to contain magical properties that enabled either one or the other spouse to dominate. Also in the wedding party the bridegroom was called "knyaz" (prince) and his party "boyars"; an important part of the marriage ceremonies consisted in *velichat gostei*, that is in mutual glorification of the wedding guests.

The phrase *Kak vas velichat?*—how to glorify you?, which is employed when asking another person his name might indicate the same feelings. In early Russia personal names were formed by a combination of words which conveyed the image of rule, glory, power, holiness and destruction, such as Sviatoslav (the holy and glorious), Yaropolk (blazing power), Mstislav (the glory of revenge).

Another manifestation of power-seeking, mistrust and destructive aggression on the folk level is revealed, for instance, in attitudes toward women. The folk image of the woman is in remarkable contrast to the image of the mother. The derisive name for woman is *baba*, and baba is said "not to be a human being" (*Baba ne chelovek*), according to a proverb. Therefore mistreatment and abuse of women may be justified.[8] In the folk parlance distinction is made between *Krestyane* (Christians, peasants) and *zhenshchiny* (women). In the folk maxims women are pictured as immoral ("Three babas Sodom"), shameless ("A baba laughs where grandpa blushes"), more cunning than the devil ("Where the devil fails he sends a baba"), the cause of all man's troubles ("She was the cause of Adam's banishment"), and source of all evil ("We cannot expect any good from our rib").[9]

This folk concept of woman as an inferior being is found on all levels of Russian society. Comparatively few women have been admitted to the rank of saints in the Russian Church. Count Leo Tolstoy, a philosopher and novelist, who has been otherwise renowned for his ideas of Christian love, all-human brotherhood and an anarchic social and political equality, showed a great deal of misogynism. In his diary he pictures

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178 In the new secularized and urbanized society, also, the position
565 of the clergy became increasingly precarious. Like other insti-
793 tutions of the Czardom the Russian Orthodox Church was organized along the lines of sharp social differentiation and dominance-submission relationships. Russian Orthodox clergy as a whole formed a closed caste institution. All lay clergymen and many monastics were recruited from among the members of the
[582] families of lay clergy. Endogamous marriage was practiced within this caste. The church maintained its own schools for both the sons and the daughters of clergymen. In this manner
[184] the clergy had been separated from the rest of the society and had developed a sub-culture of its own. The clerics were set apart from others not only by their priestly garb, but by their manners, and even by their names.

792 Internally, however, within the ranks of the Orthodox clergy
793 there was a sharp distinction between the monastic order (black clergy) and the secular priesthood (white clergy). The monastic
● 554 order was rich in land donations and other possessions and all the Church hierarchy was recruited from among its ranks. The secular clergy was not only subordinate to the monastics, but also poor. Among the secular clergy sharp class distinction existed between the city clergy and the village priests. This differentiation was manifested in the differences in income, education and prestige, as well as in the lack of intermarriage between these strata. The difference was also reflected in the attitudes of
[369] the laity. While the city clergy were socially accepted by the middle and lower urban layers, the village priests were rather isolated from the rest of the population.

However, the sharpest difference and social distance existed between the Church hierarchy and the rank-and-file clergymen. The heads of monasteries, for instance, behaved like real magnates. They took in large revenues, kept servants, horses and carriages, and hardly shared in the life of their monastic brothers, even though these Church dignitaries resided in monasteries. In the same way, the bishops were inclined to belittle the lay clergy under their control. They treated them with a great want of respect. They would abuse them, insult them and then even flog them.

1/4 [i.e. developing in the second half of the XIX th century -- Analyst]

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It was this contrast between the alleged lofty calling of the minister of a privileged Church and his sad fate that must have depressed many a priest and made him bitter and resentful. Even before he became priest, while still a student in the divinity school, where he was educated at the government's expense, he was exposed to abusive treatment at the hands of his superiors. He was ill-fed, insufficiently clothed, and frequently beaten with the rod or lash. At one time these Church seminaries were so unpopular that children of the clergy had to be forced into them with the help of the knut and of the police. Embittered because of bad treatment, many of these young men nursed a grudge against their disciplinarians, as well as against the Church, the state, and the society at large. The instructors in these institutions, ill-paid and badly treated by their own superiors, were often as wretched and as discontented as their pupils.[2] In this manner the conditions in these institutions tended to reinforce feelings of rebellion which were nursed in the family.

As a result of such circumstances, Russian-Orthodox seminaries became a fertile ground for revolutionary political propaganda which was spreading with an increasing intensity in all the middle schools and universities of the Czardom ever since the abortive uprising of the Decembrists.[1] In this manner many Russian-Orthodox seminaries became hot-beds of subversive radicalism. Mutinies occurred and even attempts to assassinate rectors.

In the meantime, however, that is since 1869, services other than priesthood were opened to a priest's son. Since then the most rebellious youths from divinity schools and priestly families tended to leave church calling and engage in other activities. It was from among such rebels that many Russian revolutionaries were recruited. Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov among the "Nihilists," Nechaev among the Terrorists, Stalin among the Bolsheviks, are only a few outstanding examples in a long list of Russian professional conspirators and revolutionaries. Said Stalin:

> In protest against the humiliating regime and the jesuitical methods that prevailed in the seminary, I was ready to become, and eventually did become, a revolutionary, a believer in Marxism . . .[3]

*[i.e. in December, 1825 -- Analyst]

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668 In a similar manner revolt was brewing in the bureaucracy
647 and the armed forces. In a system which was founded on the
701 principles of absolute dominance, subservience and uncondi-
554 tional submission, it is to be expected that the civil service employees as well as many officers would be often exposed to caprice, arbitrariness and wrong doings on the part of their superiors. These, too, were left without possibility of redress as were the clergymen. Strong sense of rank and social distance were as marked in these strata as among the clergy.

871 The lay schools were not much different in strictness and dis-
565 cipline from the priests' seminaries, and students in these schools were often as ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and as exposed to the rod and other degrading treatment. The student's parents, who were often impoverished gentry, petty chinovniks, or small traders with meager incomes and big families, were not always able to support their children throughout long years of schooling. At the same time in an economically and technologically [555] undeveloped society with strong traditions of service nobility, there was nothing that young people from such families could do but to enroll at a university or a military academy in order to obtain government office, or to engage in free learned professions. In Russian society of those days these were the only possibilities of obtaining positions of some prestige. Many of these students from impoverished strata had therefore to depend upon public or private munificence to finish their studies. Some of them became police informers to secure a meager income and to finish schooling. Many had to drop out of school because of lack of financial resources.

871 All Russian schools, therefore, on the middle as well as on the
668 university level, became centers of revolt against an order which exposed them to humiliating treatment, but did not offer them opportunities in accordance with the established traditions of higher classes. Hence the higher the school, the more it was imbued with the revolutionary spirit. And the words "student" and "revolutionary" became synonymous.

517 When new laws were introduced and these ambitious and
647 rebellious young men and women finally entered state service
641 they found that in addition to being ill-treated and ill-paid, a

½ [i.e. in the second half of the XIX th century -- Analyst]

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upon the regime than the peasantry and industrial labor. The objective of this policy has been to prevent among the intelligentsia formation of an *esprit de corps* and opposition to Bolshevik rule, and to command the services and unquestionable obedience of every educated man. These are the political foundations of the growing and deliberately fostered stress on rank and distinction, on social differentiation, sense of superiority and inferiority, absolute superordination and blind subordination.

In the upper strata, much more so than in the lower classes, the process of hierarchal and functional differentiation is fostered and maintained not only by means of specialization of work and differences in rank, but also by means of sharply differentiated income, and by means of differential distribution of spoils, and of privileges. This sharp stratification of Soviet society, rooted in the traditions of the Czardom, in its own turn promotes power-seeking and domineering, dependency and subservience, as well as lack of social intimacy and lack of trust.

The highest privileges in the Soviet society are accruing to the top ruling faction of professional conspirators. But this group is itself internally sharply differentiated. It is headed by the Party Leader (*Vozhd*), and is divided into a number of policy making bodies, among which the Political Bureau (Politburo), now to be known as the Presidium,[1] is of foremost importance. Though the members of the Presidium and of other top policy making bodies, such as the Secretariat, are formally appointed by the Central Committee of the Party, they are *de facto* selected by the supreme leader and therefore depend upon him for their position. Such a situation fosters bickering among top ranking officials in their mutual struggle to win the favors of the head man, which in turn enables the supreme Party leader to play one faction of his camarilla against the other one or—not unlike in the days of the Czars—to select a more intimate inner circle of a few most trusted persons on whom to rely for advice and help. These then assist the leader in selecting and in eliminating the members of the top ranking hierarchy, according to expediency and circumstances.

This highly concentrated power structure is supported by a

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corresponding Party structure on the lower levels of the Party hierarchy where Party Secretariats hold the reins of power. In this system of political and social control it is the Party Secretariats on local, regional and republic levels that are of pivotal importance.[2] Through his control of the Central Party Secretariat, the supreme Party leader is enabled to select the most useful and the most trusted people for such offices.[3]

The top Party leadership is therefore in a position to direct the recruitment of Party membership. It is empowered to accept and to expel members. It directs the secretariats on the lower levels of Party hierarchy as to whom the Party shall "elect" as its officers and as its deputies to the higher Party bodies, or whom to delegate to the local or national Soviets, and other representative Party or non-Party institutions. It consults with the secretariats about the appointment of trusted Party members to responsible regional and republic government and managerial positions, and it checks on fulfillment of Party directives. This checking is done through the Committee of Party Control whose representatives function independently of local Party bodies.[4]

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4.6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Party members. Together with the policy-making Party bodies they form the ruling class of the Soviet society. This top Party-state governing class consists perhaps of about two hundred thousand people or one tenth of one per cent of the total population. They are often referred to as the *Partia i Pravitelstvo*—the Party and the government.

The middle and lower layers of government specialists are often referred to as the *Sluzhashchie*. This stratum includes the rank and file of the learned professions, the rank and file of the intelligentsia and semi-intelligentsia, the middle and lower professional military, the middle and lower government managerial ranks, the engineers and the technicians. According to the 1939 census the number of those in the sluzhashchie class, that is "all those who work in offices" was close to thirty million or seventeen per cent of the total Soviet population, as contrasted to the industrial labor (*rabochie*) which formed thirty-two per cent and the peasantry (*krestiane*) which formed forty-six per cent of the total.

The more one goes down this social scale, the smaller becomes the proportion of Party members to non members and of the privileged to the non-privileged. One's position in this caste-like pyramid determines his status expressed not only in the form of income, but even more so in the extent to which he gets the benefits of various social services, the extent of appurtenances,[10] the amount of freedom of personal movement, and the degree of superordination and subordination.

The privileged position of the educated and semi-educated classes is well manifested in the internal structure of the Bolshevik Party. As late as 1930 about 65 percent of Party members were workers or recruited from the working class, about 20 percent were peasants or of peasant background, and less than 15 percent belonged to the white collar class. But by 1941–42 the composition of the Party was reversed and apparently at present more than 70 percent of the new candidates and members are recruited from among the educated and official classes.[11] The Party rules, which in the first years of Bolshevik regime had favored the industrial proletariat, and to a certain extent the soldiers and the collective peasants, had to be revised in order to

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The wording of the Soviet armed forces oath bears witness to the vigor of this discipline and the strength of social pressure brought to its support. In addition to the punishment that may be expected by the Soviet soldier who did not fulfill his duty as expected, or who did not promptly sacrifice his life for the country is, according to this oath, "hatred and contempt of the working people" (*nenavist i prezrenie trudyashchikhsya*).[68]

At the same time the moral authority of the commander has been enhanced by a great amount of educational work and political agitation. The commander's unconditional authority is also consolidated with the help of an elaborate system of ranks, medals, and uniforms, and by the introduction of caste-like relations between the officers and the rank-and-file, a situation which is supported by the general trend in the Soviet society toward differentiation, superordination and subordination, and sharp social stratification.

Accordingly, Soviet practices in military education and training favor different types of schools according to the rank and the class. In the school for commanders the admittance practices favor children of professional army officers. In this manner Soviet military schools tend to solidify the present military caste system and to develop professional classes of hereditary warriors. Following Czarist traditions there is much pomp, ritual and ceremonial in the armed forces. There is also a certain emphasis on mysticism manifested in kneeling, bowing of heads in silence and stress on holiness. All these are means of appealing to emotions, of emphasizing the sacredness of military duty, and of developing loyalty and dedication to the colors.

As a means of political control the armed forces of the Soviet Union are completely centralized and thoroughly infiltrated by Party men. The strength of Party control of the Soviet armed forces is best seen in the degree of Party infiltration of its commanding personnel. By 1934 the percentage of Party and Party-affiliated persons in the commanding positions of the Soviet Army was about 72. The percentages were even greater in the branches which are considered especially crucial from the point of view of security, such as the tank divisions and the air force. In these two branches the percentage of Party and Party-affiliated

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Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.[1]

However, from the seventeenth century on, Russia's expansion, which was earlier oriented mainly toward the East, turned westward. The wars with the West which heretofore were mainly defensive, tended to acquire an increasingly offensive character. But the wars with the advanced Western countries were more difficult and much more costly than those with the economically and technologically backward Asiatics. The defeats which Russia suffered at the hands of the Swedes and Poles made it imperative for the Czars to increase the military effectiveness of their country to meet the challenge. This need dictated changes in the internal structure of the Czardom, in the direction of administrative and industrial advance along European patterns. Even before Peter the Great, measures had been taken in this direction. But it was Peter who dramatized the issue by himself going abroad as an apprentice in Western industries to become "the first carpenter of the Empire."

In accordance with such need the old system of administration based on service nobility was replaced by a system of salaried officials (*chinovnichestvo*). According to this *chin* (civil rank) system which was introduced by Peter the Great and which followed the Western pattern it was no longer necessary to belong to the dvorianstvo class in order to obtain state service. On the contrary, any one who served faithfully and efficiently could rise in chin and rank and thus obtain the status of a hereditary or of a personal *dvoryanin*, without even owning land. In this way a new salaried military and bureaucratic caste, entirely dependent upon the Czar, was growing at the expense of the landed dvorianstvo. As a result, the dvoryanin-guardsman, the chief state functionary of the eighteenth century, was replaced by the *chinovnik*-commoner in the nineteenth century. Chinovnichestvo absorbed and replaced dvorianstvo—just as earlier the dvorianstvo had absorbed and replaced boyarstvo. Now bureaucracy instead of military nobility became the main instrument of governing.[2]

This change in the structure of the Czardom, however, was accomplished from above, that is, by means of imperial decrees,

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668 647 701 554 In a similar manner revolt was brewing in the bureaucracy and the armed forces. In a system which was founded on the principles of absolute dominance, subservience and unconditional submission, it is to be expected that the civil service employees as well as many officers would be often exposed to caprice, arbitrariness and wrong doings on the part of their superiors. These, too, were left without possibility of redress as were the clergymen. Strong sense of rank and social distance were as marked in these strata as among the clergy.

871 565 The lay schools[1] were not much different in strictness and discipline from the priests' seminaries, and students in these schools were often as ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and as exposed to the rod and other degrading treatment. The student's parents, who were often impoverished gentry, petty chinovniks, or small traders with meager incomes and big families, were not always able to support their children throughout long years of schooling. At the same time in an economically and technologically [555] undeveloped society with strong traditions of service nobility, there was nothing that young people from such families could do but to enroll at a university or a military academy in order to obtain government office, or to engage in free learned professions. In Russian society of those days these were the only possibilities of obtaining positions of some prestige. Many of these students from impoverished strata had therefore to depend upon public or private munificence to finish their studies. Some of them became police informers to secure a meager income and to finish schooling. Many had to drop out of school because of lack of financial resources.

871 668 All Russian schools, therefore, on the middle as well as on the university level, became centers of revolt against an order which exposed them to humiliating treatment, but did not offer them opportunities in accordance with the established traditions of higher classes. Hence the higher the school, the more it was imbued with the revolutionary spirit. And the words "student" and "revolutionary" became synonymous.

517 647 641 When new laws were introduced and these ambitious and rebellious young men and women finally entered state service they found that in addition to being ill-treated and ill-paid, a

[1] [i.e. in the second half of the XIXth century -- Analyst]

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large part of them were disfranchised as well, because in municipal self-government and in district and provincial assemblies even persons holding university degrees, if they did not own a sufficient amount of property, were devoid of the right of suffrage.[4] And it was this underprivileged group of declassee nobility, of priests' sons, of former clerics, of sons and daughters of lower government employees, of unemployed professionals, of students and of former students who never had a chance to finish their studies, that became known as the *raznochintsy*.

The raznochintsy intelligentsia tended to lead a bohemian life and to engage in literary activities and journalism. But these vocations were greatly limited because of strict censorship laws. When the bar was established some raznochintsy practiced law as barristers, though they were very restricted in their activities because of traditional extra legal practices of the police. When under local self-administration (*Zemstvo*), a health, educational, and economic program for the improvement of rural areas was developed, a number of raznochintsy were employed by the Zemstvo as physicians, veterinarians, agronomists, teachers and bookkeepers. At the same time, their traditions and training, and especially their ambitions and expectations had conditioned the raznochintsy for intellectual pursuits and political leadership, not for routine administrative work or for business promotion and enterprise.

In such a situation the deeply rooted feeling of rejection which had been developed on the family level was greatly magnified.[5] Accordingly, self-centeredness, power-seeking, lack of trust, destructive aggression, as well as identification with suffering which were developed on the family level were heightened in these circumstances and found expression in ideologies which manifested extreme hostility and an urge for universal destruction. Many of these young rebels, for instance, denied all existing social institutions, conventions and restrictions, and demanded their total obliteration.

This ideology of extreme negation and destruction ("Nihilism") manifested, perhaps, the feelings of utter despair of the ambitious and self-seeking raznochintsy who felt impotent before the God-like power of the Czar and his omnipotent police.

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passion towards deviants and slackers, lack of intimacy among associates, complete dedication, and humbleness concerning one's own achievements.

Since the Party membership must assist the Party secretaries in the execution of Party policies, it is from among the same types of people that a significant part of the Party membership tends to be recruited. Such people form the hard core of the Party cells and the *aktivs* of Party and government institutions. They are likely to be distant and stern, critical and demanding; they watch over and feel responsible for the behaviour of others, but show no personal consideration or concern.[5]

Another part of Party membership is recruited from among the people who are not zealous, nor over-ambitious nor blindly submissive, but are especially useful to the Party because of their occupational or professional skills. Such people are likely to be competent, as well as humane, considerate, close to their subordinates and understanding in their relations with non-Party men. These people tend to alleviate the harshness of Soviet oppressive bureaucracy and perform therefore a function which is analogous to the role of the mother in the patriarchal Russian family.

It is however the hard core of zealots and careerists who are on the ascendancy and who direct Party work and control government administration and economic management with the help of the aktivs, that is, groups of selected and trusted persons formed within every organization to assist its leadership according to the Party directives. Aktiv is a cardinal agency of Party control. It is an institution of vigilance, supervision and intelligence, as well as an instrument of guidance and planned political manipulation. In the Party itself the role of the aktivs is of fundamental importance:

> Meetings of Party *aktiv* members play an outstanding role in the life of the Party organizations. It is at these meetings that the decisions of the Party and government as well as major problems in the life and work of the Party are discussed. The meetings of Party activists are a means of expression of Party public opinion; they are a forum for Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism.[6]

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[Dobrolyubov]

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humiliating treatment which Dobrolyubov experienced at the hands of his father. As a reaction to such a family situation, Dobrolyubov developed strong needs for emotional attachment and felt very disillusioned and deeply embittered when his need for dependency was frustrated. When he was sixteen years of age this "forerunner of Bolshevism" wrote in his diary:

> No matter how many attachments I had formed in the past, always the evil fate would whisk the beloved being far away from me; and in my soul remains only the sorrowful memory and bitter realization of my despair . . . I could never live without love, without attachment to someone. This has been so ever since I remember myself. But this constant irony of fate, which makes all my hopes and dreams usually crash into dirt, constantly hardens and chills my heart, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that soon it will be both hard and cold as stone.[5]

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Later, apparently, Dobrolyubov found an outlet for his repressed hostilities, in his writings in which he tended to emphasize the dark sides of Russian society ("Realm of Darkness"). He joined that group of "Nihilists" who excelled in their philosophy of extreme individualism, who attacked the existing society and devised the ways to destroy "coldbloodedly" its very foundations, including the family. It was in this ideology of "Nihilism" that Russian Anarchism as well as Bolshevism have been rooted.

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The demand for unlimited power as a means of compensation for humiliations and deprivations and as a means of satisfying craving for acceptance and support tends to perpetuate a political system which gives one a chance to indulge such needs through relationships of absolute dominance and unconditional submission and through destructive action. Such a social and political structure, in its own turn, tends to reinforce paternal despotism and absolute obedience in the family. In this manner, just as in the society of steppe marauders, power-seeking, mistrust and destructive aggression are perpetuated, become generalized and are manifested in many social relations.

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On the folk level desire for power was manifested, for instance, in the customs connected with childbirth. On that occasion the midwife would place the child on a sheepskin coat or furcoat so

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that he might be rich and powerful in life.[6] For the same reason money was placed in the water when the child was bathed for the first time.[7]

In marriage customs the urge for power was expressed in certain activities performed during the marriage ritual and believed to contain magical properties that enabled either one or the other spouse to dominate. Also in the wedding party the bridegroom was called "knyaz" (prince) and his party "boyars"; an important part of the marriage ceremonies consisted in *velichat gostei*, that is in mutual glorification of the wedding guests.

The phrase *Kak vas velichat?*—how to glorify you?, which is employed when asking another person his name might indicate the same feelings. In early Russia personal names were formed by a combination of words which conveyed the image of rule, glory, power, holiness and destruction, such as Sviatoslav (the holy and glorious), Yaropolk (blazing power), Mstislav (the glory of revenge).

Another manifestation of power-seeking, mistrust and destructive aggression on the folk level is revealed, for instance, in attitudes toward women. The folk image of the woman is in remarkable contrast to the image of the mother. The derisive name for woman is *baba*, and baba is said "not to be a human being" (*Baba ne chelovek*), according to a proverb. Therefore mistreatment and abuse of women may be justified.[8] In the folk parlance distinction is made between *Krestyane* (Christians, peasants) and *zhenshchiny* (women). In the folk maxims women are pictured as immoral ("Three babas Sodom"), shameless ("A baba laughs where grandpa blushes"), more cunning than the devil ("Where the devil fails he sends a baba"), the cause of all man's troubles ("She was the cause of Adam's banishment"), and source of all evil ("We cannot expect any good from our rib").[9]

This folk concept of woman as an inferior being is found on all levels of Russian society. Comparatively few women have been admitted to the rank of saints in the Russian Church. Count Leo Tolstoy, a philosopher and novelist, who has been otherwise renowned for his ideas of Christian love, all-human brotherhood and an anarchic social and political equality, showed a great deal of misogynism. In his diary he pictures

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lead the others. Russia was therefore predestined to fulfill this world mission. Hence the Pan-Slavs looked to Moscow, the ancient Russian capital, not the Westernized "City of Peter" (Petersburg) as the heart of Russia[17] and of mankind of the future—the Third Rome.

15
REVOLT OF THE RAZNOCHINTSY INTELLIGENTSIA (NIHILISM AND ANARCHISM)

I

BY THE second part of the nineteenth century, new changes were taking place in the economic relations as well as in the political and class structure of the Czardom. First of all, the process of disintegration of the old order under the impact of the industrialization and bureaucratization was rapidly coming to an end. Serfdom was abolished and with it there came the disastrous ruin of manorial estates which were not prepared to cope with the difficulties of a money and market economy. The result was that the number of impoverished and pauperized gentry was greatly increased.

At the same time the new laws tended to place emphasis on property. Thus, for instance, in the local assemblies of the noblemen the elective franchise was granted only to noblemen possessing a certain amount of land or a certain value of industrial establishment. This difference in civil rights according to the amount of property introduced a sharp cleavage into the gentry class. Earlier all dvorianstvo and all chinovnichestvo were considered equal in rights and had at least theoretically an equal chance to rise in power or to win the favor of the Czar. But now the new laws disfranchised and declassed a large part of the gentry. Similar laws favored the richer class among the merchants which meant that even in municipal affairs birth and education decreased in value in comparison with wealth.[1]

that "If all laws perished the people would live in truth and justice."[7]

The peasant realized that there was sharp differentiation in economic status in his society as well as in his own local community. But what he especially resented was that the men of wealth took advantage of their position to oppress the weak; and that the poor had to be utterly submissive and subservient to the well-to-do. "The one who is better off has long hands," the peasants would say, meaning that the men of wealth had control over others. And he would compare the arbitrariness of the man of power with the craftsman who handles his material according to his will. "The master is like the carpenter: he cuts the way it pleases him." He would also say that the rich man has all the space he wants "as much as the pike in the water," but as "for the poor there is nowhere any room." He resented the fact that though "Poverty was not sin, yet the people laughed at it." He also objected that the poor were forced to repress their real feelings and cringe before the rich. "The poor are angry at the rich, yet they find themselves in their trail with cap in hand," he would complain.[8]

The peasant therefore grew distrustful and resentful of everyone who was in one way or other above him. He could not depend much upon God and Czar, and he mistrusted the bureaucrats, the landlords, the priests, the judges, the police, and even the better-off people of his own strata. He was particularly distrustful of cities and city folk, of Moscow and Moscovites especially. From ancient times he looked upon Moscow, the seat of the Czar's government, as heartless and deceitful, and as the source of most of his troubles. "In Moscow," he thought, "you find everything except own father and mother." He also considered that his capital city was so corrupted that, "If you go to Moscow you must take there your last penny."

The peasant therefore lived in an environment in which he felt deserted by the powers of heaven and oppressed by their representatives on earth. He therefore felt unprotected, isolated, friendless, lonely, and insecure. His idea was that both God and man were against him. "If God attacks you, good people will attack you too," he would complain.

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631 625 responsible only to the Czar; and the police, not being responsible to the public, but only to their immediate superiors, tended to be arbitrary.

647 What mattered in Russia's bureaucratic system was obedience to one's superiors. That was the primary criterion of judgment of the fitness of a civil servant, not his ability or personal integrity. Seldom was an employee dismissed because of corruption and injustice. A functionary could not be prosecuted for acts committed in the exercise of his functions except with the consent, or, on the initiative of his superiors. And the higher placed the offender, the less real was his responsibility. At the same time a subordinate employee, a soldier, or an inferior officer had no redress if wronged by his superior. A subordinate did have the right by law to lodge a complaint against mistreatment on the part of his chief, but according to the rules of Russian hierarchical discipline, no public servant, civil or military, could present a petition or complaint except through his own superior officer.[5] Few ever dared to do so.

647 871 This bureaucratic irresponsibility and impunity assumes an especial significance if one has in mind the low status of education and training of Russian officials. By the end of the nineteenth century in the provinces, according to an official investigation, out of a hundred employees, only one or two were found to have attended a university, five or six to have graduated from secondary schools, ten or twelve from primary schools. Eighty out of a hundred had had no formal schooling whatever and had passed no examination.[6] Many former soldiers and war veterans with little or no formal schooling crowded civil administration. At times the higher the education the less chances one had to enter state service.[7]

II

647 557 In such a system excess in zeal was often rewarded. On the other hand, initiative and originality, if not successful, were fraught with great personal risks. Therefore, shirking from work and responsibility, and struggling for office and rank became the rule. It was only by achieving higher position and by winning

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the favors of one's superiors that one hoped to exercise more power and to achieve a higher degree of security.

Such a situation often demanded self-abasing and cringing humility toward superiors in the hierarchy as an adjustment to a situation of permanent insecurity and threat. ". . . those employed believe that they can never do enough to show their zeal."[8] "Without being base, it is impossible to get on," the officials themselves would say.[9] At the same time, perhaps as a compensation for degradation and loss of self-respect, there developed the propensity of the officials to show haughtiness and arrogance to those below them in rank and status. "A man, as soon as he rises a grade above the common level, acquires the right . . . to maltreat his inferiors to whom it is his duty to transmit the blows that he receives from those above him."[10]

In such conditions preoccupation with one's self rather than interest in group ideals and objectives thrived. There was therefore a tendency for selfish and petty concerns, greediness, venality, and corruption. Careerism prevailed over loyalty. Fortunes were made by many in public service as a security for the uncertain future.[11] The public opinion itself supported such behavior because it was expected that people who acquire office or any other positions of trust would take personal advantage of the situation. In some departments because of the inadequacy of the salaries and in order to meet the expected high standards of living the officials were considered to have tacit permission to have recourse to illicit perquisites. Administration, justice, police, the army and the navy, and even the clergy, all had their acknowledged perquisites, which often included bribes.[12]

In such conditions in which extreme self-concern thrived, the Czar himself did not feel safe and secure. This sense of insecurity on the very peak of power was reflected, for instance, in the tendency of the Czars not to tolerate any outstanding personalities in their midst.[13] The same feeling was reflected in the idea that any concession on the part of the Czar would be considered as a sign of weakness. The result was that the Czar was often surrounded by sycophants and careerists and had no close friends whom he could trust and on whom he could rely for support at all times. In such circumstances the Czar might feel isolated,

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much possibility for self-expression, creativeness and personal satisfaction.[24]

On the other hand an atmosphere of domineering and vigilantism offers a great opportunity for advance to the fanatic Party member as well as to the ambitious and unscrupulous careerist within the labor ranks, and the ranks of technicians and engineers. Even among those managers and foremen who might otherwise have different inclinations, the need to maintain their positions often forces them towards a policy of vigilantism, cynicism and oppressive labor driving.

22
INSTRUMENTS OF POLITICAL CONFORMITY

I

THE SYSTEM of dominance, based on economic dependence, social isolation and lack of trust, which has enabled the Bolsheviks to monopolize all social power, has helped them also to force the intellectual strata into unconditional submission to the will of the ruling minority. Just as the land has been collectivized and industrial production governmentalized to make the peasants and the industrial labor dependent upon the Party, so all sources of income in the intellectual fields have been monopolized by the Party-state to make the intellectuals completely dependent for their lives and livelihoods upon the ruling faction of the Bolsheviks. The office tenure of this new service nobility has been conditioned upon their blind submission to the rulers in the Kremlin, just like in the days of the old dvorianstvo.

The educated strata are of a special strategic importance from the point of view of self-perpetuation of the Bolsheviks in power, because it is these strata that provide ideological and political leadership and Party cadres. The party has endeavored therefore to make the intelligentsia even more socially split and dependent

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upon the regime than the peasantry and industrial labor. The objective of this policy has been to prevent among the intelligentsia formation of an *esprit de corps* and opposition to Bolshevik rule, and to command the services and unquestionable obedience of every educated man. These are the political foundations of the growing and deliberately fostered stress on rank and distinction, on social differentiation, sense of superiority and inferiority, absolute superordination and blind subordination.

In the upper strata, much more so than in the lower classes, the process of hierarchal and functional differentiation is fostered and maintained not only by means of specialization of work and differences in rank, but also by means of sharply differentiated income, and by means of differential distribution of spoils, and of privileges. This sharp stratification of Soviet society, rooted in the traditions of the Czardom, in its own turn promotes power-seeking and domineering, dependency and subservience, as well as lack of social intimacy and lack of trust.

The highest privileges in the Soviet society are accruing to the top ruling faction of professional conspirators. But this group is itself internally sharply differentiated. It is headed by the Party Leader (*Vozhd*), and is divided into a number of policy making bodies, among which the Political Bureau (Politburo), now to be known as the Presidium,[1] is of foremost importance. Though the members of the Presidium and of other top policy making bodies, such as the Secretariat, are formally appointed by the Central Committee of the Party, they are *de facto* selected by the supreme leader and therefore depend upon him for their position. Such a situation fosters bickering among top ranking officials in their mutual struggle to win the favors of the head man, which in turn enables the supreme Party leader to play one faction of his camarilla against the other one or—not unlike in the days of the Czars—to select a more intimate inner circle of a few most trusted persons on whom to rely for advice and help. These then assist the leader in selecting and in eliminating the members of the top ranking hierarchy, according to expediency and circumstances.

This highly concentrated power structure is supported by a

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those accounts of Soviet life in which the gloomy appearance of the city populace is contrasted to the more optimistic outlook of the country folk.[34]

25
DESTRUCTIVE AGGRESSION

I

PROMPTED by extreme power-seeking and by deeply rooted mistrust of their own subjects, the Bolsheviks have built a monolithic Party-state system which differs in the degree of its rigidity and power concentration from all other systems of despotism, theocracy, military dictatorship, totalitarian and police state. In those autocratic political systems not all aspects of life are regimented. A certain limited degree of freedom is left at least in some spheres of personal and of group behavior. But the main difference between these systems and the Bolshevik regime is that while the former prohibits only those activities which have a direct negative bearing upon perpetuation of the system, the latter allows only such behavior as has a direct positive bearing upon the perpetuation of the ruling faction in power.

In the Soviet society the ruling class is not content with mere passive acceptance of the Bolshevik rule. It demands of each subject a "positive attitude" toward the regime. In such a society there is necessarily a premium in terms of privileges and power for the activities in the fields of political organization and agitation, of vigilance and violence, as well as in the fields of labor-driving, economic management, and military preparedness, since it is in the main upon such activities that perpetuation of Bolshevism depends. In such a "prison and barracks society", it is the calculating and ambitious careerists and zealous devotees and watchdogs, specialists in conspiracy and violence who climb toward the top levels of the Soviet political and social pyramid where blind obedience, crouching servility, jockeying for positions and power, and advancing on the cadavers of one's associates become a matter of survival.

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Many observers of Soviet society have noticed that in this constant struggle for power, and sometimes in order to save their very lives, Soviet officials and intellectuals must be ready not only to inform on each other, but also to "throw mud" at the closest associates and friends as soon as these happen to fall in disgrace.[1] Denunciation of a friend is often "the best way out of a hole," they say. Many "pretend to deny and to disown those who fall in disgrace" or, frightened, "join in verbal lynching to protect themselves." There is a "malignant joy regarding a comrade's mistakes . . . exaggeration of mistakes."[2] They "rush to kick a man who is already down, to push him over the precipice." In such conditions "Friendship is strained with blood and betrayal; it is an object of fear and suspicion."[3] Even members of one's own family might be repudiated under such pressure.[4] At the same time the need for cringing before one's superiors is often compensated by arrogance, capriciousness, arbitrariness, insulting and humiliating treatment of his subordinates or of all unprotected.[5]

The sense of guilt, insecurity, and feelings of humiliation which develop in such circumstances are magnified by means of social isolation. This isolation is manifold in the Soviet society, especially in the upper ruling strata. Intimate personal contact and unfettered social and intellectual intercourse is officially frowned upon and is therefore very limited among the Party, Army, government and managerial hierarchies. Intimate fraternization with associates is looked upon with great suspicion in a society whose ruling minority maintains itself in power by means of planned social divisions and mistrusts. Said Stalin: ". . . such family conditions create a favorable environment for the nurture of reptiles, not Bolsheviks."[6]

Real risks are involved in any free discourse in a society which is infested with watchdogs and informers and in which many are inclined to seek self-advance in the ruin of others. In the upper strata besides fear, suspicion and need for extreme caution, there is lack of intimate contact also because of sharp differentiation in rank. For the same reasons intercourse between the educated and non-educated strata has to be kept to a minimum.

There is also a deliberate policy on the part of the ruling class

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517 newspapers, books, and pamphlets, some of which were printed
204 abroad and circulated freely though often clandestinely among
626 the leading circles of the Empire.

517 The ruling circles of the Bolshevik Party themselves were
626 always aware that without criticism intellectual stagnation, lack of creative initiative, and bureaucratism would set in. But they could not afford to allow complete freedom of thought and of expression which might eventually undermine their own power. As a result the Bolsheviks introduced a system of "criticism and self-criticism," known as *samokritika.*

[461] According to this practice it is the duty of every Soviet subject to criticize his own work and the work of others in his shop or office as a means of stimulating alertness, initiative, and hard
● [557] work, and as a way to correct errors. But among the officials who
[647] closely watch each other's activities, each hoping to rise on the cadaver of the other, samokritika is often used as a means of intrigue and ruin in jockeying and struggling for ranks, positions, and power. Samokritika therefore has developed into a weapon employed to detect the ideological deviations and diversions and to criticize any lack of sufficiently positive attitude toward the "Party line." In this manner "self-criticism" in the Soviet Union has become another instrument of regimentation and means to increase conformity.

626 Samokritika is also employed by the ruling circles to manipu-
661 late hostilities generated by the Soviet system and to direct them away from themselves and against the managers and bureaucrats located mostly on the lower levels of the Soviet social pyramid. These people conveniently function as scapegoats. It is such people who, together with a sprinkling from the higher echelons, are periodically offered as sacrifice and "purged" or "liquidated." Samokritika is therefore employed also as a check against abuses of power, though mostly on the local level.

626 In an atmosphere of complete dependence upon and subordi-
154 nation to an overwhelming and infallible power which instils
782 fear and awe, the slightest deviation from the line of thought and emotions as laid down by that distant and inscrutable force might easily provoke anxieties, and a strong sense of guilt. In circumstances in which one feels isolated and without support,

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vising, checking and controlling. Accordingly just as in the Soviet Union in each satellite country primary attention is paid to the personnel policies. "Department of Cadres" and "Personnel Bureaus," headed by people who are trusted friends of the Soviet Union and advised by Soviet experts, supervise the political reliability and the labor efficiency of all. Observers of these agencies and Soviet experts are at work in every Party organization, every office and every factory shop. The hiring, releasing, and transferring of personnel rests with these bureaus.

In all these considerations political reliability and not professional competence is of foremost importance, a situation that favors the rise of professionally incompetent zealots and careerists ahead of people who are professionally able but more cautious and moderate, or more independent.[44] In consequence, just as in the Soviet Union, there is a keen struggle for positions and ranks and there is a premium on specialists in political organization and violence, a great demand for watchdogs, agitators, overseers and labor-drivers. Unconditional faith in and devotion to Russia is considered, however, to be the first and primary prerequisite for advance in satellite political, military and managerial hierarchies.[45] Hence periodical purges or "verifications" of Party members are undertaken to insure that only sufficiently Russified people remain in the Party.

The need of total control of dependencies dictates also a divide and rule policy among the satellites. In accordance with such policies the Kremlin instigates and encourages local nationalisms, regionalisms and separatisms and external aggressiveness of the satellites while at the same time it must prevent pan-movements and excessive territorial ambitions which might challenge the dominance of Moscow. Thus while instigating Asiatic nationalism the Soviet Union must prevent the championship of the Pan-Mongolian idea by Mongolia or Communist China. While encouraging various Balkan nationalisms it had to prevent the formation of a South Slav Federation.

Another means of promoting effective control of and dominance of the satellites is isolating these vassal countries from the West and therefore preventing any Western influence to undermine Bolshevik rule. This aim is achieved by deliberately pro-

[Constitution as of 1949]

Chapter XI. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

641 Art. 122. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to work, that is, are guaranteed the right to employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organisation of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment.

Art. 123. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to rest and leisure.

[466] The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the fixing of the working day for factory and office workers at eight hours and the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in workshops where conditions of work are exceptionally arduous; by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers; and by the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest-homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

[857] Art. 124. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at State expense, free medical service for the working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

[871] Art. 125. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal compulsory elementary education; by free education up to and including the seventh grade; by a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who excel in their studies; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language; and by the organisation in the factories, State farms and machine and tractor stations and collective farms of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

[862] Art. 126. Women in the Russian SFSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured to women by granting them an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education and by State protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

[863] Art. 127. Equality of rights of citizens of the Russian SFSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality and also any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness, hatred and contempt - are punishable by law.

[Constitution as of 1949]

641 [687] Art. 137. To defend the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR. Treason to the country -- violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the State, espionage - is punishable with all the severity of the law and is the most heinous of crime.

Chapter XII. The Electoral System

666 Art. 138. Elections of deputies to all Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies, Supreme Soviets of Autonomous Republics, Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions, Soviets of Working People's Deputies of National and administrative Areas, districts, cities and rural localities (stanitsas, villages, hamlets and auls) are chosen by the electors on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Art. 139. Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the Russian SFSR who have reached the age of 18, irrespective of race, or nationality, sex, religion, educational or residential qualifications, social origin, property status or past activities, have the right to vote in the election of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of insane persons and persons who have been convicted by a court of law and whose sentences include deprivation of electoral rights.

[641] Every citizen of the Russian SFSR who has reached the age of 21, irrespective of race, or nationality, sex, religion, educational or residential qualifications, social origin, property status or past activities may be elected as a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 140. Elections of deputies are equal: each citizen has one vote; all citizens participate in elections on an equal footing.

● [642] Art. 141. Women have the right to elect and to be elected on equal terms with men.

[641] Art. 142. Citizens serving in the ranks of the Armed Forces of the USSR have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

Art. 143. Elections of deputies are direct: all Soviets of Working People's Deputies from the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of villages and cities to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, inclusive, are elected by the citizens by direct vote.

Art. 144. Voting at elections of deputies is secret.

Art. 145. Elections to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Russian SFSR are held by election districts on the following ~~basis~~

in elections to territorial and regional Soviets - one deputy for every 1,500 to 60,000 of its population, depending upon the size of the territory or region;

in elections to the regional Soviets of Autonomous Regions - one deputy for every 1,500 to 3,500 of its population, depending upon the size of the Autonomous Region;

in elections to ~~Area~~ Soviets of National Areas - one deputy for every 300 to 5,000 of its population, depending upon the size of the National Area;

in elections to area Soviets of administrative areas - one deputy for every 500 to 10,000 of its population, depending upon the size of the administrative area;

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and hence, no group support could be found if a leader had attempted to form a centralized political authority or an imperial system over the whole area. The old Russian Chronicle of Kiev (12th century) describing a tribe with such a culture (the Polians) states that among them each kindred group (*rod*) lived in its own separate locality and had its own government.[4]

In a like manner, principles of dignity and moderation, as well as personal autonomy and lack of coerciveness, prevailed in family relations of these people. The Chronicle, for instance, states:

> The Polians had customs of their fathers, customs mild and peaceful (*krotok i tikh*); they showed a kind of reserve (*stydenie*) towards their daughters-in-law (*snokha*) and their sisters, towards their mothers and their parents, towards their fathers-in-law and their brothers-in-law; to all of the persons named they showed great reserve. They had marriage cusoms: the bridegroom did not go to seek his bride; she was taken to him in the evening, and the following morning they brought what belonged to her (*chto vdaduche*).[5]

It appears that the family organization of the Polians rested on mutual respect of all family members; that the bride brought the dowry which remained her personal property; that she might have had the initiative in wooing. This contention is supported by other evidence. Cosmas Pragensis, for instance, speaking of the old Bohemian Slavs, states: "It is not the men who choose the maids, but the maids themselves who take the husbands they like, and when they like."[6] A French writer who visited Ukraine in the seventeenth century wrote: "In Ukraine, contrary to the customs of all other nations, the husbands do not choose their wives, but are themselves chosen by their future consorts."[7]

There is also other evidence concerning some matriarchal traits of the early Slavs.[8] Throughout ages, women of the plains betwen the Dnieper and the Volga maintained property rights over their dowries and also over income from vegetables, poultry, dairy products and yarn that they produced and sold, though such rights were not recognized to men.[9] Although a woman in Russia did not have any claim to the property of her father or her brother, and only a limited right to that of her husband, she had the privilege, denied to a man, of saving and building up a

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korobka (chest) of her own. When a girl married, she took her korobka, together with the property given her by her father or brothers, to her new home as a dowry and was allowed to dispose freely of it. At the same time her husband was not responsible for her debts.[10] When a married woman died, if childless, her korobka, as a rule, returned to her mother (matrilineal succession) and only if her mother was not alive, to her father. In some provinces the husband would inherit his wife's property if he lived with her four years or more.[11] If she had children, her property was inherited by both sons and daughters equally.[12]

Matriarchal traits are evident in contemporary folk philosophy and many folk customs in the Bielorussian villages as well as in some parts of the Ukraine. In the oral poetry of these people, for instance, the sun is represented as a female who is wooing the moon, her bridegroom. In some songs of these peasant folk the maidens contend with the male youths in duels and defeat them.[13] Even today in some of these regions it is often the girls who take the initiative in finding their suitors. During harvest festivals, it is the maidens who play the leading part. Traces of the capture of the bridegroom still persist in the folk customs of the Ukraine. In Ukrainian and Bielorussian folk poetry women, especially the mother, play a very significant role, while the place of the father is less outstanding. In popular opinion in this area, the consent of the mother in the marriage of a daughter is considered more important than that of the father.

Marriage among the Old-Slavonic peasant folk was endogamous within the village community and perhaps even within the joint household community (*verv, zadruga*)—not unlike in the Croatian zadruga of our days.[14] There was also, apparently, a particularly developed brother-sister attachment as is manifested by brother-sister incest which seems to have taken place occasionally in some Russian regions until recently.[15] There were, therefore, abundant opportunities for emotional attachments in the Old-Slavonic family, since there were no external political, economic, or social pressures that might have disturbed internal equalitarian family relationships. Such relationships have persisted until present times in certain parts of Ukraine:

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(*sud*). Accordingly, in the mind of these people, the universe and peace (*mir*) were also identical.[28]

Great calamities occasionally befell the Old-Slavonic communities—frequent raids and plundering by the invaders and slave hunters; then cattle plagues and epidemics. These were thought to have been brought on by certain demons and malevolent ghosts, but the Polesie people knew of ways to cope even with such disasters. Contagious diseases were prevented or stopped by means of magic, especially by the magical powers of women. As for their enemies, the soil cultivators of the Dnieper basin were not prepared for any offensive or defensive warfare and were an easy prey for many aggressors. Being not armed, their defense consisted of hiding themselves. They sought safety in impenetrable marshes and forests and even resorted to such ruses as lying submerged on the bottoms of marshes and breathing by means of cane sticks until the danger was over.[29]

Since the Old-Slavonic agriculturists contracted their marriage unions early in life, as a means of labor supply and since they were not exposed to exhaustion of constant warfare, the region which they originally inhabited soon reached its limits of population. Thus, in spite of their autarchic and intensive agricultural techniques and their attachment to the soil, the early Slav folk were forced to leave their original habitat in search of new lands. They did not migrate in a fury and did not traverse great distances like the mounted nomads of the steppes; rather, they moved slowly and quietly for short distances and by stages always keeping in touch with the mother community from which they had sprung.

In this manner the Old-Slavonic tillers penetrated new regions and territories, not by force and conquest like the predatory steppe raiders, but by cultivating new soil along the river basins, in the midst of forest clearings, drained marshes or irrigated steppes. Living in village communities which remained ethnically uninterrupted, they transplanted and perpetuated in their new homes their native agricultural techniques, their beliefs and customs, their family and community organization, as well as their philosophy of life. Thus as late as the twentieth century, the social organization and personality traits of the Zadruga peo-

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58 role of the women and children in his family and on complete subjection of all people under his control. To accept anything else would have been contrary to his view of life, to everything he stood for. It would have conflicted with his temper and his character to have acted differently. It might have meant not only loss of face but loss of power as well.

The invader was therefore likely to maintain his social distance, to resort to physical force and violence, to the *knut*,[8] to impose his dominance on and to expect unconditional obedience from all the members of his household as well as from all others who were settled and worked on the land which he had conquered and which he controlled. He was backed in such attitudes and practices by the traditional philosophy of the steppe warriors which tells them that might is right and that only unchallenged power imposed by means of fear and awe brings personal satisfaction and security.

Such conflicting marital and social philosophies, however, provoked intense social conflicts, witnessed, for instance, by the history of Slav-Avar relations. The oppressed Slavonic concubines and wives, together with their children, tended to revolt against their tyrannical and inscrutable Avar husbands and fathers:

> The Chunen [Avars] came every year to the Slavs to spend the winter among them, and abuse the wives and daughters of the Slavs. . . . But the sons of the Chunen men and the wives and maidens of the Wenden [Slavs] did not tolerate this oppression; they refused to obey the Chunen and started an uprising.[9]

562 538 Such resolute and fighting women have been perhaps personified in Russian epic narratives by Polenitsi (steppe women), the female warriors. The physical strength of these Russian Amazons is represented as being greater than that of the Bogatyri, the legendary heroes. Polenitsi are pictured as daring, bold women, who fight, torture, maim and kill the Bogatyri. But they also invite these heroes to sleep with them and resort to various tricks or to sheer force to coerce the Bogatyri to take them in marriage.

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attractive forest fairies who used to help travelers changed into beastly demons who trick wayfarers into making them lose their way and then cause them to perish.

The imposition of the rule of nomadic warriors over the soil cultivators brought about not only insecurity of life and property, but disintegration of the old ways of life and of the old morals. Social disintegration favored detachment from the group, caused decline in group identification and solidarity, tended to increase self-concern, fostered destructive aggressiveness and anti-social behavior. Hence, drunkenness, debauchery, orgiastic practices, together with robbing and killing, became prominent. According to Fedotov, the old Christian sermons are so full of invectives against such behavior that some studies of Russia's religious life consider that these themes formed the main content of anti-pagan literature of those days.[33]

Perhaps as a result of such social disorganization the Old-Slavonic Goddess of Love (Lada) was relegated into the background and obscurity. Instead, male gods of bacchanalian passion and Dionysiac orgy (Iarilo, Pereplut) became outstanding in folk imagination.[34] A phallic rite was observed at wedding banquets and sexual promiscuity during the feast gathering of young people became prominent, according to the old sermons.[35]

It was under these conditions of social disorganization and insecurity, and ascendency of power-oriented patriarchal system over the old stateless, semi-matriarchal and equalitarian order that the attitudes toward women changed radically. Mounting hostilities generated by conditions of strife and insecurity can be vented not only through inordinate sex life, alcoholism and delinquency, but also by aggressive behavior against all the unprotected and the weak. And just as sex life tended to take the form of lechery, and love that of uncontrolled passion, the attitudes toward the women changed from respect and reserve to that of scorn and contempt. They came to be looked upon as impure and unclean physically and morally.[36]

It is possible that the new unsatisfactory social conditions might have also affected the concept of the Christian God and attitude toward death. Not only did popular imagination in conditions of disorganization and insecurity tend to see in this

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593 861 the people would say. Hence, made secure by the prevailing philosophy of life, upheld by court decisions and supported by Church teachings on the supernatural sanction of his will, the father might be tempted to take advantage of his unlimited power and to expose his son to excessively severe and humiliating treatment. "I had born you and I shall kill you," said Taras Bulba to his son and shot him to death.[15]

593 The father might also take advantage of his uncontrolled power in the use of family property and funds. He might gamble them away, spend them on debauchery, or bring the family to ruin as a result of drunkenness or mismanagement. Such incidents in Russian families are often described in autobiographies and other writings of Russian men of letters. It is characteristic of Great-Russian family relations that the other family members were not expected to complain against such extreme abuse of paternal authority.[16] Hence in all strata of Russian society, there was a tendency to accept anything the father did, even the most degrading treatment, as his paternal prerogative. Even if a father had ruined his family because of gambling or lechery he was still held in reverence both by his society and by his children.[17]

606 835 Occasionally, particularly among the peasants, the father might take sexual advantage of his daughters-in-law, a practice which became known as *snokhachestvo* (*snokha* is daughter-in-law). This habit, which was already noticed by the writer of the Kiev Chronicle, was favored by the frequent absences of married sons who spent a part of the year in the city as workers or who were away from home for many years, or indefinitely, when conscripted for military duty. "The more women in the house, the more sin" (*Bolshe bab v semie, bolshe greha*),[18] the people would comment.

593 562 As much as the traditions of the steppe warriors prevailed in the Great-Russian patriarchal family the wife was placed on an equal footing with her children in relation to her husband. She had to show absolute submission and blind obedience to her husband. "The husband is father to his wife" (*Muzh zhene otets*);[19] "Christ is the head of the Church, the husband that of

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his wife"; "The husband is the law unto his wife," the proverbs say. As a result of such a view of husband-wife relations, the husband had the right and duty to apply brutal force to his wife as a means of discipline, the same as to his children. "It is woman's fate to be always beaten," the people would say.[20]

The description of folk life in the eastern parts of Russia corroborate this attitude toward wives as expressed in popular sayings. The informants tell of the "miserable fate of the women" (*nepriglyadnaya uchast zheny*),[21] the constant fights of husband and wife (*muzh deretsya s zhenoi*), and the thrashing (*poboi*) to which the wives were exposed on the part of their husbands. In case of adultery the punishment for the woman was "merciless beating" (*neshchadnoe bitie*) or strangling (*udushenie*).[22]

Domostroy, which was under the influence of Church teachings, agrees with this philosophy and practices and even offers elaborate and detailed precepts to the husband about how to treat his wife ". . . if the wife is not afraid of the punishment and does not follow the instructions, the husband should beat her." According to Domostroy only if the wife is blindly and unconditionally submissive "everything will run smoothly in the family." The wife must do everything "to please her husband and God and she must listen to him with fear and awe."[23]

Domostroy was compiled primarily for the urban classes of the Czardom. Its rules reflect a certain deterioration in the status of women as they moved from the peasant to the urban level. In the cities, especially among the merchants, the women were confined to the *terem* (gyneceum) and had less opportunity to work and earn for themselves. In the urban environment, the Turco-Mongol influences were therefore reinforced.

In the rural areas the women retained their role in economic production. The peasant women were thus enabled to retain some of the the Old-Slavonic traditions; they often knew how to assert themselves and influence family affairs. In a like manner, with the increasing opportunities for schooling in urban centers, a growing number of city women emancipated themselves from family ties and became economically and socially independent. In such circumstances also many women in the urban

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middle and upper strata knew how to assert themselves and increase their role and influence, thus reviving the Old-Slavonic traditions.

III

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Though the father was to be severe and strict, he was expected also to love his wife and his children. Just like God in Heaven, father's duty was to inflict harsh punishment, but he was also to show compassion, kindness, understanding and constant solicitude for the members of his household. He was responsible before God and men for the failings and misdeeds of his family members, and he was therefore to look after their well-being and salvation. Thus love and violence were often mingled in the Great-Russian family. A number of folk sayings express this ambivalent trait of attachment and hostility when referring to the attitudes and behavior of the father. "To love one's wife is to hold her in terror" (*Lyubit zhenu-derzhat grozu*); "Whom I love I thrash" (*Kovo lyublyu togo i biyu*).[24]

One of the basic underlying motives in the father's violence seems to have been his self-seeking and urge for dominance as well as a need for succor. "Beat your wife oftener, it will be useful for the future," the men would say. The Domostroy justifies child beating in a similar manner ". . . he will comfort you in your old age and will give beauty to your soul. . . . and he will make you happy when he grows up. . . . and your enemies will envy you. If you will be weak in his childhood, he will make you suffer when he grows up; will set your soul on edge."[25]

There is in some proverbs also an indication of an expectation of "masochistic" indulgence according to which violence and deprivation would arouse love. "Not to beat one's wife is not to be loved by her" (*zhenu ne bit i milu ne byt*),[26] the people would say. In a folk song, for instance, the husband buys gifts for his wife, but it is of no avail. When the husband buys a knut and gives his wife a beating with it, it is only then that she responds with love. In another folk song the wife boasts the knuting "is an honor to me and is not painful" (*Mne to za chest, ne bolno.*)[27]

Though the father felt dependent upon his wife and children

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ment of moderation and emotional integration. In the early Slav society, mother's role in all family affairs was very significant. With the growth of the patriarchal family, one of her important duties came to be that of intercessor and of protector against the wrath of the father. In the patriarchal family the mother was not the chief disciplinarian; therefore she did not have to resort to threat, violence, privations, and humiliation as a means of discipline. Her punishments were mild and her main means of control were those of love and reasoning. Her authority and self-respect were therefore not endangered by being close to children and by being on familiar terms with them. She was always available and approachable. The children, therefore, felt much more at ease and free in the presence of their mother than in that of their father.[1]

The mother, if feeling neglected, abused or degraded by a remote and harsh husband, was likely to seek compensation for the lack of love and for wounded self-esteem by being over-protective and over-affectionate in relation to her children, expecting indulgent response from them. The son, if barred in his desire for attachment to his father or if abused and humiliated by him, might feel the more attracted to his mother as a means of emotional outlet and as compensation for feelings of rejection and humiliation.

It is this role of the mother as warm protector and close friend that has been expressed in folk sayings and other products of folk philosophy and imagination. "Fear your father, and respect your mother" says a Russian folk proverb pointing out the sharp contrast in the attitude of a child toward his father and his mother. The folk sayings emphasize also the intimate and tender bond that exists between mother and child and the importance of such close ties for the child. "Without a father the child is half orphan, without a mother a child is a complete orphan"; "Mother's beating does not hurt"; "Mother raises her hand high, but does not strike hard." Because of such close mother-child relationship, it was considered in the popular view of life that mother's influence on the child was in the long run deeper than that of the father. "What mother puts into the child's head, the father will not knock out," the people would say.

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that he might be rich and powerful in life.[6] For the same reason money was placed in the water when the child was bathed for the first time.[7]

In marriage customs the urge for power was expressed in certain activities performed during the marriage ritual and believed to contain magical properties that enabled either one or the other spouse to dominate. Also in the wedding party the bridegroom was called "knyaz" (prince) and his party "boyars"; an important part of the marriage ceremonies consisted in *velichat gostei*, that is in mutual glorification of the wedding guests.

The phrase *Kak vas velichat?*—how to glorify you?, which is employed when asking another person his name might indicate the same feelings. In early Russia personal names were formed by a combination of words which conveyed the image of rule, glory, power, holiness and destruction, such as Sviatoslav (the holy and glorious), Yaropolk (blazing power), Mstislav (the glory of revenge).

Another manifestation of power-seeking, mistrust and destructive aggression on the folk level is revealed, for instance, in attitudes toward women. The folk image of the woman is in remarkable contrast to the image of the mother. The derisive name for woman is *baba*, and baba is said "not to be a human being" (*Baba ne chelovek*), according to a proverb. Therefore mistreatment and abuse of women may be justified.[8] In the folk parlance distinction is made between *Krestyane* (Christians, peasants) and *zhenshchiny* (women). In the folk maxims women are pictured as immoral ("Three babas Sodom"), shameless ("A baba laughs where grandpa blushes"), more cunning than the devil ("Where the devil fails he sends a baba"), the cause of all man's troubles ("She was the cause of Adam's banishment"), and source of all evil ("We cannot expect any good from our rib").[9]

This folk concept of woman as an inferior being is found on all levels of Russian society. Comparatively few women have been admitted to the rank of saints in the Russian Church. Count Leo Tolstoy, a philosopher and novelist, who has been otherwise renowned for his ideas of Christian love, all-human brotherhood and an anarchic social and political equality, showed a great deal of misogynism. In his diary he pictures

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

women as stupid and nasty, conceited and licentious, and as the mainspring of all calamities of the world.[10] But Tolstoy, too, like the Russian popular view of life, did make a distinction between the woman and the mother.[11]

Hostile drives, mistrust and destructive aggression might be revealed also in attitudes towards strangers. These are sometimes likened to animals, especially dogs. Comparing people with beasts indicates an inclination to abase them and to mistreat them. Such an attitude is shown especially toward those who are considered to be "enemies." When talking about the Tartars, the people would say "the dog of a Tartar." In a like way, xenophobia was manifested in the attitudes toward the "thrice accursed Latins," that is, the Western, non-Orthodox peoples.

Perhaps this need to abuse and to destroy in order to demonstrate one's power was manifested also in treatment of those who were abandoned and helpless, such as prisoners in foreign wars, as well as prisoners in rebellions and civil wars at home, or convicted criminals. In the rebellions and civil wars atrocities were committed by both sides, the government troops and the rebels, the Orthodox and the Dissenters, the Whites and the Reds. In a similar manner convicted criminals, domestic servants and serfs were often used as targets of destructive aggression.

Tendency to abuse was manifested also in the relations between merchants and customers, capital and labor. In the lowest strata ruthless self-seeking took also the form of begging. There was a great number of beggars; begging became a widely spread business. Some of the beggars became people of considerable means. Leaders among the beggars would mutilate, deprive of eyesight, and deform healthy men and boys to use them as their instruments in begging. Entire villages, and even some regions were said to have made begging their regular profession.[12]

II

In circumstances where power-seeking, destructive aggression and mistrust prevail any accident may be interpreted as a sign of another person's hostile intentions. The other person tends to be looked upon as a potential enemy. "You mustn't stroke anyone's head—you might get your hand bitten off," said Lenin.[13] And as

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668 to be sure that by means of such a "Politburo" he would be able to dictate the "Party line": "all the chief threads of the movement would have been concentrated in my hands, and I could have been sure that the intended revolution would not stray from the line I had laid down for it."[17]

The top revolutionary body was to regard all those below them as expendable in the interest of the revolution, "as revolutionary capital placed at their disposal."[18] This idea of a revolutionary elite leading expendable masses was justified by the Anarchist claim that masses are by themselves unable to achieve radical social changes. The Anarchists believed that only a minority consisting of professional conspirators, wholly dedicated to ruthless terror and destruction, can accomplish social revolution.[19]

This "science of revolution" had to be based on a thorough knowledge of a society which had to be infiltrated before it was destroyed.[20] *Catechism* had therefore classified all people into definite categories and had prescribed the attitude and the behavior of revolutionists toward each one of them. In the first two groups were the people who had to be immediately assassinated if the revolution were to be successful and counter-revolution prevented. ". . . their violent and sudden death will put fear into the heart of the government, break its will, and deprive it of its most energetic and intelligent agents."[21]

Next came the "highly placed beasts," that is, wealthy but not dangerous individuals with connections, influence and power; also ambitious careerists and "liberals of varying shades." All these were to be compromised and then blackmailed and compelled to serve the interests of the revolution. Finally came the categories of the intellectual "doctrinaires" who had to be "liquidated" unless won over to the cause of the revolution. "The majority of these will disappear but of the rest we shall make genuine revolutionaries."[22] Particular attention was paid [562] to women. Those completely won over to the revolutionary cause were considered "the most precious of our treasures."

Other methods in this "science of revolution" consisted of frightening the enemies, of cowing the neutrals and of terrifying their own followers. To that end assassination of members of

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worth and dignity of the individual above all other values; the Dukhobortsy claimed that every human being was a god. "God is spirit; he is in us; then we are gods."[7]

Disapproval of oppressive authority on the family level led the Dukhobortsy to repudiate even the names of "father" and "mother." They therefore did not call their parents "father" and "mother," but only "old man" and "old woman." In the same way a father would not say of his children "mine," but "ours."[8] Proscribing the existing degrading subjection of the wife to her husband the Dukhobortsy—not unlike the early Slavs—stressed the complete equality of men and women, husbands and wives. "Among us a woman is not a beast of burden, but a helpmate and standby, a friend and companion in this vale of misery," the Molokāne would say.[9] The men called their wives "sisters."

To satisfy their demands for complete acceptance and anarchic relations the Molokane attempted to build a society in which all things were to be possessed in common, and in which the evangelic principles of charity and equality, and the gospel of peace, truth and justice would reign supreme and forever.[10] They felt that it was only in such a communistic society that complete acceptance of all on equal terms could be achieved.

II

Just as in the ideology and practices of Russian monasticism, in some sects of the Dissenters reaction against the oppressive conditions and feeling of utter rejection took the form of extreme social withdrawal. For instance, the *Straniki* (wanderers) proscribed marriage and all family ties, and sought salvation in isolation and flight as the only way to avoid any contact with "Satan's representatives," that is, with the authorities. They would destroy and reject passports and all papers of identification, admit of no social distinction or ties, renounce private property and tramp from village to village, living by theft or by the hospitality of their sympathizers who provided food and secret shelter for them. "Have no city, no village, no home," they would advise.[11]

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music is the minor mode. But suffering from climatic and geographical conditions has its analogues in suffering produced by other causes, and this fact sufficiently accounts for the melancholy burden of the songs of the Russians who live in the sunlight of nature's smiles. A special cause of the mournfulness of the songs of the *devitchink*, moreover lies in the circumstance that once they dealt with things which were in themselves mournful. Formerly marriage, to the maiden, meant being sold or given into involuntary servitude. She was not consulted about the match, which implied not only permanent separation from parents and friends, but also possible ill-treatment by her husband and his family against which there was no sure safeguard but death. In the *Lootschina*, sung in the first scene of "A Russian Peasant Wedding," one of the most beautiful as it also is one of the most truthfully expressive of Russian folk songs, one may hear the voice of suffering caused by the persecutions of the Russian mother-in-law. "It is sad and joyful on a quiet summer's night," says Tolstoi, "in the midst of a wordless forest, to hear the wide-sweeping song of the Russians. In it is yearning without end, without hope, also power invincible, also the fateful stamp of destiny, iron preordination, one of the fundamental principles of our nationalty with which it is possible to explain much that in Russian life seems incomprehensible. And what, besides, may not be heard in that drawling song in the summer night and the silent forest? . . . We are like the sharp arrow; it flies from the string, where the hard point pierces there is its home. . .. . Clouds concealed the moon, the wind shook the tops of the linden trees, and scattered blossoms in an odorous rain on the prince and on Yelena. The old branches trembled, as if wishing to say, 'For whom do we blossom, for whom do we blow?'"

Along with the gloom of the folk-music of Russia, however, we find a boisterous humor—the humor which whirls us off our feet in the *scherzos* and *finales* of the Russian symphonists. The phenomenon is startling but not inexplicable. The most profoundly melancholy composers that have ever lived have also been the maddest ones. So under the conditions of their life the

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A Russian Peasant Wedding.

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AMONG the Russian peasants, particularly in more remote districts, the social ceremonies of a wedding are complicated and of long duration, and vastly more important in popular opinion than the church rite; for this reason we shall describe only the former. Of course, the blessing of the church is necessary to make the marriage binding, but it is comparatively an innovation, having been introduced only about one thousand years ago, while the relations represented by the social forms of the wedding date back very much farther. In them are plainly seen the former structure of the *clan* or *gens;* the opposing interests of the families of the bride and the groom; the existence, in prehistoric times of marriage by purchase and by capture amongst primitive people; the subjection of the girl to the father, in the patriarchal family, and to her father-in-law in the new home.

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It may be necessary to explain that in Russia the unit of social and economic life is the family, and that the father or eldest brother is the head of it; the young man, on marrying, does not set up for himself, but brings the bride to his father's house, where she becomes one of the daughters and takes her part in the work of the family. Only after the old man's death does separation take place; the married men divide the property and found households for themselves.

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In the family the woman is completely dominated by man, a fact that is indicated by many features in the ceremony. While

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single, the girl is allowed some freedom; she has more time at her disposal, she can go about with her friends, attend parties, etc. When married, the cares of her new position, the necessity of harder work for her new family and her altered position amongst people who are strangers to her and who look upon her as an intruder—all these reasons keep her in the house, and her time for social recreation is past. Therefore girlhood is considered the golden time in the life of a young woman, and a girl looks with dread and apprehension upon her approaching marriage; but on the other hand, love prompts her to join her husband and she hopes that his love will compensate her for what she will have to endure. In this way there is a mixture of grief and joy in the whole ceremony.

The weddings are nearly all held in the late fall or winter, when the field work is over for the year, the harvest sold and the family knows how much money it can afford to spend. When the old people have decided that their child shall marry, they ask him or her whom he or she likes best and whom next best. Marriage, it must be remembered, is often a business matter; there must be a wedding and at the chosen period. In fact, a marriage at any other time of the year is an exception. In this way it comes about that all the marriageable girls in the village are expecting their offers to come during the same week in the fall or winter, and are ready for them.

The room is cleaned and lighted up every night, the old people and the girl stay at home, while the smaller children run about the village, looking into the windows to find out how things are going on in their neighbors' houses.

The preliminaries are usually arranged between the two families, the marriage being really more the affair of these, than of the two young people themselves, since it is in fact the giving up of a working-hand by one family and her adoption into another one. The arrangements are made by friends or go-betweens. It is customary that a female relation of the groom goes to ask for the hand of the girl, and is then called a *svakha*. With her goes some old male relation or friend, who knows all the necessary forms of ceremony and is a persuasive talker; he is

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[Constitution as of 1949]

692 Art. 109. The Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR is the highest judicial organ of the Russian SFSR. The Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR is charged with the supervision of the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the Russian SFSR, the Autonomous Republics and the Autonomous Regions.

Art. 110. The Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR is elected by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for a term of five years.

Art. 111. The Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics are elected by the Supreme Soviets of the Autonomous Republics for a term of five years.

Art. 112. Territorial and Regional Courts, the Courts of Autonomous Regions, the Courts of National [illegible] and administrative Areas are elected by the territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies, by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions and by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of National and administrative Areas for a term of five years.

Art. 113. People's Courts are elected by the citizens of the districts on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot for a term of three years.

695 [693] Art. 114. Judicial proceedings in the Russian SFSR are conducted in the Russian language or in the language of the Autonomous Republic, the Autonomous Region or the National Area, persons not knowing the language being guaranteed every opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material of the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to use their own language in court.

Art. 115. In all courts of the Russian SFSR cases are heard in public, unless otherwise provided for by law, and the accused is guaranteed the right to be defended by counsel.

693 Art. 116. Judges are independent and subject only to the law.

Art. 117. Supreme supervisory power to ensure the strict observance of the law by all Ministries and institutions subordinate to them, as well as by officials and citizens within the territory of the Russian SFSR generally, is exercised by the Procurator-General of the USSR directly and also through the Procurator of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 118. The Procurator of the Russian SFSR and the regional procurators are appointed by the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 119. Procurators of territories and regions, of Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions are appointed by the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 120. Procurators of National and administrative Areas, districts and cities are appointed by the Procurator of the Russian SFSR subject to the approval of the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 121. The organs of the Procurator's Office perform their functions independently of any local organs whatsoever, being subordinate solely to the Procurator-General of the USSR.

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[Constitution as of 1949]

Chapter XI. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

[641] Art. 122. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to work, that is, are guaranteed the right to employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment.

Art. 123. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to rest and leisure.

[466] The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the fixing of the working day for factory and office workers at eight hours and the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in workshops where conditions of work are exceptionally arduous; by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers; and by the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest-homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

[857] Art. 124. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at State expense, free medical service for the working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

[871] Art. 125. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal compulsory elementary education; by free education up to and including the seventh grade; by a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who excel in their studies; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language; and by the organization in the factories, State farms and machine and tractor stations and collective farms of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

[562] Art. 126. Women in the Russian SFSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured to women by granting them an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education and by State protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

[563] Art. 127. Equality of rights of citizens of the Russian SFSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality and also any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness, hatred and contempt - are punishable by law.

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18 [53] Perhaps the most significant aspect of this self-deification is found in the systematic endeavors of the Bolshevik leaders to emphasize the superior qualities of the Great-Russian people as compared to other peoples of the Soviet Union. The Great-Russians form less than half of the population of the Soviet Union, but they are the dominant nation in the state. The top Party bodies and the government and the managerial hierarchies, are overwhelmingly composed of the Great-Russians or of the non-Russians who have been thoroughly Russified. The Great-Russians constitute a majority in the branches of the Soviet armed forces deemed essential to the internal security of the Soviet Union. The Great-Russians predominate in the security police and its militia as well as in the air force and in the tank divisions and other mechanized troops. And the infantry units when composed of other ethnic groups always include a sufficient number of Great-Russians as a cementing force.[48]

There is strong emphasis on Russification in all schools of the country, especially the Party schools. In all constituent Republics, autonomous republics, and autonomous territories and regions, Russified natives or the Party members of Great-Russian origin figure as Party leaders, as top bureaucrats and top managers, or as advisers and experts.

In order to justify this policy of Russification and to accustom the non-Russians to the dominant position which the Great-Russians occupy in the Soviet Union, a myth of Great-Russian superiority has been developed by the Bolsheviks. At the Kremlin victory banquet on May 25, 1945, Stalin gave a toast "first of all" to the Great-Russian people. He referred to them as "the most outstanding of all nationalities forming part of the Soviet Union." According to Stalin, the Russian people "merit general recognition in the Great Patriotic War as the leading power among all the peoples of our country . . . they have a clear mind, steadfast characters, and endurance."[49]

A textbook on pedagogy asserts that "the history of the Russian people proves to all mankind their political wisdom, their military values, and their genius."[50] Other Soviet writings claim

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that "All the peoples of the Soviet Union recognize and appreciate the tremendous historical mission which the Great-Russian people is performing, as the outstanding people of the Soviet fraternity of nations."[51] In the same manner Grekov, a Soviet academician and one of the most outstanding Soviet historians, claims that the Russians, owing to their fighting ability and their readiness to sacrifice themselves for a good cause, saved the Western European civilization from barbarism and destruction even in the middle ages.[52]

Innate superiority of the Great-Russians is said to have manifested itself in an unsurpassable inventive genius. Hence the Russian military strategists, scholars and technicians are credited with a number of outstanding inventions which have been heretofore generally regarded as being developed in the Western countries. It is claimed, for instance, that the "Soviet Military science" developed by the Great-Russians is superior to any bourgeois concept of war. Also, most of the basic technological discoveries and inventions, from the spinning wheel to the nuclear nature of the atom, are said to have been the result of the "creative work of Russian genius,"[53] but "wrongfully ascribed to Germans, Englishmen, Americans, and Italians."[54]

Dominance of the Russians over the other peoples of the Soviet Union contradicts both the Socialistic doctrines and the Bolshevik myth of equality of all national and ethnic groups. As a result of Bolshevik policies of rigid centralization of power which promotes Russian hegemony, national and ethnic autonomies provided for by the Constitution became illusory. Reaction to such a situation has provoked dissatisfaction among subjected nationalities, resulting sometimes in open rebellions. To stamp out such revolts the Bolsheviks had to resort occasionally to resettlement and extermination of the whole recalcitrant populations, just as the Turco-Mongol rulers did before them. As a result a number of ethnic and national groups disappeared as separate entities, such as the Volga Germans, the Crimean Tartars, the Kalmyks and others.

The Bolsheviks realize, however, that these are means only to be used in extreme cases and in emergencies. Their aim is therefore to promote Russification among all their non-Russian sub-

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jects as a means of permanent control. It is felt that only by Russifying the non-Russian parts of the Soviet Union and convincing them of the benefits of close ties with Russian people and Russian institutions[55] a common culture will be developed; on such a basis a feeling of unity, of common interests and of common objectives will grow.

It is in light of such circumstances that the earlier Marxian theory of linguistics had to be revised to suit the new situation. Present language is not considered any more to be just a "superstructure" destined to give way to a completely new language of Socialism. On the contrary, Russian language and even Russian script is looked upon now as the basic language and basic script of Soviet socialism. Contrary to earlier Marxian theory, Russian language is now looked upon as an agent of unification and control under Soviet rule.

Myths of national and racial superiority, however, do not appeal equally to all strata of the population. The toiling multitudes, if dissatisfied with their status, might remain deaf to such calling unless convinced that in different conditions their situation would become worse and even more precarious. It was to strengthen the latter feeling that the Bolshevik Party undertook to propagate a myth of the inferiority, rottenness, and damnation of the non-Soviet world. Building on anti-Latin and anti-Western traditions of the Orthodox Church and of Slavophilism the Bolshevik propaganda has attempted to develop attitudes of horror, disgust, and utter contempt of the capitalist world and of Western culture. Accordingly the Western society has been pictured as exploitative, war-mongering, decadent, decaying, full of internal conflicts and contradictions, and therefore self-destructive. The miserable, exploited, toiling multitudes in Western countries and their dependencies have been pictured as living in inhuman, deplorable and destitute conditions, exposed to constant unemployment and hunger, and heartlessly exploited by pitiless capitalists.

Because of this inherent and unsurmountable conflict of interests between labor's demand for higher standards and the capitalist's demand for higher profits, there is an intrinsic self-destroying tendency in the very nature of capitalism, the Bolshe-

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in that family, the new circumstances call for more leniency and more intimacy on his part toward his wife and his children. The mother at the same time, because now closer to her husband, is in no need to become over-attached to her children. Such well-balanced family relations come to closely resemble those in the Old-Slavonic family.

It is the children with such close family ties in an emotionally balanced family atmosphere that develop traits of moderation, self-control, responsibility, group orientation and humane feelings. It is in such families that patriotism, idealization of the past and longing for a more humane and more equalitarian political system are nursed.[28] In such families skepticism concerning Bolshevik mythology and opposition to Soviet system may be safely expressed. In such families also religion is cultivated or secretly practiced.[29] In such families apparently numerous anecdotes which ridicule Soviet regime circulate and are spread throughout the Soviet Union.[30] It is to break such family intimacy and solidarity which breed opposition to their regime that the Bolsheviks have shown increasing concern for the control of family relations.

But if the opposition to the Bolshevik regime centers in such families of patriots and humanists, the fate of the Soviet system might rest upon them, in the final analysis. These people might be reluctant to support a Soviet war of aggression led by careerists and fanatics, but ready to defend their Mother Country in the event of hostile aggression from the outside. However, in a war against the Soviet Union which the patriots and the humanists would interpret as a war of liberation from the oppressive, inhuman and destructive policies of Soviet rulers, they might be inclined to take the side of the invading liberators. Inasmuch as such people already find themselves at the fringes of Soviet power structure as specialists and experts in economic management and government administration, in times of crisis the shift of power to these people could easily take place.

Such a trend of development will be even more emphasized among the oppressed, but nationally-conscious minorities, than among the dominant Great-Russians. Millions of Soviet subjects who willingly gave themselves up to the German invaders and

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welcomed them as liberators in World War II, indicate such possibilities.

III

In studying personality growth in the Soviet society, one should take into account also the differences between the urban and the rural environments and the influences of those environments on interpersonal relations within the family circle. Owing to the very rapid pace of urbanization and low rate of production of consumption goods, most of the families located in the urban areas are exposed to the housing shortage and lack of home privacy. Many of these families live in community apartments in which there is only one room per family and in which a number of unrelated families share a common kitchen and toilet facilities. Family conflicts and tensions tend to be intensified in such circumstances. Lack of privacy, noisiness, and lack of sleep in crowded quarters, together with the lack of sufficient food, long hours of work and unsatisfactory conditions of work increase dissatisfactions and magnify existing family conflicts. An outlet for dissatisfactions is found then in trivial scandals and bickering, in petty squabbles, but also in violent emotional outbursts.[31]

Conditions in rural areas are somewhat different. Though virtually all peasant families live in one or at most two-room cottages, which they often share with a few heads of livestock, yet the rural family does have its own privacy. Most peasant families possess a small lot of land around the cottage, on which they raise some poultry or a pig; some might even own a cow. Though this is all very modest, yet with some labor, after the work for the kolhoz has been done, the peasant family has been able to raise some food on its own property and perhaps to sell it on the open market and then buy some clothing and other bare necessities.[32]

Compared to the situation of the city worker, the peasant, though receiving lower wages for his work, and often going in rags, perhaps does feel relatively more independent. If he is an adult with a family he is much less likely to be pushed around, though he is constantly exhorted by kolhoz officials to work more

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Church. In these protest movements on the folk level, demand for acceptance on equal terms in an all-human brotherhood of men was emphasized.

In the meantime, with the increasing technological, economic, and intellectual advance of the West, the Western pressures against the Czardom were intensified. In order to meet this challenge and withstand the threat, the Czardom, by the time of Peter the Great, embarked on a series of reforms aimed at Westernization of the Empire, such as secularization of the State, bureaucratization, industrialization and mass education. As a result of such developments, a new elite of parvenu salaried bureaucracy, and of parvenu salaried military, distinguished by the rank and not by the possession of land, was gradually taking the place of the old service nobility as the main pillar of the Czardom. At the same time, the old nobility who were freed of their obligatory service to the State, became hereditary owners of their estates.

In this manner, the old service nobility evolved into a class of economically independent landed squires, even though losing their former political status and privileges, such as monopoly on land and on service. This new gentry however, were by tradition, upbringing, and personal traits, interested in ruling, in political and military careers, not in land cultivation or industry. Many of them, when without office, tended to lead a life of leisure, and to emulate Western manners and styles, to cultivate arts and letters and to indulge in philosophical speculation and formulation of political theories. Few showed an inclination to identify themselves with the productive strata of the population and to devote time and energy to improve techniques of economic production and management.

Such an attitude of the nobility was an important agent in the retarded economic growth of Russia and in the lack of development of a numerically strong and influential middle class, which might have served as a cementing force in a culturally and ideologically split society. And it was from among this leisured class of rural gentry who had lost their status as the main pillar of the Czardom, but who had also emancipated themselves from their economic dependency upon the Czar, that the first

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leaders of an organized opposition to the Czarist autocracy were recruited.

By the nineteenth century, this landed gentry opposition to the Czarist regime took two main forms. One was pro-Western, seeking the reconstruction of the Czardom along humanistic, libertarian and juridical lines, brought about by the ideas of Humanism and Renaissance, by the Reformation and by the French and American Revolutions. The other was anti-Western, reacting against Western rationalism and materialism, against Western "heathenism" and cosmopolitanism, and against the Western system of impersonal formalism and open class strife which was beginning to infiltrate Russia.

In an attempt to bridge the widening cultural and ideological chasm between the ruling classes and the common folk, the anti-Westerners exalted the anarchic community relations and equalitarian and humanist values of the Old-Slavonic world and of the Russian peasant commune. But they also emphasized the value of the Church-State unity, and sought a Messianic redemption of the whole world through the absorption of the State by the Orthodox Church and reestablishment of a paternalistic system of community relations ruled by collective conscience and based on Christian love and compassion.

In the meantime, that is, by the second part of the nineteenth century, with the growing impoverishment of the rural gentry and with increasing educational opportunities for all strata of the population, the ranks of the educated classes (*intelligentsia*) were being swollen by many declassed people as well as by increasing numbers of young people from the families of clergymen, of lower government employees, of petty tradesmen and other lower classes (*raznochintsy*). Even though Czardom at the time was still governmentalized to a high degree, it was not totally regimented. Moreover, by the second part of the nineteenth century, under the pressure of the West, and in order to match the military, the educational, the industrial and the social levels of the Western world, Czardom abolished serfdom and made other concessions in the direction of a libertarian and a juridical state. This trend of events reinforced the penetration of Western political and social philosophies which tended

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to undermine the existing Church, State and family system based on self-abnegation and on unconditional submission.

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As a result, a number of raznochintsy intelligentsia, freed of fear and awe before God, the Czar and the Father, but feeling thwarted in their political ambitions and socially rejected, expressed their dissatisfaction and their hostility toward the existing conditions of inequality and oppression by developing ideologies of denial and destruction. Their aim was to reject and to annihilate all the basic institutions and authorities on which Czardom rested: the family, religion, property, the power of the Father, the authority of the Church, as well as the rule of the Czar. These revolutionaries denied God and conscience as well as any existing ethics or rules of conventional conduct. They sought to destroy Czardom "root and branch" and to seize power for themselves by all and any means. Their professed objective was to establish on the earth an all-human stateless society of totally free men living in a system of equalitarian justice and fraternal love.

Thus, while seeking to reestablish the anarchic and group-oriented values of the early Slav folk and of the Russian peasant commune, these revolutionaries exhibited also Messianic power-centered urges and destructive drives common in the ruling classes of Czardom. Hence a number of these people became professional conspirators, advocating establishment of an underground organization with rigidly centralized total power commanding expendability of its members, and demanding their complete dedication to the cause of the revolution. They considered this system of organization to be the only effective way to fight the Czarist rule. In this "mortal struggle," these dedicated young men and women tolerated no opposition or differences of opinion, propagated extreme hatred and pitilessness in dealing with all adversaries, organized assassinations, mutinies, strikes and mass risings, thus preparing the ground for the ascendancy of Bolshevism.

The Bolsheviks were a group of professional conspirators. In common with Messianic and power-oriented aims of all raznochintsy, the Bolsheviks endeavored to seize absolute and total power exclusively for themselves, by any and all means, as a way

1 [i.e. of undermining due to penetration of western influences -- Analyst]

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174 to maintain a system of economic self-sufficiency which was restricted to small villages or groups of such villages.[1]

175 181 In early documents these Old-Slavonic plowmen are described as peaceful, moderate, mild, and humane, patient and sober, disinterested in power, hard working, living in social and political democracy. They are pictured as being opposed to subjection, but unable to offer much resistance to a foreign aggressor since they were not skilled in warfare. Procopius (6th century), for instance, said that "these people are not ruled by one man, but they have lived from of old under a democracy, and consequently everything which involves their welfare, whether for good or for ill, is referred to the people."[2] And Emperor Leo (9th century) stated the following:

> . . . jealous of their liberty they have always refused to submit themselves to the Empire. . . . even those who have accepted Christianity keep as much as they can the forms of their ancient freedom. . . . This is a numerous nation, patient in difficult times, and very industrious. Heat, cold, hunger, and want of all things do not beat down these people. . . . They used to be very hospitable and still maintain with great care this virtue. They are affable people and receive travellers with much kindness, show them the way, and protect them against insult. If a traveller would not be well treated by his host because of host's fault all the people would attack the host. They behave with much gentleness also toward their slaves; they do not condemn them to perpetual slavery, but fix a time of service . . . after which time . . . they free them. The women are well-behaved, and attached to their husbands. . . . These people are very frugal . . . they prefer to live with much freedom. . . . They like to take refuge in the woods or in inaccessible places.[3]

175 631 The people of Polesie seem to have been politically organized in a system of smaller groupings of self-governing villages or even in single autonomous villages connected among themselves, not in the form of a central authority or state, but rather as a ● [565] loose confederation of independent units. Apparently, there were no marked social distinctions or differences in class and rank in this society. There was no aristocracy, no separate class of priests or warriors, no cities, no temples. There was, therefore, no class or clique which sought power and expansion over others,

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Eurasian steppes. As it had been a long-established practice among these predatory marauders, the war leader who showed himself competent in organizing a successful war expedition or in controlling a certain area would soon collect a considerable retinue of warriors. When Slavicized, the chieftain of such a band of raiders was known as *voyvoda* (warleader) or *knyaz* (prince). His retinue became known as the *druzhina* (band). The most outstanding members among these *druzhiniki* (band-men) and *muzhi* (men) formed an inner advisory body (*veche*) to the warleader or prince and became known as the "leading men" (*muzhi perednie*), or *boyari*. The voyvoda would reward his druzhina or boyars for their services by granting them land and dividing war booty with them.

It is important to note, however, that the boyars at this time received the granted lands as perpetual hereditary homesteads, and that they were free to leave one prince and enter the service of another at any time.[11] Before the formation of the Muscovite Empire, the plains between the Volga and Dnieper rivers were controlled by numerous such petty potentates, each surrounded by a retinue of boyars and other servicemen. Under those conditions there was no possibility of preventing these professional warriors from leaving one warleader and entering into the service of another. The only way for a local prince to retain his druzhina was by being successful in warfare, collecting large war booty, and offering land and villages together with the peasants in hereditary possession to his comrades in arms.[12]

In the meantime another stratum of the population was being formed in the centers of trade, that of the city people or burghers. The nomadic conquerors were not only looters and pirates, but traders as well. They traded in what they looted. When their authority was well established, they endeavored to promote centers and routes of commerce as a means of increasing their wealth. It was in these centers of trade and market places that cities developed. Soon city people became stratified into the well-to-do (*zhitie lyudi*) and the lower urban classes (*molodshie lyudi*). In these urban centers where the warriors became traders the trend was toward concentration of power in the hands of the economically powerful, just as among the professional military

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class the tendency was toward the concentration of power in the hands of the more mighty princes.[13]

This concentration of power in the hands of the city plutocracy found its expression in the principle of an unanimity vote in the city assembly (*Veche*). Data on the early political and social organization of the Russian urban communities show that the unanimity in decisions was the rule. The old documents about these gatherings tell us that "what has been established by the oldest city, is maintained by its boroughs," that "all thought and spoke as one man," that "all were unanimous in the desire," and that the decision was reached "by all the oldest and all the youngest men of the assembly."[14]

But we also learn that this unopposed group consensus was achieved by means of threat and terror against all those who might show an inclination to disagree or who disagreed after the assembly had been held and after a resolution had been passed. The dissenters were often beaten with rods, despoiled of their property, or murdered. Sometimes they might escape such fate if ready to pay a fine that varied according to the rank of the dissenter. In this manner a minority, backed by physical force was able to enforce its will on the rest under the guise of "unanimity."[15]

Pressure for the unanimous consent on the part of the people was applied also in the village assemblies, and later in the land commune (*mir*). In some other customs of the Great-Russian peasantry, even in our own times, the unanimous consent was considered necessary. In marriage ceremonies, for instance, custom demanded that the bride when leaving her parental home obtain blessing from all her neighbors. There was, however, a threat against neighbors who refused their blessing. Curses were invoked against them: "Those who do not bless her, may they never marry their sons and daughters" (*Kto ne blagoslovit tomu vek sinov ne zhenit a docheri za muzh ne vdavat*).[16]

The principle of unanimity was apparently the procedure in the local assemblies of the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators of the Dnieper river basin. Such an unanimity was also practiced until our times in the Zadruga society of Croatia.[17] But in those pacific and anarchic societies the principle of unanimity was real, not

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events were apparently manifested in a widespread sense of emotional and physical insecurity which fostered destructive aggression and mass violence. In such circumstances extreme self-seeking and dominance-submission relationships tended to substitute the Old-Slavonic egalitarian and anarchic system.

The plight of the Slavonic peasant strata has been symbolized in these products of folk imagination in the person of Mikula Selyaninovich ("the Villager's son") and in that of Ilya of Murom, who is often referred to as "the peasant's son," and as "the old Cossak." Mikula is pictured as a superb plowman and field laborer. He has a keen knowledge of husbandry and possesses the best mares and the best farming equipment.[24] He is endowed with such tremendous strength and is entrusted with such heavy responsibility that he carries "the weight of the whole world" in a little shoulder bag. This villager, however, comes into conflict with the city people over the custom duties and over the haughty manner of the urbanites. The tolls imposed by the city are too high. Moreover, the burghers treat Mikula in a despicable and undignified way. So he is enraged and loses his self-control:

> I was in the city no longer ago than the day before yesterday,
> On my light bay mare,
> I carried thence two whole bags of salt,
> Two bags of salt of forty pud each.
> The folk there are no better than robbers.
> They demand two kopecks toll;
> But I had a leaded whip for toll
> I paid their two kopecks toll.
> Whoever was upright I left seated
> And whoever was seated I left prostrate,
> And whoever lay prostrate would never rise again.[25]

As a result of such conflicts, Mikula finally came to the conclusion that tilling was not profitable any more. He found that there were other and better ways which would guarantee to one safety, economic gain, and self-respect. So he gave up husbandry and joined Volga Buslavlevich, the bandit-warrior. In his new role in which he uses great physical power not as a productive force, but as a means of coercion, he makes a strong imprint on

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the mind of the burghers. As a result, the city folk changed their attitude and instead of haughty bearing they now "bow low" to Mikula.

Ilya of Murom, the other hero of peasant origin, is portrayed as "being crippled" for many years. Then suddenly he acquires gigantic strength from two sources: from psalm singers and from Svyatogor, a hero of supernatural origin and superhuman powers. By means of this acquired strength and by employing cunning, Ilya gets rid of Svyatogor and, like Mikula, joins the bandit-warriors. However, the professional warriors do not accept Ilya on equal terms because of his low origin. But by constant demonstration of superior physical strength employed as a means of intimidation Ilya is finally accepted by the ruling military aristocracy. After a terrifying demonstration of physical strength which shook the whole town to its foundation Prince Vladimir became so panicky that he hurried a messenger to humbly invite Ilya to a prince's feast:

> Knock upon the door five times
> Then cross yourself in the prescribed manner
> Make your bow as it is enjoined,
> Offer humble salutations, and beat with your forehead
> Upon the floor of bricks,
> Upon damp mother earth herself,
> Before the old Cossack, Ilya of Murom.[20]

It seems clear that in these two heroes of peasant origin we find reflected the vicissitudes to which the Old-Slavonic society has been exposed after it has been subjugated to warriors and traders. The moral and productive values of the peasants, symbolized by Mikula's strength, his skill in productiveness, his social responsibility and feelings of dignity and equality, were rapidly declining in the changing conditions. The peasants became an easy prey of the new ruling classes. The result was moral corruption on the part of the soil cultivators, disinterest in land, and an urge to revolt. The peasantry became "crippled." First they expected help from supernatural forces. Then finally they began to rely on guile and on terror to protect themselves. They realized that in the new political atmosphere it was superior physical force which was admired and respected. Many peasants

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territories. He was adorned with the title of the "Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias,"[4] a symbolic beginning of Russian religious and political unity.

When the Tartars in the beginning of the thirteenth century imposed their overlordship over all Russian lands, lacking an efficient administration and interested not so much in governing as in tributes, they restored to the native princes their old titles and gave them the right to collect tributes for them. In this manner in the beginning of the fourteenth century Ivan Kalita of Moscow succeeded in obtaining a *yarlyk* (charter of privileges) in which the Tartar Kahn recognized Ivan as the *Veliky Knyaz* (Grand Prince). A few years later Ivan also became the chief collector of tributes for the Kahn in Russian lands.

In his function as chief farmer of internal revenues Ivan practiced extortion from his Russian subjects and acquired a great personal wealth. His riches enabled him to purchase entire domains and apanages, and to buy the protection and backing of the Kahn. Seeing the ascendency of Ivan, and following Byzantine traditions of Church and state unity, the Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias moved his residence to Moscow and built a cathedral there, ready to support Moscow princes in their political ambitions.

The expansion of Moscow's power over other Russian lands was favored also by external circumstances and pressures. By the second part of the fourteenth century the central authority of the Tartar Empire, the Golden Horde, had weakened and as was customary in Turco-Mongol society, civil wars ensued among the contenders for the throne. This situation presented an opportunity for power wise princes of Moscow to change their policy of cringing and prostration before the Tartars into that of rebellion and bargain. From now on at times they fought the Tartars, at other times they were again kneeling before them; but they now knew how to take advantage of Tartar weaknesses and how to gain new possessions with Tartar assistance. In this policy of expansion at the expense of other Russian principalities the Muscovites had the support not only of the Khans but that of the Eastern Orthodox clergy as well. Their

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177 642 The ideology of Moscow imperial theocracy was rooted in the power-centered traditions of Russian princes, reinforced by a fusion of Mongol and Byzantine political ideas and practices. As among the Mongols, the Czar was considered to be the supreme owner of the body and of the property of his subjects, but as among the Byzantines he was also concerned with their souls. At the same time, according to the Muscovite political philosophy, the Czar as owner of his subjects derived his authority not from the people, as in Byzantium, but directly and exclusively from God.[7] Therefore, the Czar alone possessed rights, his subjects only duties.

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In the Muscovite system of theocratical power not only was the Czar's freedom unlimited by any laws, but his personal will was not limited by any recognized human rights either. The Czar was considered to be limited only by his duty to God and by Divine law. The Czar, however, was himself the sole judge of his duty to God. He himself was the sole interpreter of Divine Law in regard to temporal affairs. Even the head of the Church could only supplicate but not advise him in these matters. The Czar was therefore at liberty to use the law capriciously as an instrument of his personal power, or to break the law at his convenience. And so he often did.[8]

643 565 Supported by the imperial ambitions of the Church, Muscovite rulers had two main objectives. One was the solidification of the unlimited personal power of the Czar to which all institutions of law and order were subjected; the other consisted of territorial expansion at the expense of the neighboring countries. The hereditary magnates—the local princes and the boyars—were obstacles in the path of both of these objectives. This landed aristocracy, following the traditions of early Russian princes, insisted on their personal and manorial privileges and resented any interference of the Muscovite Czar. They were therefore in favor of limitation of the Czar's power.

565 [643] At the same time, however, these magnates were members of an advisory council to the Czar (*Boyarskaya Duma*); in this council some of them were closer to the Czar and formed an inner circle which exerted more power and influence on the affairs of the state. The boyars were therefore not unified and did not

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form an organized opposition; instead they fought among themselves over priority in rank and position (*mestnichestvo*), over estates and crownlands, and over the favors of the Czar.

The lack of unity and struggle for power existed also among the lesser nobility, most of whom obtained their rank not by right of inheritance but by the favor of the Czar or as a reward for their military services. Some of these service nobility were rich in vast possessions, others did not differ much from common peasants in the amount of land they possessed, in standard of living, and in formal education.

Internal squabbles among the landed magnates and the service nobility were weakening the strength of the Czardom in relation to its adversaries. This situation offered a strong argument in favor of the Czar's despotism and at the same time eased the crushing of the opposition in the interest of unlimited power. "If subjects submit not themselves unto their ruler, never shall strife cease in the land," said Ivan the Terrible.[9]

The best way to break the power of the landed aristocracy was by making them economically dependent upon the Czar. This objective was achieved in two ways. One was forceful expropriation, resettlement, imprisonment and assassination of recalcitrant boyars. The other consisted of the increased emphasis on *pomestie* system of conditional land tenure as against *votchina*, or hereditary land property.

According to the pomestie system, which followed Mongol traditions, the crown lands, together with the peasants settled on them, were donated to the holder of an office or of a military rank under the condition of obligatory and loyal service to the Czar, and only as long as the loyal service on the part of the land recipient lasted. The *pomeshchik* was obliged to provide a contingent of soldiers according to the size of his donation. This obligation devolved from father to son. The older sons would obtain from the Czar new pomesties and the youngest son would, as a rule, inherit the pomestie of his father.[10] In the Byzantine Empire, too, the land was given in reward for service, but there the land became hereditary property that could be disposed of at will by the holder. In Russia the system of conditional land ownership meant, like in the Mongol political system, complete

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565 423 701 dependency of the land recipients upon the Czar, because the Czar could at any time withdraw the grant.

642 565 423 By means of the pomestie system of land tenure which prevailed in the second part of the sixteenth century the Muscovite rulers obtained both of their objectives: unlimited power and permanent war preparedness. Once the owners of the estates became dependent upon the Czar for the possession of their lands, any opposition on their part could be crushed easily, especially if the caste solidarity and the development of an *esprit de corps* among these people could be prevented. By the end of the seventeenth century the hereditary land tenure and the conditional land tenure were equalized. As a result all nobility became service nobility (*dvorianstro*), dependent upon the Czar for their lands. All therefore became *holopy*, the slaves of the supreme *gosudar* (master). Neither type of land holder could alienate his land either by sale, exchange, or any other process. The principle was that "He who owned land should serve the Czar."

178 642 565 Thus, by the end of the seventeenth century, by making the nobility economically dependent and having the support of the Church, the Muscovite Czars were enabled to eliminate all potential opposition to their rule and to perpetuate their despotic power. After the nobility was subdued and regimented, the other classes, including the clergy, followed suit. By the end of the seventeenth century the slaves and free land tenants were equalized and bound to the land and burghers were bound to their [486] *posads*. It was prohibited for any person to move from one town or borough to another without special permit. There could be a penalty of death for such flight or desertion.

By this time, therefore, all persons were bound to their status. A rigid caste system was established for the purpose of securing for the Czar permanent and controllable bodies of people whose function was either to pay cess or to render military and state service. The whole state was regimented and militarized for the [641] purpose of the Czar's aggrandizement, defense of the realm and military campaigns; each person had one duty only—to serve the Czar and the country. The whole society was geared to increase the revenues and the military might of the Czardom.

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III

The atmosphere of despotism, servility, fear and awe which developed under this system of total regimentation and dependency left an imprint on the habits and the attitudes of the people and had some influence on the shaping of their values and of their views of life. In conditions of complete dependency and domineering-subservience relationships, self-concern, destructive aggressiveness, as well as fatalistic resignation, are likely to thrive, not personal and social responsibility, moral obligations or group solidarity.

This trend of events meant also increasing social restlessness and political instability which in turn favored the rise to leadership of ruthless power-seekers and psychopaths. Lack of limitation on the personal power of the Czar, dissensions among the nobility and want of responsibility and of emotional balance in the person of the Czar led often to extreme excesses in Czar's rule.[11] All the attempts of the boyars to transform the Boyarskaya Duma into a legislative body were unsuccessful. Since the end of the seventeenth century even the *Zemski Sabor*, the consultative body of representatives of all classes, ceased to be convoked.

Only when the throne became vacant and the omnipotent Czar was gone did this nobility sometimes attempt to squeeze out promises and pledges from the pretenders to the throne. But, even then the remnants of the old boyar class and the new service nobility clashed over the question of control. Hence as soon as the new monarch was installed he did not have any difficulty in establishing his unlimited control and in proceeding to rule arbitrarily in face of a divided dvorianstvo.

The Czar could do anything he pleased with the nobles, including personal chastisement. They were treated as minors by the Czar and trained in blind and unconditional obedience. In the Czar's presence they observed dead silence. Anything that came from his hand, even the most degrading treatment, was to be received with resignation or even regarded as a sign of distinction. At the same time, however, while the nobles were exposed to all kinds of threat, terror and indignities on the part

7 [i.e. Czardom by end of 17th century.. Analyst]

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of the Czar, they became increasingly rank-conscious, domineering and abusive toward all lower in rank or under their power.[12]

Such a ruling class, with its open misrule and arbitrariness, could not inspire the subjected classes with confidence and respect. The lack of social and political security was manifested in want of initiative, in disinterest in productive activities, in loose morals, in hazard games, in a low value of human life, and in a general lack of trust.[13]

On the other hand, perhaps as a reaction to these conditions of insecurity and of social disorganization, there was an urge of complete renunciation of the world and its strife, an urge to detach oneself from the group, a tendency to isolate oneself completely from human society and seek personal consolation and personal salvation in religion. This trend of social withdrawal and self-oriented feelings brought about a great development of hermitism and of monastic life. Many of these people, completely detached from human society and preoccupied exclusively with their own self, sought peace and communion with God in lonely, remote depths of forests, in the solitude of the wilds and deserts. Here "far removed from men" they spent their lives in prayer, fasting and self-maceration.

At the same time the masses of the people who lived in great misery and who were exposed to arbitrariness, exploitation, and other forms of oppression on the part of the mighty, sought consolation and hope in supernatural forces. Beliefs in miraculous powers of wonder-working icons and in life-giving properties of the Cross were taking deep roots. On all sides sprang up prophecies and apparitions. Saint men and prophets, often mentally unbalanced, would appear in the streets and openly voice their protest against the Czar and his government.[14]

These were the only signs of an open opposition to the existing system that was becoming increasingly unbearable. Such "idiots" were considered saintly by the people not only because of their strange behavior and their ability to endure extremes of hardship, but also for their unheard of courage to speak openly against the Czar:

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From its very inception the Russian state was a military soci-
721 ety. The military campaigns and territorial expansion were
● 565 needed in this society to provide land to pay for the services of
181 a class of military nobility whose chief occupation was state service and warfare, not land cultivation. War gave the Czar an opportunity to distribute land grants, to bestow ranks and offices and to win the support of the nobility. At the same time warfare offered an opportunity for the nobles to exert more personal power, to release their destructive urges, and to compensate for indignities and humiliations to which they were constantly exposed on the part of superiors in rank and office. Thus, by engaging these people in constant warfare the Czars directed their aggressive impulses against the enemy instead of against the ruler. The wars were not only a means of occupying a potentially restless and turbulent military class, but they were necessary to enhance the Czar's prestige, to solidify his rule, and to impress his subjects with the idea of his might and invincibility.

723 In such circumstances, prolonged and costly wars were to be avoided. The military nobility, whose loyalty to the Czar was conditioned upon his power and favors, could not be completely depended upon to remain loyal to the Czar under adverse conditions or in defeat. Therefore, in military campaigns the em-
725 phasis had to be put on numerical superiority over the enemy. Another way of fighting the enemies was to frighten them into retreat by sudden and unexpected attacks from ambush combined with wild sounds of the drums, trumpets and shouting, in Mongol fashion. Soldiers and officers were ready to flee if the enemy showed considerable resistance. Their preference was fighting from a distance, or from a place of advantage from where they could annoy the enemy, but hurt themselves least.[16] Hence their most common way of taking cities and fortresses
[726] was by a siege, in the course of which they would force the population to surrender by means of mass starvation, or by provoking internal dissensions and treachery.[17] Small, weak and unprotected adversaries would be threatened into submission by "psychological warfare" methods without even resorting to an open war.[18]

727 In earlier days, the means employed to keep conquered people
636 in submission were the same as those practiced toward Russian

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Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.[1]

However, from the seventeenth century on, Russia's expansion, which was earlier oriented mainly toward the East, turned westward. The wars with the West which heretofore were mainly defensive, tended to acquire an increasingly offensive character. But the wars with the advanced Western countries were more difficult and much more costly than those with the economically and technologically backward Asiatics. The defeats which Russia suffered at the hands of the Swedes and Poles made it imperative for the Czars to increase the military effectiveness of their country to meet the challenge. This need dictated changes in the internal structure of the Czardom, in the direction of administrative and industrial advance along European patterns. Even before Peter the Great, measures had been taken in this direction. But it was Peter who dramatized the issue by himself going abroad as an apprentice in Western industries to become "the first carpenter of the Empire."

In accordance with such need the old system of administration based on service nobility was replaced by a system of salaried officials (*chinovnichestvo*). According to this *chin* (civil rank) system which was introduced by Peter the Great and which followed the Western pattern it was no longer necessary to belong to the dvorianstvo class in order to obtain state service. On the contrary, any one who served faithfully and efficiently could rise in chin and rank and thus obtain the status of a hereditary or of a personal *dvoryanin*, without even owning land. In this way a new salaried military and bureaucratic caste, entirely dependent upon the Czar, was growing at the expense of the landed dvorianstvo. As a result, the dvoryanin-guardsman, the chief state functionary of the eighteenth century, was replaced by the *chinovnik*-commoner in the nineteenth century. Chinovnichestvo absorbed and replaced dvorianstvo—just as earlier the dvorianstvo had absorbed and replaced boyarstvo. Now bureaucracy instead of military nobility became the main instrument of governing.[2]

This change in the structure of the Czardom, however, was accomplished from above, that is, by means of imperial decrees,

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not by means of a popular revolution as in the West. Accordingly the new bureaucratic rule was based on the *Ukaz*[3] and the knut as much as the old order. For the same reason, though the state was formally secularized, the traditions of an autocracy, divinely ordained and supported by God, were carried on by every official as the representative of the Czar.[4]

Therefore the new system of autocracy based on bureaucracy, the same as the old one based on service nobility, could not recognize any political or personal rights of the subjects. Nor could there have developed any *esprit de corps* among the new governing class. This new class of officials owned little or no land and had to live on meager salaries, but was eager to follow the traditions and the high standards established by the old landed nobility. The chinovnichestvo therefore became even more dependent upon the Czar than the dvorianstvo was earlier. There was even less *esprit de corps* and less solidarity in the new governing class than in the old. Each official was constantly in fear of jeopardizing his own social position if he stood up in defense of any of his colleagues. Besides, in this hierarchical system of power the ruin or falling into disfavor of one official often meant the ascendancy of the other. There was, therefore, a tendency to take advantage of such a situation, to resort to intrigues and calumnies, and to help to destroy rather than to rehabilitate a victim.

All the powers, the lawmaking, the application of law, and the justice were placed into the hands of these bureaucrats. At the same time the system of checks and controls was very deficient. Laws were enacted by special temporary commissions of high officials, and created *ad hoc*. The Council of State, a supreme policy-making body, composed of about seventy to eighty highest dignitaries, was appointed by the Czar to serve him only in advisory capacities. The final decision rested in the hands of the Czar, or with the camarilla clique which happened at the moment to be most influential. The Empire was administratively divided into provinces (*gubernia*) which were usually headed by army generals. The gubernias were divided into districts which were headed by chiefs of police. The governors, supported by the police, ruled autocratically in their domains. They were

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was invested with the most extensive powers and was given as its special mission the task of looking after the safety of the state and overseeing the doings of all departments, of all public functionaries, and of all people. The security police was an omnipotent and all-powerful body before whom all subjects were considered guilty unless they proved the contrary. This institution—developed in the course of centuries—became of paramount importance to its rulers. It became one of the most essential wheels of the government and one of the chief cares of the ruling class.[16]

III

Hierarchical relations of strict superordination and subordination in the military and bureaucratic ranks might foster feelings of identification with the mighty and the powerful. It is on such grounds that imperialistic nationalism and ideas of national superiority and grandeur thrive. And when state is fused with the Church in a system of theocratic militarism then nationalism might acquire also the aspects of religious fanaticism.

Expansion, greatness of the state, ideas of grandeur and Messianic ideas of world redemption or world domination might provide also compensation for humiliations, self-abasement, feelings of inferiority and unworthiness and other frustrations which are fostered in a system of abusive domineering-subservience relationships. As a result love of show, display of military might and need for conquests preoccupied the ruling strata of post-Petrine Russia as much as those of the Muscovite state. The Czar's court, the nobility, the military, the bureaucracy, the Church, the cities and the villages tended to display a grandeur that was in sharp contrast with the poverty of the country.[17]

This tendency toward exhibitionism and ideas of greatness was manifested also in the glorification of Russia, and the belief in the sacredness of its exalted mission in the world. Such attitudes and feelings which were rooted in the rigidly hierarchical military and bureaucratic structure were supported also by the Third Rome traditions of the Russian Church according to which Providence itself had bestowed upon Russia's rulers the role of the redeemers of mankind. According to these traditions and teachings Russia was a God-chosen country, the only country

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sible for the whole amount of the tributes and taxes assessed. It was, therefore, in the interest of this land tax commune to favor concentration of power in the hands of the household head and to support his strictness in rule so that each household might contribute at the end of the fiscal year its share of the common tax assessment. With the lack of such a system of control, the taxes of the defaulters might fall on other members of the village community.

To meet the obligations to the tax commune it was necessary for each household to have sufficient manpower and all the farm equipment it needed. Household partition, which implied dispersal of manpower, need for new equipment, and increased taxation, was therefore frowned upon. Loitering or prolonged absence from the community also had to be discouraged. Early marriages, joint households, and rigid supervision by the elders were fostered. In addition, internal household conflicts provoked by forced regimentation and intensified because of lack of privacy, crowded quarters, insufficient food and clothing increased the need for autocratic rule:

> All in the household well know and have learned by experience that in the interest of the well-being of the household it is absolutely necessary that all obey one elder, who has knowledge and experience about the household and upon whom would depend all matters of husbandry.[4]

The landed nobility and the land-owning Church also supported the absolute power of the bolshak and disapproved of household partitions on their estates. The estate owners were bound to furnish the timber and other materials for the construction of new izbas in case of the division of an old household. They also had to provide the new households with farm equipment, all of which was a burden because it implied additional expense for the landlords. At the same time the government, which was constantly engaged in warfare and was increasingly in need of new recruits, found it more expedient to get these from large households so that the tilling of the soil would not suffer and the tax-paying powers would not decrease while military campaigns were taking place. Therefore, all the authori-

3: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

ties—the state, the Church, the landlords, and the village tax commune—joined hands in backing the collective household system and the power of its head elder.

II

In this manner, under the pressure of circumstances, the *bolshaya* system of jointly ruled community household was gradually giving way to the *otsovskaya* system, that is, the patriarchal family in which the power-oriented steppe traditions tended to take precedence over the Old-Slavonic egalitarianism. Patriarchal traits prevailed especially in the urban strata. The father became absolute master as well as the exclusive owner of the family property in the otsovskaya system. As a result of this change in household structure all family members became economically and personally dependent upon the father; and as long as his power was supported by the state and the Church, they were expected to submit unconditionally to his will; there was no appeal against his arbitrariness, favoritism, and even misbehavior.

As a result of such a development the steppe traditions of life and death power of the father over his wife and children, the relationship of absolute dominance and complete subordination tended to be reinforced and perpetuated. The Church was particularly instrumental in this matter. Under the influence of the Church the father was likened, in the popular mind, to the Almighty. "As God is to the people, so is a father to his children" (*Kak Bog do lyudey, tak otets do detey*),[5] the people would say.

The father had at his disposal a number of ways to impose his will. Owing to the Church teachings, one of the main paternal sanctions consisted of invoking God's wrath This was done by means of malediction or withdrawal of blessing. Parental curse, as well as lack of parental blessing, was certain to bring great misfortune to the disobedient child (*Lisheniem otsovskogo blagoslovenia shchitaetsa chelovekom propashchim.*)[6] The emphasis on need of parental blessing and fear of disastrous consequences of parental curse is stressed in many Great-Russian folk customs and in their folk sayings, folk songs, and folk tales.[7]

Another instrument at the disposal of the father in imposing

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

IV

Ideologies and Movements

14

REVOLT OF THE LAND-OWNING INTELLIGENTSIA (WESTERNISM AND SLAVOPHILISM)

I

IN CONSEQUENCE of the reforms of Peter the Great the dvorianstvo obtained hereditary rights on their lands. At the same time their service to the state ceased to be obligatory. But the traditions of this class consisted of warfare and ruling, not of land cultivation. Thus when this newly formed landed gentry did not have to serve the state, many of them became a leisure class of people who occupied themselves by visiting Western lands, cultivating Western languages and fine arts and studying Western political and social ideologies. Few among these people were inclined to retire to the country and dedicate themselves to the management of their estates. The result of such a trend of events was that a large part of this leisure class people Europeanized themselves and developed high educational and intellectual standards. And it was from this group of a well educated landed gentry who were losing their

6: Tomatic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[565] 517 668 former role as main instruments of the Czar's power to a parvenu bureaucracy and military that leaders of first opposition movements were recruited.

Even before and during the French Revolution a number of Russian landed nobility became aware of the ideas of the Revolution. They were also becoming increasingly interested in constitutional forms of government in which they could take part in their own right, not depending upon the whims of a despotic monarch. Some of these people even became dissatisfied with serfdom because of its economic inefficiency. They were also becoming increasingly impatient with absolutism because of its oppressive and degrading aspects.

[701] Such ideas and feelings penetrated the officers' corps and a number of this military intelligentsia organized themselves into a secret society and formulated a concrete program for constitutional changes.[1] Some of these people came from high nobility. Others, especially those from the South, were impoverished nobles living on meager officer's salaries. In December, 1825 [669] these people attempted to seize power. However, owing to ideological differences and the traditional factional splits within the dvorianstvo, the attempt of this faction of military intelligentsia to gain power was thwarted.[2] Nevertheless, this uprising of the "Decembrists," though abortive, was the beginning of increasing revolutionary activities of the intelligentsia[3] which finally brought about the overthrow of the Czardom in the Revolution of 1917.

[642] 517 177 The revolt of the Decembrists was a sign that the Czardom had already gone through such changes in its social structure that a change in its political system was overdue. The most important change in this structure was the formation of a class which, for the first time in Russia's history, became economically independent of the Czar, and which, though economically idle and not always prosperous, became intellectually very alert and also very sensitive to Western ideas.

In accordance with the traditional behavior pattern of Russian nobility, their reactions to the conditions at home and to Western thought tended to develop in the direction of two opposite extremes. One was that of the "Westerners" who were

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

lead the others. Russia was therefore predestined to fulfill this world mission. Hence the Pan-Slavs looked to Moscow, the ancient Russian capital, not the Westernized "City of Peter" (Petersburg) as the heart of Russia[17] and of mankind of the future—the Third Rome.

15
REVOLT OF THE RAZNOCHINTSY INTELLIGENTSIA (NIHILISM AND ANARCHISM)

I

BY THE second part of the nineteenth century, new changes were taking place in the economic relations as well as in the political and class structure of the Czardom. First of all, the process of disintegration of the old order under the impact of the industrialization and bureaucratization was rapidly coming to an end. Serfdom was abolished and with it there came the disastrous ruin of manorial estates which were not prepared to cope with the difficulties of a money and market economy. The result was that the number of impoverished and pauperized gentry was greatly increased.

At the same time the new laws tended to place emphasis on property. Thus, for instance, in the local assemblies of the noblemen the elective franchise was granted only to noblemen possessing a certain amount of land or a certain value of industrial establishment. This difference in civil rights according to the amount of property introduced a sharp cleavage into the gentry class. Earlier all dvorianstvo and all chinovnichestvo were considered equal in rights and had at least theoretically an equal chance to rise in power or to win the favor of the Czar. But now the new laws disfranchised and declassed a large part of the gentry. Similar laws favored the richer class among the merchants which meant that even in municipal affairs birth and education decreased in value in comparison with wealth.[1]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

178 In the new secularized and urbanized society, also, the position
● 565 of the clergy became increasingly precarious. Like other insti-
793 tutions of the Czardom the Russian Orthodox Church was organized along the lines of sharp social differentiation and dominance-submission relationships. Russian Orthodox clergy as a whole formed a closed caste institution. All lay clergymen and many monastics were recruited from among the members of the
[582] families of lay clergy. Endogamous marriage was practiced within this caste. The church maintained its own schools for both the sons and the daughters of clergymen. In this manner
[184] the clergy had been separated from the rest of the society and had developed a sub-culture of its own. The clerics were set apart from others not only by their priestly garb, but by their manners, and even by their names.

792 Internally, however, within the ranks of the Orthodox clergy
793 there was a sharp distinction between the monastic order (black
554 clergy) and the secular priesthood (white clergy). The monastic order was rich in land donations and other possessions and all the Church hierarchy was recruited from among its ranks. The secular clergy was not only subordinate to the monastics, but also poor. Among the secular clergy sharp class distinction existed between the city clergy and the village priests. This differentiation was manifested in the differences in income, education and prestige, as well as in the lack of intermarriage between these strata. The difference was also reflected in the attitudes of
[369] the laity. While the city clergy were socially accepted by the middle and lower urban layers, the village priests were rather isolated from the rest of the population.

However, the sharpest difference and social distance existed between the Church hierarchy and the rank-and-file clergymen. The heads of monasteries, for instance, behaved like real magnates. They took in large revenues, kept servants, horses and carriages, and hardly shared in the life of their monastic brothers, even though these Church dignitaries resided in monasteries. In the same way, the bishops were inclined to belittle the lay clergy under their control. They treated them with a great want of respect. They would abuse them, insult them and then even flog them.

3/1 [i.e. developing in the second half of the XIX th century — Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

668 In a similar manner revolt was brewing in the bureaucracy
647 and the armed forces. In a system which was founded on the
701 principles of absolute dominance, subservience and uncondi-
554 tional submission, it is to be expected that the civil service employees as well as many officers would be often exposed to caprice, arbitrariness and wrong doings on the part of their superiors. These, too, were left without possibility of redress as were the clergymen. Strong sense of rank and social distance were as marked in these strata as among the clergy.

871 The lay schools[1] were not much different in strictness and dis-
● 565 cipline from the priests' seminaries, and students in these schools were often as ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and as exposed to the rod and other degrading treatment. The student's parents, who were often impoverished gentry, petty chinovniks, or small traders with meager incomes and big families, were not always able to support their children throughout long years of schooling. At the same time in an economically and technologically
[555] undeveloped society with strong traditions of service nobility, there was nothing that young people from such families could do but to enroll at a university or a military academy in order to obtain government office, or to engage in free learned professions. In Russian society of those days these were the only possibilities of obtaining positions of some prestige. Many of these students from impoverished strata had therefore to depend upon public or private munificence to finish their studies. Some of them became police informers to secure a meager income and to finish schooling. Many had to drop out of school because of lack of financial resources.

871 All Russian schools, therefore, on the middle as well as on the
668 university level, became centers of revolt against an order which exposed them to humiliating treatment, but did not offer them opportunities in accordance with the established traditions of higher classes. Hence the higher the school, the more it was imbued with the revolutionary spirit. And the words "student" and "revolutionary" became synonymous.

517 When new laws were introduced and these ambitious and
647 rebellious young men and women finally entered state service
641 they found that in addition to being ill-treated and ill-paid, a

1 [i.e. in the second half of the XIX th century -- Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

large part of them were disfranchised as well, because in municipal self-government and in district and provincial assemblies even persons holding university degrees, if they did not own a sufficient amount of property, were devoid of the right of suffrage.[4] And it was this underprivileged group of declassee nobility, of priests' sons, of former clerics, of sons and daughters of lower government employees, of unemployed professionals, of students and of former students who never had a chance to finish their studies, that became known as the *raznochintsy*.

The raznochintsy intelligentsia tended to lead a bohemian life and to engage in literary activities and journalism. But these vocations were greatly limited because of strict censorship laws. When the bar was established some raznochintsy practiced law as barristers, though they were very restricted in their activities because of traditional extra legal practices of the police. When under local self-administration (*Zemstvo*), a health, educational, and economic program for the improvement of rural areas was developed, a number of raznochintsy were employed by the Zemstvo as physicians, veterinarians, agronomists, teachers and bookkeepers. At the same time, their traditions and training, and especially their ambitions and expectations had conditioned the raznochintsy for intellectual pursuits and political leadership, not for routine administrative work or for business promotion and enterprise.

In such a situation the deeply rooted feeling of rejection which had been developed on the family level was greatly magnified.[5] Accordingly, self-centeredness, power-seeking, lack of trust, destructive aggression, as well as identification with suffering which were developed on the family level were heightened in these circumstances and found expression in ideologies which manifested extreme hostility and an urge for universal destruction. Many of these young rebels, for instance, denied all existing social institutions, conventions and restrictions, and demanded their total obliteration.

This ideology of extreme negation and destruction ("Nihilism") manifested, perhaps, the feelings of utter despair of the ambitious and self-seeking raznochintsy who felt impotent before the God-like power of the Czar and his omnipotent police.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

revolutionary organizations was approved whenever such an act was considered necessary to strike terror into the hearts of the followers or to knit them more closely together.[23] Equally good was considered to be the method of deception, not only of the public, but also of the followers. Moreover, in order to achieve revolution and destroy the existing order, it was considered necessary to increase the existing evils. "The society will use all its resources to increase and intensify the evils and miseries of the people . . ."[24] so that the people would lose patience and be stimulated to a mass rising.

III

The extent to which Nihilist and Anarchist ideas had penetrated into various strata of Russian society by the middle of the second part of the nineteenth century may be indicated by the police records revealed during the many trials of Anarchists and Terrorists. Thus in a trial of a group known as the "Nechaevtsy," out of approximately 150 conspirators, about 30 of them or 20% were classified as nobles, about 50 or 33% of the accused were classified as students and former students. About 20 or 13% were sons of priests and divinity students. About 40 or 26% belonged to the class of bureaucrats and the military. About 15 or 10% belonged to the class of merchants and petty traders. There were five peasants, one artisan and one janitor in the group. There were also about ten women, married and single. The overwhelming majority of the conspirators were between 20 and 26 years of age, the median age being 22.[25]

As a result of Anarchist propaganda and agitation a number of secret revolutionary groups were organized and became known collectively as *podpolie* (underground).[26] One of them was *Zemlya i Volya* (land and freedom), organized in the early seventies. This society split a few years later into two factions, a moderate one, and an openly terroristic group known as the *Narodnaya Volya* (the people's will).[27] The *Narodovoltsy* initiated a series of terroristic acts and assassinations of high officials, including a number of attempts on the life of Czar Alexander II.[28]

The Czarist police fought back with the same weapons. The

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written or by customary rules of conduct and often exposed to the arbitrariness and mistreatment of their lords, the serfs on many manorial estates came to be completely dependent upon the will and capriciousness of their masters.

It is obvious that many landed gentry who were given such absolute rights over their serfs would tend to completely subjugate the mir also. In such circumstances the mir was likely to lose its character of a self-ruled and self-contained community and instead tended to become an instrument of landlord's power which made the landowner the absolute monarch of his estate. Under the overlordship of the estate owner the mir kept its watchful eye over every peasant, and made it easier for the landowner to manage his property, and for the government to rule the country. It was under such external pressures that the steppe traditions of an absolute, stern and distant patriarchal power were being strengthened among the peasantry.

II

The conditions of the peasants did not improve in these respects after the abolishment of serfdom in the second part of the nineteenth century.[5] The peasants were emancipated from the rule of the pomeshchiks and subjected again directly to the government. But now the government, pushed by pressing demands for increasing revenues, made the mir an instrument of state control and found in it one of the most exacting of tax collectors. In order to be assured of payment the state had to concede to the mir all of the most severe measures of authority. Now the mir was entitled to banish unsolvent peasants to Siberia. And when corporal punishment was abolished in urban criminal law practice, it was still left in use in the mir.[6]

After the abolishment of serfdom the mir came under the supervision of the district chief of police (*Ispravnik*). The law of 1874 gave the police the right to arrest and to fine the village elders, and even to demand from the governor of the province their discharge. The position of the elder became so undesirable that the mir sometimes had to exert force to obtain candidates for this office or to prevent those in office from resigning.[7]

There was another official in this system of rural administra-

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There was another official in this system of rural administration, the *pisar*, who, though only a salaried clerk, with no executive authority, frequently exerted great influence. He was usually a stranger to the commune because of his urban manners and dress. He might be a former divinity student, an army veteran, or a city clerk dismissed for inefficiency. He was ill paid as a commune clerk and inclined to make up for his low salary by accepting bribes.[8] But the real power in the village was often vested in the hands of the *uryadnik*, the village constable, who had manifold duties and many prerogatives. He tended to consider himself as Czar of the village and was inclined to be arbitrary and insolent. He often terrorized the peasants and "the government protected him in his practices, even to the point of prohibiting the newspapers from printing accounts of outrages he perpetrated."[9]

In the meantime other structural changes were taking place in the Russian village. Since earlier the landlords and now the government relied on a few peasants who controlled the mir, these often took advantage of their privileged position and tended to beguile the commune out of its best lands. Some of these people also owned taverns (*kabak*) and were money lenders and usurers. They tended to ape their masters, kept at a certain distance from other peasants and looked down upon them. Because of their greediness, misuse of power, and contemptuous attitude toward the peasants, they became known among the peasants as *miroedy* (mir-eaters) and as *kulaki* (fists).[10]

According to the established custom the decisions in the village assembly were arrived at unanimously and by acclamation. If there was a minority opinion the minority was expected to expressly or tacitly accept the view of the majority. In the Old-Slavonic village community and in the mir before serfdom a genuine unanimity rule was possible because that community was on the whole undifferentiated economically or socially, and was governed to a large extent by public consensus. But as soon as this rural community became stratified, the unanimity principle was exploited to the advantage of the dominant cliques. When serfdom was established, the unanimity principle was often employed to support the decisions and the whims of the landlords. And after emancipation, the police or an oligarchy of

[i.e. after the abolition of serfdom -- Analyst]

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623 a few kulaks were often able to force the commune members into unanimous decision by means of threats or bribing. And there was no appeal against such decisions.

565 621 154 In such circumstances many land communes tended to lose their former equalitarian and protective aspects and the peasants came to fear the mir and to feel an awe before it as much as they had a fear and awe before God and the Czar or before a stern and distant father. They feared the overwhelming power of the mir, the finality of its decision, and the lack of redress against its will They tended to identify the mir's final power with that of Almighty God. "There is no court for the mir, one God is its judge," they would say. Feeling helpless in the front of such an [156] uncontrollable power, there seemed to be nothing else for the peasants to do but to submit to its will. "One cannot argue with the mir"; "Mir will stand for itself, you cannot go against it" they would say. And since there was no other way out for one but to be a part of such an overwhelming and capricious institution the most expedient way of behavior for him was to accept it and to do as the others do. "Although bad, you cannot do without it"; "If you have to live with wolves you might as well howl as they do."[11]

621 625 156 The mir and police were empowered to interfere not only in the system of planting, sowing, and harvesting, but in family and personal affairs as well. The problems of paternal authority and filial duties, the relations between husband and wife, and between in-laws, the questions of inheritance, military conscription, and general behavior, all were within the grasp of these village authorities.[12] Just as in his own family, the rank-and-file individual was completely lost in his village commune. A rank-and-file man had the right to participate in the debates and was expected to vote unanimously for the regulations which restricted his personal and his economic freedom. He who dared to object was unprotected against the despotism and arbitrariness either of the ruling minority or of an incited mob. Thus the feelings of complete dependence upon superior powers prevailed in the community.

241 In addition, poor quality of land, lack of sufficient moisture, long and hard winters, many years of military service, low

6; Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

standards of formal education, low level of agricultural technology, undeveloped means of transportation and too many idle days handicapped the advance of agriculture. In such circumstances the peasants did not even produce sufficient food to nourish themselves, much less a surplus to exchange for manufactured products. As a consequence the peasants were exposed to periodical famines during which many died of starvation.

Periodical epidemics of cholera, typhus, small pox, and other diseases took a toll as high as famines. A low degree of personal hygiene in crowded living conditions also increased the death rate. In addition there was a great dearth of doctors, nurses and hospitals, and no measures of preventive medicine. Equally ruinous were the periodical cattle epidemics due to primitive techniques of cattle raising. One should add to these misfortunes the figure of more than one hundred thousand peasant homes destroyed each summer by fires, many of them the result of arson. And if one considers the widely spread robbery, theft and murder that went undetected and unpunished, one gets an idea of the distressing personal and social conditions in which the Russian peasant lived. It was in such circumstances, left entirely to his own resources, that he developed an ideological, emotional and symbolical world of his own.

17
THE ATTITUDES OF THE PEASANTRY

I

STUNNED by the magnitude of the inimical and arbitrary social and physical forces which surrounded him and completely controlled his life, the Great-Russian peasant felt impotent and helpless. In the family circle if he had to be submissive and he was exposed to arbitrariness of the elder, he also might have enjoyed a certain degree of protection and succor.

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Outside the family, however, this system of social relationships tended to lose its protection-dependence character and to emphasize domineering-subservience attitudes in complete contrast to the traditions of and his yearning for an equalitarian and protective folk community that had existed in the past.

In such circumstances his sense of rejection and his demand for acceptance which he might have experienced in the family were reinforced and magnified, affecting his whole view of life, his attitudes toward the world around him and his image of the universe. He was convinced that there was no justice in the world and that there was nobody to whom he could appeal for redress. "Injustice and untruth rule the world"; "Injustice and untruth started with the world and will end with the world," he would say.[1]

In such circumstances the peasant was inclined to see the wrathful, the revengeful, and the implacable aspect of God, especially since such image of a Christian God had support in the teachings of the Russian Orthodoxy. Accordingly the peasant visioned the saints who surrounded the Old Man as quarrelling among themselves and bragging about their strength and achievements and as being vindictive, cheating, and playing tricks on one another.[2] Since the peasant pictured Christ as being only the son of a wrathful Father, he could not depend upon him according to the Russian view of patriarchal family relationships. The Russian peasant therefore had a "sympathetic but detached view of Christ."[3]

The peasant's feeling of rejection in regard to God was manifested in his lack of assurance as to the help he could expect from Him. God, to whom he prayed, seldom interfered on his behalf against earthly authorities. And though "All power was from God," the peasant knew that "God gives power to whom he wants to." The peasant was therefore at times openly resentful of God's neglect. "God neither lets you live nor die," he would say. In his despair he was inclined to believe that there were other forces, beside God, which ruled the universe, such as the Devil who was looked upon as "the junior brother of God and his carpenter in the creation of the universe."[4] And, not unlike Asiatic steppe herders who lived in similar circumstances, the

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Great-Russian peasant saw the need to keep on good terms with this ruler of the underworld.

Since the Czar was identified with God, the peasant's feeling toward the Czar was like his attitude toward God. He knew that the Czar was as omnipotent as God. "Everything is in the power of God and the Czar," he would say. Therefore, he feared the Czar like he feared God, he felt an awe before the Czar as before God, and he hoped for the best, but it can hardly be said that he had much love for him. "Czar is not fire, but if you come close to him you will burn yourself," he would say. His idea was also that "Where there is Czar there is fear and dread," and that "Czar's rage spreads death." Since God was so far away, detached, neglectful, and implacable, it was the Czar's fearful power that mattered. "God's is the will, but the court is Czar's," he would say.[5]

The peasant's feelings toward the supreme power of the world and of the universe reflected only his bitter experiences with the representatives of these powers on the earth with whom he had to deal in local affairs. Often these did not bring justice, but venality, arbitrariness and persecution. "The court is founded on untruth and injustice"; "Where there is court there is chicanery," he would say. And since the judges were corrupted, the only way to get anything from them was to bribe them. "The judge is useful as much as the pocket is helpful," he would say. Such action, however, was not always advisable because of greediness of the judges. "You will never fill a judge's pocket"; "Do not litigate, you will strangle yourself."[6]

Because of his traditional distrust of authorities the peasant showed also a profound lack of trust in all written laws. He likened the law to the cobweb whose purpose was to catch the small and helpless, not the big and powerful ("The bumblebee will break through, the fly will get stuck."). He also compared the law to a tool that could be used arbitrarily by those who held it in their hands ("The law is like shaft, you turn it wherever you want it."). He noticed that "those who write the laws also break them," and concluded that "It is in vain to write laws if they are not carried out." In accordance with the Old-Slavonic anarchic and equalitarian traditions he was inclined to believe

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

that "If all laws perished the people would live in truth and justice."[7]

The peasant realized that there was sharp differentiation in economic status in his society as well as in his own local community. But what he especially resented was that the men of wealth took advantage of their position to oppress the weak; and that the poor had to be utterly submissive and subservient to the well-to-do. "The one who is better off has long hands," the peasants would say, meaning that the men of wealth had control over others. And he would compare the arbitrariness of the man of power with the craftsman who handles his material according to his will. "The master is like the carpenter: he cuts the way it pleases him." He would also say that the rich man has all the space he wants "as much as the pike in the water," but as "for the poor there is nowhere any room." He resented the fact that though "Poverty was not sin, yet the people laughed at it." He also objected that the poor were forced to repress their real feelings and cringe before the rich. "The poor are angry at the rich, yet they find themselves in their trail with cap in hand," he would complain.[8]

The peasant therefore grew distrustful and resentful of everyone who was in one way or other above him. He could not depend much upon God and Czar, and he mistrusted the bureaucrats, the landlords, the priests, the judges, the police, and even the better-off people of his own strata. He was particularly distrustful of cities and city folk, of Moscow and Moscovites especially. From ancient times he looked upon Moscow, the seat of the Czar's government, as heartless and deceitful, and as the source of most of his troubles. "In Moscow," he thought, "you find everything except own father and mother." He also considered that his capital city was so corrupted that, "If you go to Moscow you must take there your last penny."

The peasant therefore lived in an environment in which he felt deserted by the powers of heaven and oppressed by their representatives on earth. He therefore felt unprotected, isolated, friendless, lonely, and insecure. His idea was that both God and man were against him. "If God attacks you, good people will attack you too," he would complain.

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The peasant therefore appraised the social environment in which he lived as dominated by powerful destructive forces which were capricious, neglectful and inimical but upon which he was completely dependent for his life and livelihood. He strongly resented these powers and wished he could destroy them, but felt helpless before them. He therefore projected his feelings of helplessness as well as his destructive urges into the supernatural world and proceeded to inhabit that world with all-powerful, arbitrary, and vicious beings which sought the annihilation of man, and of the earth.

II

On the family level in similar circumstances, two contrasting tendencies, that of complete submission to the parental power and that of rebellion against it are likely to be formed. In a like manner submission and rebellion characterized the behavior of the Russian peasantry on the local community level. The peasant was inclined to appear servile and docile toward all authorities. He would address every one of his superiors as "Father" (*batyushka*). He would bow low (*klanyatsya v poyas*) or in twain (*klanyatsya v nogi*) before them. Before the Czar he would prostrate himself (*chelobitye*) and if the Czar was passing by he would fall on his knees and cross himself. All he could hope for was that by offering unconditional obedience or by propitiating the powers that be, he would be spared. And if all this appeasing of the authorities were in vain he would refrain from revolt as long as he realized that he was utterly helpless and without support in the front of overwhelming powers. In such circumstances he tended to become completely resigned and fatalistic. He might arrive at the conclusion that "You cannot run away from fate, not even on horse-back," and that "Unto each man happens what was decreed at his birth."[9]

With such a frame of mind the Russian peasant was ready to accept great suffering without much complaint. "Misfortune is like the ocean: neither you can swim across it nor can you draw it out," he would say. "And who is it that was not visited by misfortune and misery?" he would ask. Therefore since "You cannot escape misery," "Do not struggle with misery, but suffer"

6. Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF: Great Russia RF1

565 154 [761] (*S bedoyu ne perekoryaisya, terpi!*). And then if life is all suffering, why be afraid of death, he would ask himself. "Be afraid to live, do not be afraid to die! To live is more terrible than to die"; "We do not rejoice in life, but in death."[10]

565 785 788 Identification with suffering and preoccupation with death which has been conditioned by family experiences and reinforced on the community level led the Russian peasants to practice long and hard fasts, and to undertake difficult pilgrimages to far off places of worship. "There is only one salvation, fast and prayer"; "We don't live on bread, but on prayer" they would say. Long and hard fasting and prayer of the Great-Russian peasants were not only manifestations of his identification with suffering and his feeling of helplessness and complete dependency upon superior forces, but were perhaps also expressions of his tendency to completely retire from an unsatisfactory and an unhappy world.

792 156 The extremes of this suffering and withdrawal from the world were reached by anchorites who sought complete solitude in wild deserts "far away from men," and by those hermits who lived self-buried in the catacombs, away not only from man, but also from the light of day. Such people enjoyed among the peasants the fame of saints and were believed to possess miraculous powers. Many peasants would make vows of pilgrimage to places where such people lived self-buried, isolated and withdrawn from all human contact.

III

565 156 The peasant's complete submission to unpredictable and arbitrary forces was enhanced because of the lack of solidarity among the peasants themselves. After the peasant had been subjected to arbitrary regimentation and to permanent policing on the part of the authorities, he began to lose faith not only in the authorities but in his fellow peasants as well. Thus mistrust and suspiciousness rooted in patriarchal relations were heightened. In such circumstances the peasant became increasingly distrustful of his neighbors, tended to withdraw within his own family and to become himself ready to spy on others.[11]

In such conditions when isolated, helpless and self-oriented,

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

the peasant tended to conceive of every man as a dangerous fellow. "Ruddy or red, the man is dangerous" (*Ryzhyi da krasnyi chelovek opasnyi*), he would say. He did not think he could expect any help from man. "Do not expect any good from a human being," he would advise. And between a living man and a dead one, he thought that the latter was preferred. "No evil comes from a dead man, and no good comes from a living one," he would assert. Many Great-Russian folk sayings emphasize the need for silence, or the necessity to spare words, so that one may not betray himself and let the others take advantage of him. "Do not say every word! Do not reveal every little thought when people are near!" these maxims caution. They also warn: "Do not believe every talk, do not tell every truth!"[12]

But such a lack of faith in human beings might lead to the resolution that one is quite justified to take advantage of everyone else, since all others would do the same to him. Thus social isolation and mistrust tended to reinforce self-seeking and encourage the use of all means to achieve one's personal ends: "Lie began with the world and with the world it will die," the peasants would say. They concluded that since "Man lives by falsehood, we too should not remain behind." Their advice therefore was: "Do not mourn for truth, make terms with falsehood"; "It is by falsehood that men live."[13]

The Great-Russian peasant was accordingly often forced to rely on deliberate deceit as a means of survival in a hostile, distrustful, and unreliable world. He did not consider it necessary to have any respect for agreements, contract obligations or given pledges. He tended to be crafty even in his dealings with God and saints. When committing sinful acts at home he would cover his icons. A number of Russian folk tales are concerned with cunning and show how profitable it might be for one to resort to such means.[14] Heroes in folk epics are addicted to deceit and are condoned for their deeds of guile. Merchants in peasant villages almost invariably used false weights and measures. Perjury was so frequent that there were people whose sole profession it was to swear falsely.[15]

While in such an aggressive mood the peasant was inclined to evoke to his help the dark forces. As a result there was a great

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demand for the witches (*vedma*) and wizards (*znakhar*), persons who dealt in black magic. One bought their services both as protection from his enemies and as a means of attack on them. In this manner the dealers in black magic who were a means of protection and attack were also an added threat in life. Some knowledge of defensive and offensive magic became therefore indispensable for everybody.

Destructive urges which developed in such conditions were manifested also in the idea that it was possible for one, if he so wished, to turn into vampire in order to bring evil upon his enemies or to suck their blood. Any wizard or witch by using a spell (*zagovor*) was able to transform a man into a vampire. Such men, transformed into ghost-beasts, would then deal their terrible blows on their enemies, slaking on their victims their thirst for blood.[16]

These same conditions fostered crime, particularly theft, robbery and murder. Some of the sayings, for instance, condone theft and even robbery, particularly if they were done cleverly and the perpetrators escaped being caught. That crime was not only a means of personal gain but also a means of protest against existing conditions is witnessed by those folk proverbs which rationalize or justify theft on the ground that those from whom it was stolen were likely to be much more guilty than the thieves themselves. "He who stole sinned once; those from whom it was stolen sinned ten times." The same motivation might be seen in the inclination to put the blame on the informers more than on the thieves. "Not he who steals, but he who leads is a thief," they would say.[17] Backed by such philosophy of life and favored by existing conditions, crime became widespread. And since in that society force was identified with law, violence was often justified as a means to secure the property of others, especially in times of war. "What is taken by force is sacred," the people would say.

Since the conditions in the patriarchal family and in the stratified local community fostered destructive aggression, and since violence was widely used by all the authorities, the peasant manifested a strong inclination toward violence, whenever this expression of his protest could go unpunished. On the family

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level violence was manifested in frequent beatings of wife and children, and on the rural community level in habitual drunkenness that often ended in brawls and even murder.[18] In conditions which foster human degradation and lack of trust, both self-seeking and vindictiveness flourish. Hence the Great-Russian peasant was inclined to commit atrocious acts of revenge against people whom he considered as his persecutors or who caused him any harm. When threatening with revenge the Great-Russian peasant was likely to say: "You will pay me with your own blood" (*Ty u menya kroviyu svoey umoeshsya*). Killing as a revenge, burning hay-ricks, barns and homes was a common occurrence. The peasants were likely to organize a collective hunt against real or fancied malefactors and mutilate them or put them to death by means of torture:

> For murder and robbery, death of the culprit—sometimes with mutilation by cutting and tearing off of various parts of his body. For horse-theft and grand larceny they practice sometimes hammering of iron nails into the head and forcing of wooden pins under the nails and also merciless beating even onto death; . . . in some instances the case ends by maiming the thief and letting him go.[19]

At the same time the frontiersmen and professional warriors, such as the Cossacks, became renowned and widely admired because of their deeds of vindictiveness and violence. War was a great opportunity for people with such inclinations. As Gogol has put it, the Cossacks found a great delight in "accumulating booty from raided towns, putting the villages and the fields on fire, and spreading their glories by far and wide throughout the steppe" in order "to revenge themselves for all evil and humiliation."[20] There were numerous robber and Cossack songs which told about such exploits, and expressed desire for vindictiveness and destructive aggression.

Destructive aggression was nursed on the patriarchal family level and reinforced by conditions in the local community. Thus as soon as the controls of the authorities would weaken, mass revolts would come into the open. Such a behavior in turn was used by the local authorities as a justification for their strictness in dealing with the peasants:

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Speaking of the character of the peasants Mr. Karnovitch observed, that whoever has to exercise authority over them must above all things guard against indecision, whether in word or act. The Russian always requires a definite command; and in disputes, if the settlement be distinct and pre-emptory, he will be satisfied, whether the sentence is favorable or unfavorable, wise or unwise. If there be hesitation, he immediately becomes intractable, while a resolute command has a magical influence which he cannot resist.[21]

In such a society which is kept together by naked force rather than by moral bonds, breakdown of controls easily results in revolt and upheavals, in widespread bloodshed and destruction. On such occasions, just like the raznochintsy intelligentsia, the peasants, too, tended to revolt against all forms of humiliation and oppressive submission and demanded reestablishment of the old community relations, in which truth and justice and equalitarian brotherhood of man prevailed.

Such forms of peasant protest, which were directed against all the authorities, the family, community elders, the landlord, the Church and the state, will be discussed on the following pages.

18
RELIGIOUS REVOLT OF THE PEASANTRY

I

THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH which in the course of its history came to be completely subjected to the state and was made an instrument of governing, supported the lay authorities in their policies of enserfment. But the state had meagerly rewarded the Church for such services. The revenues from the land donations given to the parishes by the state or by the landlords were not sufficient to maintain the parish priests and their families. The village priests therefore depended for their living upon the fees which the peasants

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had to pay for religious services. In addition many village priests had an inferior training, were often semi-literate. and were sometimes publicly humiliated by their superiors. Abased by hard conditions of life, some of them tended to lose self-respect and sought comfort in habitual drunkenness.

In the meantime as a result of the conditions of serfdom the economic situation of the peasants was deteriorating while the village priests whose main revenues consisted of fees received for their services tended to squeeze out of the peasantry all they could. Hence in many parishes the relations between the priests and the peasants gradually developed into a state of perpetual bickering and struggle.[1] In such circumstances peasants were likely to develop a negative attitude toward the clergy. To "have a priest's eye" meant in peasant idiom to covet everything. Similar meaning was conveyed in the phrase "Am I a priest to eat two dinners?" The peasants compared the greediness of the priests to that of the judges. "A priest waits for a rich dead, and a judge for a rich litigant"; "A judge's pocket is the same as a priest's belly," they would say. It was considered a bad omen to meet a priest on the street. It must be pointed out, also, that in a situation in which any expression of opposition against the lay authorities was very risky and dangerous, the attack against the priests might have served as a convenient substitute target for destructive aggression directed against the landlords and the state.

In such conditions government ukases and police measures were sometimes necessary to force the peasants into churches; they were made to confess and to take communion by means of threat. As a result, confession and communion tended to be looked upon as a commercialized formality. It was a tedious obligation that had to be paid for in cash, the same as all other tributes and taxes to which the peasants were subjected. In such circumstances, confession and communion tended to lose their function of consolation, comfort, relief from guilt and identification with divinity. As a result a growing number of peasants ceased to look upon the priests as their friends and protectors; they tended to look upon them as government agents who conspired with the landlords and the police against the

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peasants. Such a situation in many cases bred extreme antagonism against the priests, especially when hostility against the priests was stirred up by systematic agitation, as in the case of various sects of Dissenters (*Raskolniki*). This agitation often took the form of folk songs:

hairy ones . . . the beasts:
These beasts are the priests
They howl, like wolves. . . .

• • •

In the churches they praise the Lord hypocritically,
And ensnare innocent people with their words;
In the churches they offer glory to God,
And send the Uryadniks to hunt innocent people;

• • •

And they drive innocent people to Siberia.
In the churches they open their mouths,
But before the government they keep silent.
Their hair is long like women's,
But their brain is a great deal shorter.

• • •

They howl like beasts;

• • •

They extort from all.
Wicked hairy priests . . .[2]

• • •

The peasants were attracted to numerous sects of the Dissenters which were spreading in Russia, especially since the seventeenth century when the great movement of the Old Believers (*Starovery*) began. In these sects and their ideologies the peasants protested against the conditions of serfdom. The teachings of a number of these sects expressed yearning for a new life, and for an anarchic brotherhood of men in which nobody would be rejected and everybody accepted on equal terms. Peasant Sutayev, for instance, who founded the Sutayevtsy sect in 1880, was considered to be one of the most pious churchgoers before he revolted against the official Church. He rebelled when he was over fifty. The occasion was a dispute that he had with his parish priest over a fee for the burial of his grandson. It was after this quarrel that he stopped going to

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19
PEASANT UPRISINGS

I

EVER since the establishment of serfdom, slaves and serfs would free themselves from oppressive bondage by joining the gangs of vagabonds, fugitives from justice, army deserters, malcontents and escapees of all kinds, many of whom lived by theft, robbery, and begging. These victims of oppression, as well as many adventurers, gathered along the frontiers of the empire in "no man's land" where they would organize themselves as bands of freebooters, guerillas, and mercenaries, ready to enter the service of rival powers.

In the regions of the lower Don and Dnieper these communities of fugitives of all social classes and occupations and of many races formed elective military governments, known as the Cossack republics. Once they were established, these free Cossack communes served as a place of attraction to all who longed for freedom from oppression or who sought adventure. In these free societies no one was asked any question about his passport, his identity, his domicile, his faith, or his belongings. Everyone willing to fight and loot was welcome, but none was forced to come or stay.[1]

However, by the middle of the seventeenth century in these Cossack commonwealths, there appeared a social differentiation between the old settlers and the newcomers. The older settlers formed a property-owning class known as the "house-owners," and the newcomers became known as the *golytba* (the naked). And it was these unsettled and restless Cossacks of the "naked class" that played an especially prominent part in the uprisings of the seventeenth century and later.[2]

The first part of the seventeenth century, known in the history of the Czardom as the "Period of Trouble," was characterized by the lack of an established authority. The old dynasty had

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ended in a violent and mysterious way and a number of pretenders arose to take its place. It was in this interval between the fall of the former authority and the relative consolidation of a new one that the oppressed strata of the Czardom saw an opportunity to rebel against a state of humiliating bondage and economic misery. Seeking relief from their burdens and yearning for social acceptance in a system of equalitarian relationships, the poorer burghers, homeless Cossacks and runaway peasants and slaves flocked into the camp of Bolotnikov, himself an ex-slave and adventurer who marched at the head of this strange army upon Moscow. From his camp near Moscow he distributed proclamations inviting slaves and serfs to slay their masters, commanding all of his followers to rise against the voevodas and others in authority, and exciting them to rob and beat traders. In return he promised the slaves and serfs the wives and the property of the serf-owners. To all his followers he pledged honors, riches and the status of boyars.[3]

Search for security in a system of protection-dependence relationships manifested itself in a need for pretenders. If only a rumor started about the appearance of a pretender, whole provinces would rise to greet him. Sometimes a pretender had to be subsequently found to lead these masses of discontents who rose to follow a fancied liberator and benefactor. Such conditions only contributed to the prolongation of the troubled times and prevented an early establishment and consolidation of a new authority. It was in such a way that most of the seventeenth century became a century of riotings and rebellions which climaxed in the great rising under Stanka Razin in 1670–1671. Originating among the Don Cossacks, this movement soon spread to the Volga regions and developed into a general war of the lower strata against the upper classes. In this, as in the other uprisings of that century, many excesses were committed by both the rebels and the government forces. The same features of social struggle were repeated in the eighteenth century, in the great peasant rebellion that was led by Pugachev, another Cossack chieftain.

Also the nineteenth century witnessed a number of peasant rebellions. In the beginning of that century the peasants of the

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Pensa gubernia rose against the landlords with the slogan "Liberty and Land" (*Zemlya i Volya*).[4] Ever since they had been enserfed and bound to the land, the peasants kept in cherished memory the *Yuriev den*, St. George's day, the day when in earlier times each peasant was allowed to leave his landlord (*vykhod*). The peasants' demand for freedom from bondage was as strong as their demand for land. When the ideas of personal, economic and political freedoms started to penetrate Russia from the European West, also, the Russian peasants, owing to a growing contact with the city and the intelligentsia, became affected by them and in consequence revolts were increasing in number. Between 1826 and 1830 there were 41 cases of peasant rebellions and between 1858–1860 there were 284 such uprisings.[5]

It is significant to note that these peasant rebellions became especially prominent and especially widely spread each time the ruling class had suffered loss of prestige, such as in case of defeat on the battlefield. During the Crimean War in 1854 and 1855 widespread peasant uprisings took place on the shores of the Volga, and in central and southwestern gubernias, the Vladimir, Ryasan, Tambov, Pensa, and Voronezh.[6] In these provinces the mir institution prevailed and periodical redistribution of land was practiced. Here also reaction against abusive and humiliating conditions of serfdom was very intense and demand for land became very strong. In these provinces the traditions of earlier revolts were fresh in the memory of the peasantry. In addition, growing density of population and increasing land shortage tended to strengthen the revolutionary attitudes of the peasants. Their hostilities turned against the landlords whom they blamed for all their ills and misfortunes.

II

The defeat in the Crimean War and the internal disturbances which followed that war forced the Czarist government to undertake measures to reorganize its armed forces and to stabilize the regime internally. After being defeated by technologically and politically superior enemies, the Czarist government finally realized that in order to improve Russia's fighting effectiveness vis-a-vis the West, higher state revenues were needed and these

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could be achieved only if Russia was to change radically its economic structure. As a result of such a trend of events and of thought the government passed a decree in 1861 according to which the peasants were set legally free from their masters.

As a consequence of his legal emancipation, the peasant found himself in the possession of less arable land than before, and he was still bound to it. He was overburdened even more than before because he was obliged to pay high redemption dues in addition to the heavy taxes that were imposed on him. Moreover the peasants in land communes not only remained jointly responsible to the government for the payment of taxes, but they were also made jointly responsible for redemption payments. The commune's authority over the peasants was increased and the peasant found himself under an even more exacting and more despotic commune regimentation than the one that existed before the "Emancipation Act."

At the same time the peasant still did not have sufficient arable land. He also lacked pasture grounds and timber which were of special importance in his technologically backward and extensive agricultural economy; most of such land was left in the hands of his former masters. The acuteness of land shortage was especially felt because of lack of artificial fertilizers, need for draught animals, and primitiveness of farm equipment. Many peasants did not even possess a wooden plow.

But though the emancipation act of 1861 still kept the peasants bound to the land, and did not provide them with sufficient land, it did open up opportunities for their economic advance and political activation. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, the peasantry became generally recognized as a potentially very significant force, both politically and economically. It was this prospect of the peasant masses as the leading political power of the future in combination with the Slavophil idealization of the peasantry that gave rise to the ideology of *narodnichestvo* (populism). This ideology idealized the virtues and the creative potentialities of the peasantry, and just as the Slavophils, the narodniki claimed that the reconstruction of Russian society, even of the whole world, will come from Russian peasantry.

By the end of that century a faction of Russian radical intel-

By the end of that century[1] a faction of Russian radical intel- 668
ligentsia fused the Russian Narodnik and Anarchist ideologies 517
and practices with those of Western Socialism and formed the 665
Party of Socialist Revolutionaries. The program of this Party [177]
was agrarian socialism and terrorism. They published leaflets and manifestos, and spread their ideas in the villages. The Socialist Revolutionaries preached open violence as a means of overthrowing the Czarist regime. They relied on the peasantry to start uprisings against the landlords and government officials, and to commit individual acts of terror to achieve their ends. Just as earlier, the Anarchists and Terrorists, the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, had a separate organization which specialized in perpetrating acts of terror:

> Where the lash and the whip are, there are also the bomb and the revolver! So has it been, so is it now, and so shall it be. When public indignation and hate become centered upon an agent of the regime whether he be placed high or low; when that agent becomes a symbol of violence and despotism; when his activity becomes harmful to the commonweal; when no means are available to render him harmless and his continued existence represents an affront to the social conscience, then is the door open to terror in the executor of the sentence pressed from the hearts of public-minded citizens.[7]

The terroristic organization of the Party of Socialist Revolu- 665
tionaries enjoyed complete autonomy within the Party. It had its 668
own sources of revenue and was independent in selection of prospective victims. In the course of a few years of its existence it perpetrated more than two hundred acts of terror. Most of these consisted of assassinations or of attempted assassinations of highly placed officials of the government, including a member of the Imperial Family, two Ministers of Interior, thirty-nine governors, seventy-four ranking officers of the army and the navy, and fifty-two high police officials. Seventy percent of these acts of terror were perpetrated by workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors.[8]

The Socialist Revolutionaries relied mainly on middle and 665
poor peasant strata. They attempted to widen the gap between 565 ●
the better-off and the poor, to set up the lowest strata against the 668
upper, to stir class hatred against the kulaks. In their manifestos, leaflets, and speeches, the Socialist Revolutionaries harangued

[1] [i.e. 19th century — Analyst]

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665 565 668 the peasantry, and appealed to their deeply rooted hostilities against the ruling classes, and against all people of means. In their proclamations to the peasantry they stated that "the land belongs to those who till it." They incited the peasants to appropriate by force hay, pasture, and timber. They also encouraged violence and murder against all those whom they held responsible for their plight.[9]

[579] As a result of such propaganda and agitation combined with economic and social difficulties, peasant disturbances were renewed and increased in frequency and intensity. They led to the events of 1905. That year the government suffered a considerable [727] loss of prestige because of the defeat on the battlefield (the Japanese War of 1904–1905). In such circumstances (the same as after the Crimean War), fear and awe and unconditional obedience—the foundations of Czarist rule—were shaken, internal disturbances ensued and threatened the existence of the Czardom. By this time the revolutionary eruptions of the peasantry were combined with those of the industrial proletariat. Between [468] January and April, 1905, there were about 660,000 workers on economic and political strikes.[10] In October of the same year there was again a general strike.

In that month also a general peasant rising took place embracing three hundred districts in 47 gubernias. Again it was the central and southern regions that took the lead;[11] and again the gubernias in which the landlords suffered the heaviest losses were predominantly those where the system of repartitional land tenure prevailed over the system of individual peasant households and of hereditary holdings. In the communities with communal land holdings the dissatisfaction was greatest and violence ran especially high.

665 668 The activities of the Social Revolutionaries in the village were joined by those of the Bolsheviks. By the beginning of the twentieth century a wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party, the Bolsheviks, who earlier scorned the peasants and worked exclusively among the urban proletariat, began to pay more attention to the Russian village. They became impressed by the frequency and the intensity of the peasants' disturbances and realized that the peasantry presented potentially very ex-

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plosive revolutionary material. Hence the Bolsheviks began to send their agitators into the village.

There was no tendency among these extremists and maximalists to make use of peaceful means which had now been made possible by the Czar's Manifesto of October, 1905. In this manifesto legislative powers were given to Duma (house of representatives) and a certain degree of political, cultural and personal freedom was introduced. On the contrary these professional conspirators, following Anarchist precepts and practices, took advantage of increased opportunities for political agitation. That year the Socialist Revolutionaries in one of their proclamations stated: "If you need more land, hay, pasture, timber, take it from the landlord. Do not pay taxes. Drive evil priests out of the villages, boycott the courts, replace bad officials by good, throw out the police!"[12] In the same year the Bolsheviks, struck by the increasing restlessness in the village, called upon the peasants and the village proletariat for a "collective refusal to pay taxes, refusal to furnish recruits, refusal to fulfill the orders and commands of the government and its agents."[13]

III

Such revolutionary ideas which were infiltrating the villages not only confirmed the peasants in their beliefs and dispositions; they also tended to promote their feelings of rebelliousness, to radicalize them in the extreme, and push them toward excesses. In common with most tillers of land, the Russian peasants were convinced that the land by "natural right" belonged only to those who cultivate it, and that somehow, sometimes in the past, the land was taken away from them by force and trickery, not by right and justice.

The question of ownership of land was closely related to humiliating subservience to the landlords, the commune and the state. Ownership of land meant the regaining of self-respect. The peasants were therefore inclined to believe that they never lost the right to the land and that someday, somehow, all the land would have to be given back to them. "We are yours, but the land is ours" (*My vashi a zemlya nasha*), the peasants would say to the pomeshchiks. The speeches of the peasants' deputies

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565 The speeches of the peasants' deputies
423 in the second Duma unmistakably show that the peasants con-
[446] sidered that the land belonged to them and to nobody else and that the times of degrading oppression were over. They declared themselves in favor of the free distribution of all the land that was in the possession of the nobility, the Church, and the state:

> We are talking of land these days as of nothing else. We are told it is a sacred, inviolate possession. I think if the people want it, there can be no inviolateness about it. Gentlemen of the nobility! You think we have forgotten the time when you used us as stakes in playing at cards and exchanged us for dogs! We know we were your sacred inviolate property. But the land has been stolen from us. The peasants who have sent me here have said that the land is ours! We have come here not to buy but to take it.[14]

169 Because of such beliefs and ideas which were intensified by
565 systematic revolutionary propaganda of professional conspirators
425 and agitators, any rumors concerning the land always found a
627 ready response among the peasantry. It is for the same reason that often only a vague rumor about a government land decree was sufficient to convince the peasants that the land was given back to them by the Czar, but that it was the lesser government officials, bribed by the landlords, who kept the land out of their hands. Such land-hungry peasants, already inclined to rebel against age-long and humiliating dependency, were ready to take the law into their own hands, to seize the manorial lands, to loot the estates and to kill the landlords whenever they felt that the power of the existing authorities was crumbling.

178 The professional conspirators among the Russian revolution-
565 ary intelligentsia took full advantage of such inclinations. Their revolutionary plans were especially favored by the growing differentiation in the Russian villages. In the first decade of the twentieth century economic and social differentiation in the Great-Russian village was already well advanced. It was favored by a series of government measures (Stolypin reforms)[15] which were aimed at developing a stratum of independent and prosperous peasantry and destroying the system of communal landholding. As a result of such measures the Great-Russian village became by the first decade of this century composed of a number

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of strata, whose interests were often conflicting. There were the *obshchiniki* (the communal landholders), the *otrubniki* (the peasant private property owners), the *khutoriane* (isolated homestead owners), the *bednyaki* (the poor and indebted peasants), the *serednyaki* (the middle peasants), and the *kulaki*. Finally, there were still the pomeshchiki who owned manorial estates with arable lands, timber-forests and pasture grounds. These were, however, gradually selling their land to the better-off peasants.

The peasant private landholders prospered better than those in the communes. The yield per acre on communal lands has always been much lower than on the private lands. The communal landholders had to rely for a part of their income on wages. These they got as seasonal industrial workers or as agricultural laborers on the lands of the landed gentry. They also worked on the lands of better-off individual peasant property owners whom they resented and called *"novye pomeshchiki"* (the new squires). The poor, landless, and indebted peasants antagonized the better-off peasants. The lower and the middle peasants resented the kulaks and the pomeshchiki.

At the same time the individualization of the Great-Russian peasantry was proceeding very slowly in spite of government help and encouragement. By 1912 the proportion of consolidated peasant holdings, as compared to those remaining in the communal system, was less than 11 percent. Between 1907 and 1915 only about 20 percent of the peasants left land commune.[16] This slow decommunalization did not, however, indicate lack of desire for private land ownership. The reasons for the persistence of the old communal land system lay in the shortage of land, in peasant poverty, in vested interests within the village commune, and finally in traditional lack of self-reliance among the peasants.

As long as a large part of the Great-Russian peasantry remained in the system of communal landholding where lack of initiative and primitive techniques of cultivation prevailed, no great general improvement in land cultivation and in the standard of living of the peasantry could have been expected in spite of all government efforts. Thus, economically insecure and

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665 tion which had developed in Russia after the February revolution and to achieve their main objective.

II

182 Just as earlier, in Turco-Mongol empires, the great weakness of the Czardom lay in its low degree of emotional and ideological unity And it is this basic vulnerability of the Czardom which has enabled a small, but determined, well disciplined and ruthless faction of professional conspirators to seize power. Like its patriarchal family the whole Czardom was torn by internal dissension and strife. The abusive and humiliating power relationships at all levels of social organization of the Czardom encouraged self-orientation and destructive aggressiveness which precluded tolerance, compromise and social cohesion.

In such circumstances it was difficult to develop a set of common values that would serve as a focal point of unity of all subjects and keep the society unified in face of all threats to its existence. Orthodox religion, as well as Russian nationalism, failed in its role of unifying ideologies in a society in which interpersonal and intergroup relationships provoked feelings of rejection, mistrust, emotional instability and extreme factionalism. Thus, instead of developing itself into an integrated community unified by common feelings and identification and common interests, there grew within the Czardom a number of separate and inimical worlds with confiicting expectations and demands and with differing images and visions.

184 There was the world of the peasants, the world of the landlords, 565 the world of the lower urban folk, the world of the clergy, the world of the bureaucracy, the world of the military, the world of the intelligentsia, the world of a small upper commercial and industrial class, and finally the separate worlds of ethnical, religious and national minorities. Since Russia had not developed a numerically strong and influential middle class to link and unify all these strata, there was little contact, less understanding and no mutual sympathy between these contrasting worlds. There were deep tensions and conflicts also within each one of these worlds and all were in a perpetual state of hostility and warfare among themselves.[11]

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The landed gentry had for ages kept the peasants in slavery, misery and contempt. The peasants, feeling humiliated and wronged, had risen against the landlords, burning manorial mansions, looting estates, and massacring their masters whenever the power of the nobility appeared to be waning. Since the traditions of Russian landed squires were those of service nobility, not of manorial aristocrats, their interests and ambitions did not prepare them to take a personal interest in either their lands or serfs. The mansions on the estates of these rural gentry were located on the outskirts of the peasant villages and except for the house servants there was little if any contact with the world of the peasantry. Since Peter the Great the differences between these two worlds became also very visible in dress, manners, standard of living, as well as in views of life, education, ideas and morals. When, after the reforms of Peter the Great, French ways were aped by the dvorianstvo, and French language accepted by them as a means of social intercourse, the abyss between the two worlds became even more unbridgeable.

Similarly the bureaucracy and the revolutionary intelligentsia were two violently opposed camps with little possibility of cooperation between them. And while secondary schools and the universities were producing increasing numbers of lawyers, teachers, architects, journalists, artists, and literati, the tension between the bureaucracy and these intelligentsia developed into an intense and open enmity. Extreme emotionalism nursed on the family level was only heightened in such conditions. Each of these groups therefore showed a great deal of dogmatism; they tended to be implacable, irreconcilable, and full of malevolent criticism of each other. To the revolutionary intelligentsia the bureaucrats were the "corrupted lackeys of the dynasts to be killed like beasts." To the government officials all the liberal intelligentsia were the "mortal enemies" of the Czar. They represented the "sedition" and had to be "mercilessly annihilated."[12] Thus while the intelligentsia relentlessly attacked the bureaucracy in a spirit of destructive criticism, the bureaucracy responded by persecuting the liberals and the revolutionaries with such a blind passion and hatred that the opposition had to go underground or emigrate abroad and organize its war from out-

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side. The gulf between these two leading groups of the Czardom became impassable.

The intelligentsia themselves were far from being unified or having a common purpose. They were a restless and unstable crowd. They were split into numerous parties, factions and cliques which were in a perpetual state of feuding and warfare among themselves. Since all tended toward extremes and all sought absolute power, each party, faction, and clique considered itself to be the only repository of the Truth and therefore anathematized all others. Dogmatic intolerance and neverending feuding constantly fostered new schisms and heresies, new renegations and treacheries, bitterness, hostilities and extreme factional strife.

Both the peasants and the intelligentsia resented the military. The officers kept apart from the rest of society as a separate caste, and were therefore alienated from the common people. Within the military ranks there was a great deal of distrust and suspicion of common soldiers toward officers. The revolutionary intelligentsia considered the armed forces to be the main bulwark of the autocracy, showed a passionate hatred toward them and were waiting for the first chance to destroy this pillar of the old regime. All the strata of the population equally loathed the dreadful political police. The revolutionary intelligentsia were also distrustful of the clergy and Church hierarchy. Most of them were openly atheistic.

In want of an integrating middle class and a unifying ideology, all these warring strata, groups and factions were held together by the authority of the Czar, which was sanctioned by the Church and rested on the bureaucracy, the police and the armed forces. The influence of the Church, however, was greatly shattered, the bureaucracy was inefficient, self-concerned, full of internal tension, and not fullheartedly behind the existing regime, and the police were resented by all. The fate of the Czardom therefore depended exclusively upon the discipline and the loyalty of the military.

In such conditions, if the support of the armed forces would fail, both the Czar and the Czardom were doomed. This was well realized not only by the opposition, but by the Czar him-

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565 517 icism of its rank and file, that gave this Party an advantage over its main rival for power, the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, in the chaotic days of 1917.

727 669 565 Just as it had happened in the past, a weakening of the prestige of the ruling classes as a result of defeats on the battlefield led to peasant uprisings. Almost immediately after the Czar's abdication, that is, in March, 1917, peasant rebellions arose in 34 districts and by June spread to 325 districts. The distrubances were again especially intensive in the upper Don and in the middle Volga, the regions where the tradition of revolt was strong and the situation for revolt matured owing to unsatisfactory conditions within the land communes.

665 669 The chaos that ensued in the village was emphasized by factional strife and indecision in the center. As a result of the fall of the old Czarist regime, the two most extreme revolutionary parties, the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Bolsheviks, entered into a contest for power. While the Socialist Revolutionaries controlled the Provisional Government (since May, 1917), the Bolsheviks did everything to undermine their regime and to seize the power for themselves. In the question of rural policies, the government of Socialist Revolutionaries attempted to stop the outbreaks of lawlessness and disorder in the villages by promising an equitable solution of all rural problems on the basis of laws that were to be passed by a Constitutional Assembly.

[425] [565] But the Bolsheviks counteracted such policies by inciting the peasants to seize the lands at once. The Bolsheviks also deliberately sharpened the existing social cleavages in the villages by inciting the lower peasant strata against the upper. The Bolshevised soldiers, on leave or deserting the front, pushed more moderate elements into the background and led the peasant mobs not only against the landlords, but also against the more prosperous peasant classes. Hence, attacks on *Khutoryane* (hereditary peasant homestead owners) and *otrubniki* (peasant individual property owners) were as frequent as those against the manorial estates.

Many soldiers deserted the front because the Bolshevik agitators told them that the land was being distributed back home and that those who were present would get the choice grounds. The government, controlled by the Socialist Revolutionaries,

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of foreign loans and investments the process of industrialization and of economic autarchy, which was needed to develop military potential necessary to withstand internal and external threats, was proceeding at too slow a pace. This situation made it imperative for the impatient and insecure ruling class to have at hand goods available for quick export in order to buy foreign machinery and to industrialize and militarize the country at a higher speed.

The peasants in the meantime were busy in making improvements on their possessions and in raising the amount of food for home consumption. Increased peasant consumption of food however meant decrease of the crops available both for export and for the needs of fast growing urban strata which were being created as a result of a speedy industrialization. Also lack of regulation of agricultural production meant that planting and sowing were designed to a large extent to satisfy the home needs of the peasant, and only to a lesser extent those of the national or foreign market.

This meant that as long as a large section of the peasantry remained as independent producers there was always a danger that the ruling class might not have at its disposal sufficient quantities of marketable products. And the more the ruling faction felt insecure in its power, the more this potential threat of an economically independent peasantry seemed real and close. This feeling of insecurity and mistrust of the Bolsheviks was manifested in their hatred of the peasantry. "The peasant who has two cows is already an enemy," they would say. Hence the Party hierarchy made the decision not only to abolish the economic independence of the peasants, but also to "destroy peasantry as a class" by means of collectivization.

In their determination to "destroy peasantry as a class," the Bolsheviks first incited the poor and the medium peasants against the "kulaks" and then the landless against the small peasant owners. The Bolshevik agitators took advantage also of the traditional tensions within peasant families and aroused son against father and brother against brother. Thus inciting and exploiting resentments and hostilities between various peasant strata and taking advantage of family antagonisms, the Bolsheviks were able

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to force the peasants to join the collectives and the state farms. Those who opposed such policies were resettled or banished to convict labor camps. Many were massacred. According to Stalin ten million peasants became victims of this "class war."[5]

In order to insure their complete control over the farming population, the Bolshevik leaders sent the most trusted Party people from the city to the village to manage the newly formed *kolhozes*. These *novye bary* (new lords), as the peasants called them, installed themselves in the mansions of former estate owners and kept themselves at a considerable distance from the rural population, not unlike the former serf-owners. And not unlike the former gentry the new masters were also bent upon extracting maximum labor from the peasantry with minimum reward.

Under such conditions, the peasants, in the first outbursts of their reaction against this state of abusive submission resorted to outward aggression in the form of traditional uprisings. They burnt their crops and slaughtered their cattle rather than collectivize them. It is estimated that almost two-thirds of the entire livestock and a large part of the crops were destroyed.[6] Such a situation affected even the Ukraine, the "granary of Russia" and greatly contributed to the famine of 1932–33 in which hundreds of thousands of people died of starvation and epidemics. It was by such active rebellion that the peasantry forced the Party into a temporary retreat. The Party had to appease the peasants by giving each peasant household the right to retain in private use a small plot of land, and also in private possession a limited number of livestock. Also, private trade in agricultural products was restored in a limited degree.[7]

These were however only temporary concessions, since the Bolsheviks were determined to completely "industrialize" the peasantry as a means of political and economic control. Following such aims the highest possible degree of specialization in farm operation has been fostered and the members of the same family have been assigned to different, spacially separated activities. In this manner the agricultural brigade instead of the peasant family became the basic unit of agricultural production. For the same reason the highest possible degree of mechanization of

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517 upon the regime than the peasantry and industrial labor. The
642 objective of this policy has been to prevent among the intelligentsia formation of an *esprit de corps* and opposition to Bolshevik rule, and to command the services and unquestionable
[554] obedience of every educated man. These are the political foundations of the growing and deliberately fostered stress on rank and distinction, on social differentiation, sense of superiority and inferiority, absolute superordination and blind subordination.

• 565 In the upper strata, much more so than in the lower classes,
554 the process of hierarchal and functional differentiation is fostered and maintained not only by means of specialization of work and differences in rank, but also by means of sharply differentiated income, and by means of differential distribution of spoils, and of privileges. This sharp stratification of Soviet soci-
[557] ety, rooted in the traditions of the Czardom, in its own turn promotes power-seeking and domineering, dependency and subservience, as well as lack of social intimacy and lack of trust.

565 The highest privileges in the Soviet society are accruing to the
554 top ruling faction of professional conspirators. But this group is itself internally sharply differentiated. It is headed by the Party Leader (*Vozhd*), and is divided into a number of policy making bodies, among which the Political Bureau (Politburo), now to be known as the Presidium,[1] is of foremost importance. Though the members of the Presidium and of other top policy making bodies, such as the Secretariat, are formally appointed by the Central Committee of the Party, they are *de facto* selected by the supreme leader and therefore depend upon him for their position. Such a situation fosters bickering among top ranking officials in their mutual struggle to win the favors of the head man, which in turn enables the supreme Party leader to play one faction of his camarilla against the other one or—not unlike in the days of the Czars—to select a more intimate inner circle of a few most trusted persons on whom to rely for advice and help. These then assist the leader in selecting and in eliminating the members of the top ranking hierarchy, according to expediency and circumstances.

This highly concentrated power structure is supported by a

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Party members. Together with the policy-making Party bodies they form the ruling class of the Soviet society. This top Party-state governing class consists perhaps of about two hundred thousand people or one tenth of one per cent of the total population. They are often referred to as the *Partia i Pravitelstvo*—the Party and the government.

The middle and lower layers of government specialists are often referred to as the *Sluzhashchie*. This stratum includes the rank and file of the learned professions, the rank and file of the intelligentsia and semi-intelligentsia, the middle and lower professional military, the middle and lower government managerial ranks, the engineers and the technicians. According to the 1939 census the number of those in the sluzhashchie class, that is "all those who work in offices" was close to thirty million or seventeen per cent of the total Soviet population, as contrasted to the industrial labor (*rabochie*) which formed thirty-two per cent and the peasantry (*krestiane*) which formed forty-six per cent of the total.

The more one goes down this social scale, the smaller becomes the proportion of Party members to non members and of the privileged to the non-privileged. One's position in this caste-like pyramid determines his status expressed not only in the form of income, but even more so in the extent to which he gets the benefits of various social services, the extent of appurtenances,[10] the amount of freedom of personal movement, and the degree of superordination and subordination.

The privileged position of the educated and semi-educated classes is well manifested in the internal structure of the Bolshevik Party. As late as 1930 about 65 percent of Party members were workers or recruited from the working class, about 20 percent were peasants or of peasant background, and less than 15 percent belonged to the white collar class. But by 1941–42 the composition of the Party was reversed and apparently at present more than 70 percent of the new candidates and members are recruited from among the educated and official classes.[11] The Party rules, which in the first years of Bolshevik regime had favored the industrial proletariat, and to a certain extent the soldiers and the collective peasants, had to be revised in order to

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ease the entrance of the upper classes into the Party ranks. This was done in 1939.[12] According to Pravda's figures, in 1947 out of five to six million Party members and candidates, about one-third had university or middle school education (1,700,000).[13] The extent to which these upper classes imposed their dominance over the Party is indicated by the figures according to which at the Eighteenth Party Conference in 1941, the percentage of delegates with a complete college or university education was 41.8 as against only 6.5 percent of the voting delegates with higher education at the Party Congress in 1924.[14]

Such a Party structure is very much out of proportion to the general ratio of educated to non-educated classes in the Soviet Union, since at least four-fifths of the Soviet subjects have less than high school education. The Bolshevik Party structure is also greatly out of proportion to the vocational composition of the Soviet Union where still about three-fourths of the population belong to the strata of peasants and of industrial labor. The conspiratorial nature of the Party, the complexity of the Soviet system of rule and the need for increasing specialization of Party members in activities on which the Bolshevik power rests, favor limitation of Party membership to the educated and ruling classes.

The meaning of education and specialization in Soviet power structure becomes clearer if the system of controlled schooling in the Soviet Union is kept in mind. Both university and middle school education are mainly within the reach of higher classes.[15] It is extremely difficult for the average industrial wage-earner or peasant to send any of his children to more than elementary school because the tuition fees and the living costs in educational centers are above his income. The low wages of the industrial labor and the peasantry make it necessary for all family members, including mother and young children, to contribute to the family income by full time or part time work. Also the government conscripts youths for labor reserve battalions mainly from these strata. The children and youths from these strata depend therefore entirely upon the government stipends if they have any ambition and necessary pretraining for higher education. However in selecting candidates for schooling at govern-

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ment expense the Party recruits these in the first place from among specific categories of children, such as war orphans, illegitimate and delinquent children, and children of Party functionaries. Such children are considered to be most promising from the point of view of Party objectives.

It is mainly from the university student body that the new ruling classes and all needed experts of the Soviet Union are being recruited.[16] It is therefore of paramount importance that this reservoir of the ruling strata is kept well under control and that it is thoroughly ideologically indoctrinated and trained in unswerving loyalty and conformity to the Party. "Ideological training of Soviet students is a vital and integral part of all the work of district, city, province, and territory party committees."[17] It is therefore imperative that this body is highly selective and not overcrowded. Recruitment of university students from among higher classes and from selected categories of children serves well the Party objectives to perpetuate its power and to command unconditional submission of all to its will. Such policies also tend to solidify Soviet social structure along caste lines.[18]

III

The Bolsheviks have also employed other means to establish their absolute dominance. Following Anarchist precepts and practices, and driven by power-seeking and destructive aggression, they have justified a number of oppressive measures as being necessary "to hasten the liquidation of the capitalistic elements and to organize defense against capitalist encirclement which is as yet far from being, and will not soon be destroyed."[19] Their objectives were to be achieved not only by means of economic dependency, systematic indoctrination, planned social isolation and lack of trust, but also by means of relentless vigilance and systematic terror.

One of the most important instruments of such policies have been the courts of law. Soviet socialist law is defined as the "totality of the rules of conduct, established in the form of legislation—to the end of annihilating, completely and finally, capitalism and its survival in the economy, manner of life,

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Many observers of Soviet society have noticed that in this constant struggle for power, and sometimes in order to save their very lives, Soviet officials and intellectuals must be ready not only to inform on each other, but also to "throw mud" at the closest associates and friends as soon as these happen to fall in disgrace.[1] Denunciation of a friend is often "the best way out of a hole," they say. Many "pretend to deny and to disown those who fall in disgrace" or, frightened, "join in verbal lynching to protect themselves." There is a "malignant joy regarding a comrade's mistakes . . . exaggeration of mistakes."[2] They "rush to kick a man who is already down, to push him over the precipice." In such conditions "Friendship is strained with blood and betrayal; it is an object of fear and suspicion."[3] Even members of one's own family might be repudiated under such pressure.[4] At the same time the need for cringing before one's superiors is often compensated by arrogance, capriciousness, arbitrariness, insulting and humiliating treatment of his subordinates or of all unprotected.[5]

The sense of guilt, insecurity, and feelings of humiliation which develop in such circumstances are magnified by means of social isolation. This isolation is manifold in the Soviet society, especially in the upper ruling strata. Intimate personal contact and unfettered social and intellectual intercourse is officially frowned upon and is therefore very limited among the Party, Army, government and managerial hierarchies. Intimate fraternization with associates is looked upon with great suspicion in a society whose ruling minority maintains itself in power by means of planned social divisions and mistrusts. Said Stalin: ". . . such family conditions create a favorable environment for the nurture of reptiles, not Bolsheviks."[6]

Real risks are involved in any free discourse in a society which is infested with watchdogs and informers and in which many are inclined to seek self-advance in the ruin of others. In the upper strata besides fear, suspicion and need for extreme caution, there is lack of intimate contact also because of sharp differentiation in rank. For the same reasons intercourse between the educated and non-educated strata has to be kept to a minimum.

There is also a deliberate policy on the part of the ruling class

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author, wrote a well known poem under the title *"Ubey ego"*—kill him.[14] In a similar manner Alexey Tolstoy, a well-known Soviet novelist, has published an essay entitled *Ubey Zverya*—Kill the Beast. "Kill him," writes Alexey Tolstoy, "that is your sacred command."[15] Mikhail Sholokhov, another prominent Soviet writer, wrote a pamphlet entitled *Nauka Nenavisti*—The Science of Hatred—in which he stressed, in a like way as the early Russian Anarchists and contemporary Soviet pedagogists, the necessity of ardent love for the Cause as a source of passionate hatred of all the opponents. To him, too, love seems to be necessary primarily as a means of hate.[16] "Hatred for enemies of the land of socialism is an inseparable feature of socialist ideology and the ideology of Leninism," the Bolsheviks repeatedly say.

Under the label "enemies" are classed not only the foreign "capitalists, imperialists, and reactionaries," and internal non-Party oppositionists, but also Party members who deviate from Party ideology, and "all sceptics, opportunists, capitulators, scabs, and traitors." Hatred and struggle against these "enemies" within the Party must be as merciless and ruthless as against external adversaries. This is considered to be imperative in a mortal struggle against the capitalist world:

> The history of the Party . . . teaches us that unless the Party of the working class wages an uncompromising struggle against the opportunists within its own ranks, unless it smashes the capitulators in its own midst . . . it cannot perform its role of organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution . . . If, while it is carrying on a life and death fight against the bourgeoisie, there are capitulators and traitors on its own staff, within its own fortress, the working class will be caught between two fires, from the front and the rear. Clearly such a struggle can only end in defeat.[17]

This conscious fomenting of intense hostility and animosity against internal, as well as external "enemies" as a means of survival in a "mortal struggle" is manifested in the language of Bolshevism. The words "liquidation" and "purge" which are often synonomous with killing and extermination of opponents became outstanding in Soviet vocabulary. There is an increasing use of words which convey ideas of hatred and violence and stimulate such feelings and practices. In Bolshevik stereotyped termi-

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175 642 cratic Czar. By the time of Ivan the Terrible, the power of the independent landed aristocracy was suppressed, and the autocratic power rested now on a service nobility who were given lands in conditional possession depending upon their service and their loyalty to the Czar. These people therefore found themselves in a slave-like dependency upon the ruler who was likened to God, a situation that promoted political and social regimentation and fostered domineering-subservience relationships, thus intensifying the existing incompatibilities between the upper and lower strata of the Czardom.

[157] Domineering-subservience relationships are likely to breed humiliating experiences of self-abasement and feelings of wounded self-esteem which in turn might foster intense hostilities as well as compensatory ideas of grandeur. Thus in new circumstances, both self-seeking and power-orientation were reinforced in the upper strata, and manifested themselves in the oppressive rule of the nobility, in their extreme factionalism, and in their ruthless struggle for personal power and for the favors of the Czar.

[566] This trend of events, by the second part of the sixteenth century, led to establishment of serfdom and to direct interference of the service nobility and of the government in the communal and family relations of the peasantry. From this time on, the Church, the State and the landlords joined hands in strengthening the power of the Father and of the village elders and sponsoring in the peasant family and in the village community, dominance-submission relationships, absolute power and dependence, blind obedience and self-abnegation.

181 [579] The inevitable clash of this new power-oriented social philosophy with the old stateless and equalitarian values, was reflected in intense family and community tensions and in mass restlessness. Thus a weakening of power and of controls on any level—family, local, or national—opened the way to urges of destructive aggression and revolt against all the holders of power: the fathers, the village elders, the landlords, the Church and the Czar. Outbreaks of such extreme enmity were manifested in frequent communal riots, in mass vagrancy, in bloody revolutionary uprisings, and in widespread dissent from the official

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643 imagine himself threatened by "enemies," and live in fear.[14] As
157 a defense against such feelings the Czar might be inclined to follow the advice of those of his officials who favored concentration of power and who advised against giving up any of his prerogatives or against any yielding to the demands of the opposition. "Constitution" to such a Czar and his camarilla was as dangerous as "revolution."

But such policies, which are rooted in a sense of extreme insecurity themselves tend to strengthen such feelings. Mistrust of people, fear of the "enemies," suppression of all opposition and tendency to concentrate increasingly the power in one's hands, to dominate and to demand absolute submissiveness is therefore perpetuated. Hence, power-relations in Russia of the eighteenth and nineteenth century tended to follow the pattern of rule established earlier in Muscovite Czardom:

661 The emperor Nicholas I ruled his country like a gamekeeper. Under
643 his administration of the empire, based as it was upon a system
566 of flogging, imprisonment, and exile to Siberia, the great could indulge their caprices with impunity . . . But . . . in reality . . . the masters were also slaves. Every man, whoever he might be, was dependent on someone more powerful than himself who could with impunity make him wretched, and over him again there was someone still mightier. The lord, it is true, lived in comfort, and the serfs in squalor, but that was all. They were all slaves, one as much as the other . . . I have seen both oppressors and oppressed at close quarters, and I can aver that the inhuman regime of bondage corrupted and depraved one as much as the other.[15]

625 Just as in the political organization of steppe nomads and in the Muscovite Czardom such relations of insecurity, mistrust, self-seeking, abusive domineering and blind subordination demanded an efficient system of watchfulness, vigilance, checking and counterchecking. A special attention therefore had to be paid to the institution of secret political police. Since the days of Czar Nicholas I, the secret political police, known as the Third Section, was placed above all ministries, and was directly subject to the Emperor himself, just as in the days of Ivan the Terrible. Like the Oprichniki of Ivan the Terrible the Third Section was the main agency of vigilance, the chief watchdog of the state. It

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brotherhood could still be maintained. Since the seventeenth century, however, expenditures for military campaigns and for growing ranks of salaried bureaucrats necessitated increasing state incomes which could be obtained without much delay. Since the state was industrially and commercially undeveloped, the only way to increase revenues was in finding new means to squeeze out of the peasantry a still larger part of its produce. Therefore the old system of direct tax collecting from the mir was found to function inefficiently on the estates of the nobility, and laws were passed which made the landowners responsible for the collection of state taxes from the peasantry. In this way ties between the manorial peasants and the central government were severed.[1]

As a result of such a change in the political structure, the manorial serfs became now entirely dependent upon the owners of the manorial estates. There was no more possibility for the peasants to appeal directly to the government. Between the government and the manorial peasants stood now the landlords to whom the peasants became exclusively responsible as a final authority in all matters, administrative as well as judiciary.[2] *Pomeshchik* was now looked upon as the "natural protector of people, their local judge, the guardian of their welfare, their tutor, the trustee of poor and orphans, observer of good order and law."[3] He was considered as the Czar's overseer and watchdog.[4] The patriarchal dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships which existed between the Czar and his subjects were now extended to the landlord and his serfs. Both the Czar and the landlord were addressed as *batyushka* (father).

The position of the serf, however, was now so much more precarious because in new relationships the power of the landlord was absolute. A life-long banishment to Siberia awaited him who lodged a complaint against his master. And since there were neither written laws nor any established customary law to regulate the relations between the serfs and the manorial lords, the serfs were completely dependent upon the degree of moral or ethical standards of their masters for their lives and well-being. These were often very low. Hence unprotected either by

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written or by customary rules of conduct and often exposed to the arbitrariness and mistreatment of their lords, the serfs on many manorial estates came to be completely dependent upon the will and capriciousness of their masters.

It is obvious that many landed gentry who were given such absolute rights over their serfs would tend to completely subjugate the mir also. In such circumstances the mir was likely to lose its character of a self-ruled and self-contained community and instead tended to become an instrument of landlord's power which made the landowner the absolute monarch of his estate. Under the overlordship of the estate owner the mir kept its watchful eye over every peasant, and made it easier for the landowner to manage his property, and for the government to rule the country. It was under such external pressures that the steppe traditions of an absolute, stern and distant patriarchal power were being strengthened among the peasantry.

II

The conditions of the peasants did not improve in these respects after the abolishment of serfdom in the second part of the nineteenth century.[5] The peasants were emancipated from the rule of the pomeshchiks and subjected again directly to the government. But now the government, pushed by pressing demands for increasing revenues, made the mir an instrument of state control and found in it one of the most exacting of tax collectors. In order to be assured of payment the state had to concede to the mir all of the most severe measures of authority. Now the mir was entitled to banish unsolvent peasants to Siberia. And when corporal punishment was abolished in urban criminal law practice, it was still left in use in the mir.[6]

After the abolishment of serfdom the mir came under the supervision of the district chief of police (*Ispravnik*). The law of 1874 gave the police the right to arrest and to fine the village elders, and even to demand from the governor of the province their discharge. The position of the elder became so undesirable that the mir sometimes had to exert force to obtain candidates for this office or to prevent those in office from resigning.[7]

There was another official in this system of rural administra-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

peasants. Such a situation in many cases bred extreme antagonism against the priests, especially when hostility against the priests was stirred up by systematic agitation, as in the case of various sects of Dissenters (*Raskolniki*). This agitation often took the form of folk songs:

> hairy ones . . . the beasts:
> These beasts are the priests
> They howl, like wolves. . . .
> • • •
> In the churches they praise the Lord hypocritically,
> And ensnare innocent people with their words;
> In the churches they offer glory to God,
> And send the Uryadniks to hunt innocent people;
> • • •
> And they drive innocent people to Siberia.
> In the churches they open their mouths,
> But before the government they keep silent.
> Their hair is long like women's,
> But their brain is a great deal shorter.
> • • •
> They howl like beasts;
> • • •
> They extort from all.
> Wicked hairy priests . . .[2]
> • • •

The peasants were attracted to numerous sects of the Dissenters which were spreading in Russia, especially since the seventeenth century when the great movement of the Old Believers (*Starovery*) began. In these sects and their ideologies the peasants protested against the conditions of serfdom. The teachings of a number of these sects expressed yearning for a new life, and for an anarchic brotherhood of men in which nobody would be rejected and everybody accepted on equal terms. Peasant Sutayev, for instance, who founded the Sutayevtsy sect in 1880, was considered to be one of the most pious churchgoers before he revolted against the official Church. He rebelled when he was over fifty. The occasion was a dispute that he had with his parish priest over a fee for the burial of his grandson. It was after this quarrel that he stopped going to

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PEASANT UPRISINGS

I

EVER since the establishment of serfdom, slaves and serfs would free themselves from oppressive bondage by joining the gangs of vagabonds, fugitives from justice, army deserters, malcontents and escapees of all kinds, many of whom lived by theft, robbery, and begging. These victims of oppression, as well as many adventurers, gathered along the frontiers of the empire in "no man's land" where they would organize themselves as bands of freebooters, guerillas, and mercenaries, ready to enter the service of rival powers.

In the regions of the lower Don and Dnieper these communities of fugitives of all social classes and occupations and of many races formed elective military governments, known as the Cossack republics. Once they were established, these free Cossack communes served as a place of attraction to all who longed for freedom from oppression or who sought adventure. In these free societies no one was asked any question about his passport, his identity, his domicile, his faith, or his belongings. Everyone willing to fight and loot was welcome, but none was forced to come or stay.[1]

However, by the middle of the seventeenth century in these Cossack commonwealths, there appeared a social differentiation between the old settlers and the newcomers. The older settlers formed a property-owning class known as the "house-owners," and the newcomers became known as the *golytba* (the naked). And it was these unsettled and restless Cossacks of the "naked class" that played an especially prominent part in the uprisings of the seventeenth century and later.[2]

The first part of the seventeenth century, known in the history of the Czardom as the "Period of Trouble," was characterized by the lack of an established authority. The old dynasty had

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ended in a violent and mysterious way and a number of pretenders arose to take its place. It was in this interval between the fall of the former authority and the relative consolidation of a new one that the oppressed strata of the Czardom saw an opportunity to rebel against a state of humiliating bondage and economic misery. Seeking relief from their burdens and yearning for social acceptance in a system of equalitarian relationships, the poorer burghers, homeless Cossacks and runaway peasants and slaves flocked into the camp of Bolotnikov, himself an ex-slave and adventurer who marched at the head of this strange army upon Moscow. From his camp near Moscow he distributed proclamations inviting slaves and serfs to slay their masters, commanding all of his followers to rise against the voevodas and others in authority, and exciting them to rob and beat traders. In return he promised the slaves and serfs the wives and the property of the serf-owners. To all his followers he pledged honors, riches and the status of boyars.[3]

Search for security in a system of protection-dependence relationships manifested itself in a need for pretenders. If only a rumor started about the appearance of a pretender, whole provinces would rise to greet him. Sometimes a pretender had to be subsequently found to lead these masses of discontents who rose to follow a fancied liberator and benefactor. Such conditions only contributed to the prolongation of the troubled times and prevented an early establishment and consolidation of a new authority. It was in such a way that most of the seventeenth century became a century of riotings and rebellions which climaxed in the great rising under Stanka Razin in 1670–1671. Originating among the Don Cossacks, this movement soon spread to the Volga regions and developed into a general war of the lower strata against the upper classes. In this, as in the other uprisings of that century, many excesses were committed by both the rebels and the government forces. The same features of social struggle were repeated in the eighteenth century, in the great peasant rebellion that was led by Pugachev, another Cossack chieftain.

Also the nineteenth century witnessed a number of peasant rebellions. In the beginning of that century the peasants of the

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could be achieved only if Russia was to change radically its economic structure. As a result of such a trend of events and of thought the government passed a decree in 1861 according to which the peasants were set legally free from their masters.

As a consequence of his legal emancipation, the peasant found himself in the possession of less arable land than before, and he was still bound to it. He was overburdened even more than before because he was obliged to pay high redemption dues in addition to the heavy taxes that were imposed on him. Moreover the peasants in land communes not only remained jointly responsible to the government for the payment of taxes, but they were also made jointly responsible for redemption payments. The commune's authority over the peasants was increased and the peasant found himself under an even more exacting and more despotic commune regimentation than the one that existed before the "Emancipation Act."

At the same time the peasant still did not have sufficient arable land. He also lacked pasture grounds and timber which were of special importance in his technologically backward and extensive agricultural economy; most of such land was left in the hands of his former masters. The acuteness of land shortage was especially felt because of lack of artificial fertilizers, need for draught animals, and primitiveness of farm equipment. Many peasants did not even possess a wooden plow.

But though the emancipation act of 1861 still kept the peasants bound to the land, and did not provide them with sufficient land, it did open up opportunities for their economic advance and political activation. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, the peasantry became generally recognized as a potentially very significant force, both politically and economically. It was this prospect of the peasant masses as the leading political power of the future in combination with the Slavophil idealization of the peasantry that gave rise to the ideology of *narodnichestvo* (populism). This ideology idealized the virtues and the creative potentialities of the peasantry, and just as the Slavophils, the narodniki claimed that the reconstruction of Russian society, even of the whole world, will come from Russian peasantry.

By the end of that century a faction of Russian radical intel-

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Many observers of Soviet society have noticed that in this constant struggle for power, and sometimes in order to save their very lives, Soviet officials and intellectuals must be ready not only to inform on each other, but also to "throw mud" at the closest associates and friends as soon as these happen to fall in disgrace.[1] Denunciation of a friend is often "the best way out of a hole," they say. Many "pretend to deny and to disown those who fall in disgrace" or, frightened, "join in verbal lynching to protect themselves." There is a "malignant joy regarding a comrade's mistakes . . . exaggeration of mistakes."[2] They "rush to kick a man who is already down, to push him over the precipice." In such conditions "Friendship is strained with blood and betrayal; it is an object of fear and suspicion."[3] Even members of one's own family might be repudiated under such pressure.[4] At the same time the need for cringing before one's superiors is often compensated by arrogance, capriciousness, arbitrariness, insulting and humiliating treatment of his subordinates or of all unprotected.[5]

The sense of guilt, insecurity, and feelings of humiliation which develop in such circumstances are magnified by means of social isolation. This isolation is manifold in the Soviet society, especially in the upper ruling strata. Intimate personal contact and unfettered social and intellectual intercourse is officially frowned upon and is therefore very limited among the Party, Army, government and managerial hierarchies. Intimate fraternization with associates is looked upon with great suspicion in a society whose ruling minority maintains itself in power by means of planned social divisions and mistrusts. Said Stalin: ". . . such family conditions create a favorable environment for the nurture of reptiles, not Bolsheviks."[6]

Real risks are involved in any free discourse in a society which is infested with watchdogs and informers and in which many are inclined to seek self-advance in the ruin of others. In the upper strata besides fear, suspicion and need for extreme caution, there is lack of intimate contact also because of sharp differentiation in rank. For the same reasons intercourse between the educated and non-educated strata has to be kept to a minimum.

There is also a deliberate policy on the part of the ruling class

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Argument of the Play.

ACT FIRST.—The Betrothal.

Scene 1st. The best room in the house of the bride's parents. Enter the bride, her parents and a young brother; they tidy and adorn the room; a table is set with sweetmeats, nuts and small beer (*braga*). The old people finally sit down at the table and talk to each other; the bride and her brother stand at a little distance, talking apart. 584

Scene 2d. The proceedings now about to begin, are similar to the usual winter night social gatherings—*posidelky*—which are frequented by the young people of the village. [574]

Enter the girl friends of the bride, with their spinning combs (*prialki*) their knitting and sewing; soon after them arrive the young men of the neighbourhood. The bride meets and welcomes them; the girls sit down in a circle in the middle of the room, laughing and chatting; the young men stand around them talking and joking, treat them to nuts, candy, etc. Different songs appropriate to the occasion are sung by the company, *e. g.* "The Birchwood Splinter"—*Lootchina* (No. 5)[1], "I was sitting late at night"—*Posdno Vetcherom Sidela* (No. 6)[2], etc. Suddenly there is a loud rapping, the songs cease, and everybody looks towards the door.

Scene 3d. Enter the two *svats* (matchmakers); they bow respectfully to the parents, with a "good morning, good people," to the girls, "good mornings, beautiful girls" and to the boys. The parents bid them welcome, and ask to sit at the table; the *svats* civilly decline to do so on some pretext or other, but take their chairs and place them directly under the middle beam of the ceiling. When the girls notice this, they begin to whisper meaningly. The parents and the *svats* then proceed to discuss the match, and finally conclude the bargain; the other guests meanwhile sing an appropriate song (*Devitzy Krasavitzy*).

When the preliminary arrangements have been settled to mutual satisfaction, the mother whispers the bride, that *svats*

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 29—Analyst]
[2] [See cat. 116, p. 30—Analyst]

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svakha behind. The groom and the bride advance to his parents and salute them. The company sing a song of glorification. The young couple bow to the groom's parents, three times to each, kiss them and receive their benediction; then the bridal pair are led to the table, at which they sit down. The *droushka* takes the plate with bread and salt from the father and goes out of the room with it to the bride's house, to invite her parents to the feast.

SCENE 4TH. The *svakha* leads the bride away into another chamber, where she is to change her dress and rearrange her hair. The *svakha* takes the veil off the bride, undoes her hair, combs it and makes it up again into two braids, which she winds around the head and covers with a kerchief; this is the way the married women dress their hair.

SCENE 5TH. The bride is again covered with the veil and the *svakha* leads her out to the company, places her next to the groom and then solemnly pulls off her veil. This is the turning point in the ceremony, and from this moment the bride ceases to be a girl before the world and assumes the status of a married woman.

Somebody raps at the door.

SCENE 6TH. Enter the *droushka* with the bride's parents, who are welcomed with great honors and led to places near the head of the table.

Setting of the table. The *droushka* directs all the ceremonies of the feast. He first calls upon the *svakha*, who represents the groom's mother, to take out of the oven whatever she has and to set it upon the table. The *svakha* tries to remove the oven lid, but cannot do so and asks for help. The *droushka* then directs his friends to help her, and with songs, indicating the difficulty of the work, the young men of the groom's party pull off the lid and draw out the pots, which they place upon the table; the songs accompanying these actions are: "*Doobinoushka*" (No. 19)[1] and "Bold Mustaches"—*Oussy* (No. 14).[2]

The Feast. The whole company sit down to the table (except the *droushka* who sees that every guest has plenty of everything), cross themselves, asking a blessing and fall to. After they have eaten for a while, the best man offers a glass of

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 40 — Analyst]

[2] [See cat. 116, pp. 37–38 — Analyst]

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brandy on a plate to the groom's father, who tastes of it, but makes a wry face and says: "*gorko*" (bitter). The *droushka* puts a piece of sugar into the glass, the father tastes it again and repeats, "*gorko.*" Then the *droushka* asks the young couple to sweeten the drink; they thereupon rise, bow to the old man and kiss each other three times; the father then drains the cup with evident satisfaction, saying: "Ah, this is good." The same ceremony is repeated with the other relatives and guests, some of whom even insist on repeated sweetenings, to tease the young couple—especially if they see that the bride is bashful. The company, meantime, joke and sing appropriate songs. This scene is represented in the well known picture of Makovsky, called a Boyar's Wedding.

The presentation of gifts from the bride to the groom's relatives. The *droushka* first leads out the groom's father to a chair in the middle of the room, where he asks him to sit down; then the *droushka* approaches him with a glass of brandy on a plate, accompanied by the *svakha* with a present and by the young couple. They all bow to the father and ask him to accept the offerings. The *droushka* using a formula like this: "The young prince and the young princess do homage to you with a low bow and a bowl of festal mead. They beg you to accept the cup, to drain it and to cover the bottom—not with a dime or a dollar, but with a piece of gold; and if you have not that, half a dozen dollars will be acceptable to us and an honor to you." The presents consist of wearing apparel, gloves, kerchiefs, embroidered towels, etc. The father takes up the glass and tastes it, but refuses to drink, claiming it is too bitter; the young couple must sweeten it for him, just as before, which they finally do; when he drains the cup and accepts the present, they bow to him and kiss him. The mother of the groom is the next one to be led to the chair and given a present; she also asks for a sweetening of the drink, etc., and the same ceremony is gone through with all the groom's relatives.

In return for the teasing, each one puts a piece of money upon the plate. Songs enliven the proceeding, as for instance: "Glory to the Swan" (*Slava Lebediu*), etc.

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The feasting meantime goes on; the *drouzhka* treats everyone and asks the company to drink more. The songs at this time are: "I walk with the Wreath" (*So vyounom ya khojy*)[1] and "In the Meadows" (*Vo loosiakh*).[2]

The company gradually becomes more excited; they start to sing dance-songs; a young man and a girl come out into the middle of the room and start a jig dance, while the balance of the company sing the *Kamarinskaya* (No. 10)[3] or the "Entrance Hall"—*Sseny* (No. 9).[4]

The bride's parents ask everyone to their house, to finish the night. The guests jump up and bid good-bye to the bridal pair and to the parents of the groom, and go away, singing and dancing.

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[1] [See cat. 116, p. 44 — Analyst]
[2] [See cat. 116, pp. 35-36 — Analyst]
[3] [See cat. 116, p. 35 — Analyst]
[4] [See cat. 116, pp. 34-35 — Analyst]

[Constitution as of 1949]

641 Art. 128. In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church
655 in the Russian SFSR is separated from the state and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens.

Art. 129. In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the Russian SFSR are guaranteed by law:

(a) Freedom of speech;
(b) Freedom of the press;
(c) Freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings;
(d) Freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

These civil rights are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

[675] Art. 130. In conformity with the interests of the working people and in order to develop the organizational initiative and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the Russian SFSR are ensured the right to unite in public organizations -- trade unions, co-operative associations, youth organizations, sport and defence organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies; and the most active and politically conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people unite in the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and State.

[694] Art. 131. Citizens of the Russian SFSR are guaranteed inviolability of the person. No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of a court or with the sanction of a procurator.

Art. 132. The inviolability of the homes of citizens and privacy of correspondence are protected by law.

Art. 133. The Russian SFSR affords the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the working people, or for their scientific activities, or for their struggle for national liberation.

Art. 134. It is the duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR to abide by the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, to observe the laws, to maintain labour discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of socialist intercourse.

[695] Art. 135. It is the duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR to safeguard and strengthen public socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the country, as the source of the prosperity and culture of all the working people.

Persons committing offences against public socialist property are enemies of the people.

Art. 136. Universal military service is law.

Military service in the ranks of the armed forces of the USSR is an honourable duty of the citizens of the Russian SFSR.

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of international Communism. "In our times," said Stalin before the Seventeenth Party Congress in 1934, "it is not the custom to give any consideration to the weak. . . . consideration is only given to the strong." The Party therefore undertook to drill millions of subjects in the use of arms and to develop an imposing army of professional soldiers.

The need of militarization of the entire population has been reflected in the Bolshevik ideology of total war. As early as the nineteen twenties the Bolshevik military strategist and Commissar of Defense, Mikhail Frunze, developed the theory of mobilization of the entire population and of regimentation of all aspects of life as a means of war preparation.[62] As a result of such a trend of thought pre-military training has been introduced into public schools and many teaching subjects have been oriented toward military thinking. Also the Party has sponsored and supported private organizations to promote physical fitness and military training (*Ossoaviokhim*) on a mass scale.

The need of the ruling faction to use military training as a school of obedience, loyalty, leadership, and war preparedness dictated also the policies concerning the system of military training. Consequently earlier ideas of fraternization and equality of ranks developed as a response to the longing for an anarchic brotherhood were attacked as "false democracy"; instead strict military discipline has been introduced and embodied in minute military regulations.[63] As a result very heavy and hard punishments have been provided for slightest breaches in discipline.

The military regulations now demand unquestionable obedience of the subordinate to his superior, and immediate and literal execution of his command regardless of what that command may be: "The order of the commander is law for the subordinate. The order must be fulfilled without question, literally and immediately."[64] To insure such unconditional obedience the military regulations authorize Soviet officers to use harsh means to cope with lapses of discipline. These include not only ordinary punishments, but physical beatings and even killing "in an emergency, when there is no time to spare." Significantly enough, the term "officer" was discarded and has been substituted by that of "commander."

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Thwarted in their drive for power and political leadership, these young men and women gave vent to their feelings of deprivation in phantasies and plans of destruction and death.

Much of the sadness, tragic sarcasm, morbidity and preoccupation with death and suffering which dominated Russian literature in the second part of the nineteenth century reflects such moods of despair. The predominance of social and political themes in the literary creations of these people and the insistence of literary critics of those days on literary "realism," that is, that a work of art should be judged not by artistic and esthetic criteria but by its portrayal of existing life and its faithfulness to reality, especially the brutal and dark reality, manifested the same feelings.

Pisarev, describing this psychological reaction of impotence and the urge for destruction before seemingly uncontrollable forces, stated that when men "find it impossible to transform life, their anger at their own impotence makes itself felt in the sphere of thought, where the destructive work of criticism proceeds unceasingly."[6] That the basic drive behind this urge for negation and destruction was extreme self-seeking is witnessed by some other ideas of the same writer. "Every living being," said Pisarev, "is for himself the center and the meaning of the universe . . . his personal joys, vexations, aspirations, and cares, are more important than universal revolutions. . . ."

Starting with such premises, some of the Nihilists refused to recognize any regulation, any moral law, any principle, whether above, external, or within a person as being "absolute." The result was preaching of extreme materialism and individualism, and denial of all "absolute" ethics, of duty and of responsibility, of ideals and of social values.

II

In the meantime, however, the effects of European revolutions of 1848 and the defeats of the Russian armies in the Crimean War (1854–1856) led some of the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia to the belief that the Czarist system was not as invulnerable as generally accepted. These people proposed direct and organized action against the Czarist regime in order to raze it to

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

the ground together with all its fundamental institutions. Such plans for direct action aimed at total destruction of the existing order were developed by the Anarchists ("Our task is terrible, total, inexorable, and universal destruction".)[7]

Not unlike the Slavophils and the Nihilists, the Anarchists revolted against the existing formal law which was abused for personal gains of those in power. Just as the Nihilists, the Anarchists revolted against the family institution whose sacredness in Russian society often veiled arbitrariness, cruelty, injustices, and humiliations imposed by the elders upon the weak and unprotected. Like the Slavophils and the Nihilists, the Anarchists revolted against private property, the official Church, and the state because these institutions in the Czardom joined hands in supporting the system of serfdom and bureaucratic regimentation. "The only revolution which can do any good to the people is that which destroys, from top to bottom, every idea of the state, overthrowing all traditions, social orders, and classes. . . ."[8]

The Anarchists demanded a return to an anarchic and equalitarian brotherhood that strongly reminds one of the Old-Slavonic world. But following the patriarchal and Czarist traditions of unconditional power and dominance, the Anarchists, just as the Nihilists, usurped for themselves the right to cheat, to steal, to lie, to destroy, and to kill, as a means to do away with "deceit, cunning, exploitation, depravity, vice," of the ruling classes. Said Kropotkin:

> I will be immoral to snap a weapon abused by religion; I will do it, were it only to protest against the hypocrisy imposed on us in the name of a word to which the name morality was given.[9]

"The revolutionary defines as moral only that which assists the revolution, and defines as immoral and criminal that which stands in his way," says the *Catechism of Revolution*. In the same manner, Kropotkin, speaking of the Russian terrorists who assassinated Czar Alexander II, said that "these men and women . . . had conquered the right to kill. . . . 'They have the right to steal' . . ."[10]

In order to be able to destroy, to cheat, and to kill the exploiters and the representatives of the government, it was neces-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

brotherhood could still be maintained. Since the seventeenth century, however, expenditures for military campaigns and for growing ranks of salaried bureaucrats necessitated increasing state incomes which could be obtained without much delay. Since the state was industrially and commercially undeveloped, the only way to increase revenues was in finding new means to squeeze out of the peasantry a still larger part of its produce. Therefore the old system of direct tax collecting from the mir was found to function inefficiently on the estates of the nobility, and laws were passed which made the landowners responsible for the collection of state taxes from the peasantry. In this way ties between the manorial peasants and the central government were severed.[1]

As a result of such a change in the political structure, the manorial serfs became now entirely dependent upon the owners of the manorial estates. There was no more possibility for the peasants to appeal directly to the government. Between the government and the manorial peasants stood now the landlords to whom the peasants became exclusively responsible as a final authority in all matters, administrative as well as judiciary.[2] *Pomeshchik* was now looked upon as the "natural protector of people, their local judge, the guardian of their welfare, their tutor, the trustee of poor and orphans, observer of good order and law."[3] He was considered as the Czar's overseer and watchdog.[4] The patriarchal dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships which existed between the Czar and his subjects were now extended to the landlord and his serfs. Both the Czar and the landlord were addressed as *batyushka* (father).

The position of the serf, however, was now so much more precarious because in new relationships the power of the landlord was absolute. A life-long banishment to Siberia awaited him who lodged a complaint against his master. And since there were neither written laws nor any established customary law to regulate the relations between the serfs and the manorial lords, the serfs were completely dependent upon the degree of moral or ethical standards of their masters for their lives and well-being. These were often very low. Hence unprotected either by

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the peasant tended to conceive of every man as a dangerous fellow. "Ruddy or red, the man is dangerous" (*Ryzhyi da krasnyi chelovek opasnyi*), he would say. He did not think he could expect any help from man. "Do not expect any good from a human being," he would advise. And between a living man and a dead one, he thought that the latter was preferred. "No evil comes from a dead man, and no good comes from a living one," he would assert. Many Great-Russian folk sayings emphasize the need for silence, or the necessity to spare words, so that one may not betray himself and let the others take advantage of him. "Do not say every word! Do not reveal every little thought when people are near!" these maxims caution. They also warn: "Do not believe every talk, do not tell every truth!"[12]

But such a lack of faith in human beings might lead to the resolution that one is quite justified to take advantage of everyone else, since all others would do the same to him. Thus social isolation and mistrust tended to reinforce self-seeking and encourage the use of all means to achieve one's personal ends: "Lie began with the world and with the world it will die," the peasants would say. They concluded that since "Man lives by falsehood, we too should not remain behind." Their advice therefore was: "Do not mourn for truth, make terms with falsehood"; "It is by falsehood that men live."[13]

The Great-Russian peasant was accordingly often forced to rely on deliberate deceit as a means of survival in a hostile, distrustful, and unreliable world. He did not consider it necessary to have any respect for agreements, contract obligations or given pledges. He tended to be crafty even in his dealings with God and saints. When committing sinful acts at home he would cover his icons. A number of Russian folk tales are concerned with cunning and show how profitable it might be for one to resort to such means.[14] Heroes in folk epics are addicted to deceit and are condoned for their deeds of guile. Merchants in peasant villages almost invariably used false weights and measures. Perjury was so frequent that there were people whose sole profession it was to swear falsely.[15]

While in such an aggressive mood the peasant was inclined to evoke to his help the dark forces. As a result there was a great

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Speaking of the character of the peasants Mr. Karnovitch observed, that whoever has to exercise authority over them must above all things guard against indecision, whether in word or act. The Russian always requires a definite command; and in disputes, if the settlement be distinct and pre-emptory, he will be satisfied, whether the sentence is favorable or unfavorable, wise or unwise. If there be hesitation, he immediately becomes intractable, while a resolute command has a magical influence which he cannot resist.[21]

In such a society which is kept together by naked force rather than by moral bonds, breakdown of controls easily results in revolt and upheavals, in widespread bloodshed and destruction. On such occasions, just like the raznochintsy intelligentsia, the peasants, too, tended to revolt against all forms of humiliation and oppressive submission and demanded reestablishment of the old community relations, in which truth and justice and equalitarian brotherhood of man prevailed.

Such forms of peasant protest, which were directed against all the authorities, the family, community elders, the landlord, the Church and the state, will be discussed on the following pages.

18
RELIGIOUS REVOLT OF THE PEASANTRY

I

THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH which in the course of its history came to be completely subjected to the state and was made an instrument of governing, supported the lay authorities in their policies of enserfment. But the state had meagerly rewarded the Church for such services. The revenues from the land donations given to the parishes by the state or by the landlords were not sufficient to maintain the parish priests and their families. The village priests therefore depended for their living upon the fees which the peasants

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Just as in the ideology of Nihilism and Anarchism, revolt against degrading submission and rejection and demand for acceptance in some sects took the form of extreme power-seeking and self-deification. In the sect *Lyudi Bozhii* (people of God), for instance, the craving to become God incarnate or to have a live incarnation of Deity actually present in their midst was so strong that since the time of the sect's founder who claimed to be God Zebaoth (Sabaoth) a whole series of Christs came into being, succeeding one another by a sort of filiation or adoption. Finally each religious community of this sect boasted of having a flesh-and-blood Christ in its midst. They claimed that it was in each man's own power to unite himself to the Deity and to incarnate it in his own body. A woman had the faculty to become *Boginya* (the Goddess) or *Bogoroditsa* (Mother of God) and many women did achieve such self-apotheosis, adding to the number of divinities of each community.[19]

It was by means of suffering and mortification of flesh that candidates for Messiahship competed among themselves for this supreme achievement. These exploits were accompanied with self-glorification. In this way both power-seeking and identification with suffering were realized. The followers would watch for years to see which of the rival pretenders to Christhood underwent the greatest sufferings. The rivals for Godship, on the other hand, often resorted to trickery to prove their claims.[20] But once the issue was settled and a God-incarnate was recognized, the whole congregation owed Him supreme reverence and unconditional obedience which satisfied the contender's craving for power: "I am God, foretold of the prophets. There is no other God than I. Seek ye none other. Where unto ye are appointed, abide therein."[21] On the part of the congregation the desire for Christ-incarnate in their midst manifested a strong need for protective dependence and acceptance.

Hence longing for a world in which truth and justice, kindness and love would reign, in which there would be no abusive serfdom, no subservience, tortures and sufferings, but happi-

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ness, trust and all-human equality and fraternal aid was strongly felt in these sects. Many of these people expressed such yearnings in the form of religious hymns and rituals. It is to be expected that in these hymns and practices Christ and Mother of God, symbols of love and acceptance, not "Old God," symbol of rage and fear, would be worshipped and longed for:

The Czardom of Truth will be restored
Amongst us here on earth,
And the flame of heavenly life
Will be rekindled in our midst.
Only then, when malice and slander
Disappear from the face of earth,
And man acknowledges the Lord,
God of everlasting love,
When the world replaces pride and hypocrisy
With Truth and Justice of God,
And in the yearnings of the noble soul
Love and kindness are revived,
When all are equal under God
And the weak no longer are oppressed,
When man his thoughts to Lord will turn
And spread Truth and Justice of God,
When the force of dismal prisons, tortures and shackles
No longer reigns,
The living God will resurrect
Eternal freedom in the heart of man.
To this Czardom, thou seeker of God,
Hasten and sincerely yearn for
With a clear heart, tirelessly,
Pray thou to the Creator of the universe.
For to sow the seeds of good and love,
Are we summoned by the Lord;
So that torture and death do not appall us
In the living of our days,
We will have to be the executors
Of the Holy conceptions of Christ
Then the Czardom of Truth of God
Will tread upon the earth.
We shall have the destiny
Of creating Christ's Family.

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This is great fortune
For all the servants of the world,
Sharers in honesty and trust,
Executors of the Covenant of Christ.[23]

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Longing for acceptance was not only manifested in the worship of living "Christ," but also in carnal communion with the "Christs" and "Madonnas," in ecstatic trances and mass religious hallucinations, and apparently even in some cannibalistic practices.[23] Thus when in consequence of sacred rites a Bogorodica would bear a child, if a boy, he was known as *Khristosik* (the little Christ). According to some students of Russia's religious life the Khristosik was immolated on the eighth day after his birth. His heart and blood, mixed with flour and honey, were served to make the cakes for the Eucharist. This practice was called "Taking Communion in the blood of the Lamb."[24] At other times, according to the same sources, it was a young virgin, chosen as Mother of God who willingly gave her left breast to be cut out amidst ritual dancing and singing. The breast was then partaken of as the "true Eucharistic food."[25]

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Great emotional insecurity and extreme fear of rejection might explain why elements of power-seeking were present in all sects, even in those which professed complete repudiation of power in any form whatsoever. For instance, Popov, the founder of the Molokane sect which originally professed complete freedom of conscience and complete equality, eventually entirely suppressed liberty of discussion and interpretation. Unconditional submission to the authorities he declared to be the first duty, insubordination the greatest sin.[26] Andrey Selivanov, the founder of the Skoptsy sect, had himself designated in the prayers which were addressed to him in his lifetime, as "God of Gods and King of Kings," even though the Skoptsy sect professed complete freedom from any form of coercion.[27]

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Also early in the history of the Dukhobortsy we find that their communistic practices finally led to dictatorship and despotism.[28] The leaders of this sect knew how to take personal advantage of the longing of the sect members for protective dependence and acceptance. One of the leaders of this sect, Kapustin, in the beginning of the nineteenth century expounded

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animal brain might lead to the knowledge of how to control the human brain.[10]

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Thus Marxian theory of dialectical materialism and determinism has been revised to allow the Bolshevik ruling hierarchy to control "matter" so as to affect events in a direction which seems to be most desirable from the point of view of the perpetuation of their regime. In the same manner the Marxian theory of "ideological superstructure" has been revised to suit Bolshevik needs. Morals and ethics, esthetics, character, thought and feelings are now to be planned in advance by an appropriate control of social surroundings and environmental influences in accordance with the decrees of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow. The Bolsheviks now say that "the best qualities in man are those that are planned beforehand and are inculcated into him."[11]

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Contrary to earlier Marxian doctrines the Bolsheviks now state that even when social roots of certain habits or ideas are eliminated "men's minds lay behind social actuality."[12] They claim now that "Subjective factors play a decisive role in turning possibility into reality." It is therefore necessary to influence human minds and eradicate "tenacious survivals of the past,"[13] by a planned and deliberate action even in a Socialistic society which is already transforming itself into a Communistic society.

The basic principle in this planned shaping of human thought and feeling is that human personality should be molded in a way which best suits the political needs of the Bolshevik hierarchy. Hence morals and ethics, literature and art, economic activities as well as private lives must be politicized. Just as earlier the Anarchists had subordinated ethics and morals to the need of the revolution, so now, according to Bolshevik philosophy, "that is moral which causes the Communist system to triumph."[14] Morals and ethics depend upon the question of "our political needs"; they stem "from our requirements in the building of socialism."[15] In the same manner the fundamental task of art and literature is said to consist in propagating "supreme devotion to the Soviet regime":

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of the outstanding tenets in the philosophy of Russian monasticism whose history is even longer than that of the Czardom was charitable love. Many sects of the *Raskolniki* propagated and practiced principles of humaneness. The Slavophils were especially prominent in advocating the return to an idealized stateless society of benevolent paternalism where brotherhood, Christian love, and compassion would reign. The "Westerners" endeavored to introduce into Russia Western concepts of justice and tolerance, and a humanistic, libertarian and juridical state. Russian belles-lettres, Russian school textbooks, as well as laws and regulations in the nineteenth century and up to the beginning of World War I, bear witness to this trend toward Westernization and humanism.

In Soviet Russia, on the other hand, after a brief initial period of reaction against the old regime which led toward an emphasis on all-human values and equalitarian brotherhood, soon the trend of events pushed the Bolshevik ideology in the opposite direction. The determination of a ruling clique of professional conspirators to maintain themselves in power by any and all means dictated the emphasis on the internal and external "threats" which would justify the intensification of internal "measures of security," and of external aggression. Thus vigilantism and war preparedness, and expansion of internal and external Bolshevik power, became the main base of the policies of the ruling class.[25] Such policies had to be constantly reinforced by a deliberate incitement to hatred and destruction.

The image of Soviet society as being in a constant state of war, not only against foreign enemies but against internal oppositionists, deviationists, spies, saboteurs, and remnants of bourgeois mentality has been determined by a social structure which the Bolshevik rulers themselves have created, but which makes their own power uncertain and precarious. In such circumstances Lenin's idea of a life and death struggle with the "class enemies," the idea that "it's them or us" (*Kto kogo*) has provided the main motivating force of the Party's internal and foreign policies. Fearing to be annihilated unless they themselves destroy their enemies, conscious that they have "either to rule or to die," the Bolsheviks have ruthlessly applied the principle of "obedience

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Familycentrism, family isolation, and lack of trust in one's neighbor were apparently projected into the supernatural world where one's own Domovoy, though at times arbitrary, ill-tempered and spiteful, was generally considered to be benevolent—bringing good luck to the household which was under his care and solicitude. The neighbor's Domovoy, on the other hand, was always a malevolent and wicked being who could never be propitiated and who was likely to steal your hay or drive away your cattle for the benefit of the home which was under his protection. The Russian peasants, therefore, developed means of defense against the neighbor's Domovoy in the form of spells and exorcisms.

Lack of social trust is not favorable to the development of solidarity within a community. Therefore lack of group identification among the peasants and burghers, the same as the lack of the *esprit de corps* among the nobility, contributed to the perpetuation of the autocratic rule. Lack of communal identifications was an obstacle to the turning of group hostilities against the ruling classes. In such circumstances a great deal of personal aggressiveness had to find outlets and targets within the local community and within the family circle itself. Only when the authorities suffered crushing defeat and loss of prestige the hostilities would turn against them and mass uprisings would take place, demanding re-establishment of old communal values.

With the ascendancy of the otsovskaya system, family relations came to be organized in a hierarchical system along the lines of paternity, marriage status, seniority and sex. At one time, only married male members formed the family council (soviet). The males had priority over the females. Within each sex category the elder had priority rights over the younger. When the family was partitioned, custom demanded that the older brothers leave the ancestral home while the youngest, following Mongol traditions, remained on the paternal *koren* (root).[4] In marrying the daughters it was the eldest who had to be married first.

In the patriarchal family, in their relations to the father, all family members were expected to accept his rule with fear and awe (*strakh*) and with humility (*smirenie*). They had to show absolute submission and blind obedience (*besprekoslovnoe povinovenie*),[5] as well as love and gratitude (*blagodarnost*).[6]

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These attitudes implied complete dependency and self-abnegation on the part of the wife and children in relation to their master. The wife and the children were expected always to speak with respect to the father, that is, in the second person plural instead of the second person singular—the way the children addressed each other or their mother. The wife did not address her husband by his first name, but by his first and second name (patronymic) which was the way less intimate acquaintances addressed each other. The children had to demonstrate their thankfulness for the father's care and solicitude by kissing his hands. Before a bride left her parental home, custom demanded that she say to her father, "God will help you for bread and salt." And he would advise her to be obedient to her new relations: "Be obedient to them the way you were obedient to me" (*slushay kak menia slushala*).[7]

Emphasis on fear and awe, obedience and gratitude was very outstanding in the Great-Russian patriarchal family relations. These feelings and attitudes had a supernatural sanction. As a result of the teachings of the Russian Orthodox Church, it was considered in popular opinion that any disobedience or disrespect of the father's will was mercilessly punished by God who brought life-long misery and misfortune for such unfilial behavior. Even after death, the soul of a disobedient and ungrateful child could hardly escape punishment in the eternal fire of hell. Many Great-Russian folktales place a great emphasis on obedience and gratitude and stress the cruel penalty and fearful fate that awaited a disobedient and ungrateful son.[8]

Such family relations in which demands of a harsh and detached, and even capricious and arbitrary father had to be answered by humility, unconditional submission, blind obedience, love and gratitude; in which family members fought over priorities and rights; where all felt dependent upon one another and isolated from the rest of the world, could not fail to provoke tensions and cause intense family antagonisms and animosities. Such tensions and conflicts became characteristic of the Great-Russian patriarchal family and were manifested in the relations between husband and wife, father and sons, between the siblings and between the in-laws.[9]

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desire for his father's death.[17] Only then was there hope for freedom. A folk maxim, for instance, says: "When the earth takes the parents, the children get their freedom." Such an extreme form of revolt, however, was not so simple because it went counter to the accepted image of the father, his supernaturally sanctioned absolute power, his care and solicitude for the welfare of all the family, and the traditional obligation of love and gratitude towards him on the part of the family members. Hence antagonistic attitudes against the father were regularly mixed with strong feelings of guilt.

Both the feeling of guilt and the fear of being rejected by the father might have perhaps been manifested in those folk tales which tell gruesome and frightful stories about children who were abandoned by their parents[18] and left at the mercy of wild beasts, frost, open sea, and in those folk tales in which the children are dismembered by their own parents and thrown away in small pieces. That the father himself sensed a potential feeling of rebelliousness on the part of his son and that he himself might have had a feeling of guilt because of his treatment of his son is witnessed by folk sayings which express a dread of old age with its dependency upon one's own children: "To pay old debts and to feed old parents are the hardest things in the world"; "One father will feed nine children sooner than nine children will feed one father"; "God take away my life rather than let me be under my son's care."[19]

There were other tensions and conflicting situations in the Great-Russian patriarchal family, particularly in the urban strata. The principle of seniority, for instance, reserved disciplinary privileges and responsibilities for the brothers in relation to their sisters, and for the senior brothers and sisters in relation to their juniors. At the same time a father's absolute power often took the form of favoritism in respect to a younger son, or to a daughter, which was counter to the established principles of seniority and therefore considered unjust. There was therefore plenty of opportunity for resentments, rivalries, jealousies, hatreds, and fights among the siblings, or between the older and the younger family members:

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The family was divided into two clans, the elder and the younger. The elder ones were proud, rich, all powerful, fearing none but Jupiter [father]. They had fine rooms where they could run about and play without fear of colliding with the furniture; they lived in style and despised us, and punished us. The youngsters were weak and oppressed, with only a little room as their domain; they were kept running errands and had sweets to eat only on the rare occasion when they were given a few. They were teased and were accused of lying when they were not telling lies; . . . They had none to defend them against the iniquity of the elders . . . The two clans carried on constant warfare. The elders . . . would treat the youngsters as vassals and make fun of them.[20]

In the homes of merchants and petty officials, frictions, tensions, and animosities were so outstanding a feature of family life as late as the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, that they formed a recurrent theme in Russian belles-lettres of those days, such as in the works of Dostoyevsky and of Ostrovsky. N. Dobrolyubov, a noted Russian critic, commenting on the writings of Ostrovsky, asserted that it was the system of tyranny which caused cunning, hatred, lack of justice and of human dignity in the family.[21] In a similar way Peter Kropotkin, observing family relations in various strata of Russian society in the second part of the nineteenth century, claimed that, "quite a network of habits and customs of domestic slavery, of utter disregard of human individuality, of despotism on the part of the fathers, and of hypocritical submission on that of the wives, the sons, and the daughters, had developed."[22]

9
MOTHER-CHILD ATTACHMENT

I

THOUGH the internal situation in the Great-Russian patriarchal family tended to be rather tense, the role played by the mother was likely to introduce into that family an element of moderation and emotional integration.

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ness and ruthlessness both toward themselves and toward those who were not with them became in this manner an integral part of the revolutionary movement in Russia.[15] On such foundations a "science of merciless destruction" was developed:

> The revolutionary is wholly dedicated. He must show no mercy to the State or towards the civilized classes of society; nor does he ask for mercy for himself. Between him and society there is waged a mortal war declared or concealed, a relentless and irreconcilable fight to the death. He must accustom himself to torture.
>
> Tyrannical towards himself, the revolutionary must be tyrannical towards others. All the emotions that move human beings, all the soft and enervating feelings of kinship, love, friendship, gratitude and honor, must give way to a cold and single-minded passion for revolution. For him there exists only one pleasure, one consolation, one reward, one satisfaction—the success of the revolution. Night and day he must have but one thought, but one aim—merciless destruction. Coldly, relentlessly, he pursues his aim, and he must be prepared to perish himself, as he must be prepared to destroy with his own hands those who stand in his way.[16]

A revolutionary organization engaged in a life and death struggle with the rest of society precluded any internal disagreement. Bakunin, for instance, conceived a secret organization with a disciplined membership, a system of strict control of its members, and a rigidly centralized authority vested in one man only. Bakunin's secret society was to consist of three separate and independent groups which would function under different names and would be unacquainted with one another. Each one of these three groups was to operate in a different stratum of society. But each group was to be subject to a rigid hierarchy of power and each member of the group subjected to unconditional obedience to his superiors.

These secret societies were to be limited to a small number of people and were to include, as far as possible, only able, experienced, energetic, and influential men, professional conspirators, who, in strict obedience to a central control would lead the masses. All three secret societies were to be coordinated by a central committee which would have consisted of Bakunin and of three or four other members selected by him. Bakunin wanted

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of strata, whose interests were often conflicting. There were the *obshchiniki* (the communal landholders), the *otrubniki* (the peasant private property owners), the *khutoriane* (isolated homestead owners), the *bednyaki* (the poor and indebted peasants), the *serednyaki* (the middle peasants), and the *kulaki*. Finally, there were still the pomeshchiki who owned manorial estates with arable lands, timber-forests and pasture grounds. These were, however, gradually selling their land to the better-off peasants.

The peasant private landholders prospered better than those in the communes. The yield per acre on communal lands has always been much lower than on the private lands. The communal landholders had to rely for a part of their income on wages. These they got as seasonal industrial workers or as agricultural laborers on the lands of the landed gentry. They also worked on the lands of better-off individual peasant property owners whom they resented and called *"novye pomeshchiki"* (the new squires). The poor, landless, and indebted peasants antagonized the better-off peasants. The lower and the middle peasants resented the kulaks and the pomeshchiki.

At the same time the individualization of the Great-Russian peasantry was proceeding very slowly in spite of government help and encouragement. By 1912 the proportion of consolidated peasant holdings, as compared to those remaining in the communal system, was less than 11 percent. Between 1907 and 1915 only about 20 percent of the peasants left land commune.[16] This slow decommunalization did not, however, indicate lack of desire for private land ownership. The reasons for the persistence of the old communal land system lay in the shortage of land, in peasant poverty, in vested interests within the village commune, and finally in traditional lack of self-reliance among the peasants.

As long as a large part of the Great-Russian peasantry remained in the system of communal landholding where lack of initiative and primitive techniques of cultivation prevailed, no great general improvement in land cultivation and in the standard of living of the peasantry could have been expected in spite of all government efforts. Thus, economically insecure and

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of foreign loans and investments the process of industrialization and of economic autarchy, which was needed to develop military potential necessary to withstand internal and external threats, was proceeding at too slow a pace. This situation made it imperative for the impatient and insecure ruling class to have at hand goods available for quick export in order to buy foreign machinery and to industrialize and militarize the country at a higher speed.

The peasants in the meantime were busy in making improvements on their possessions and in raising the amount of food for home consumption. Increased peasant consumption of food however meant decrease of the crops available both for export and for the needs of fast growing urban strata which were being created as a result of a speedy industrialization. Also lack of regulation of agricultural production meant that planting and sowing were designed to a large extent to satisfy the home needs of the peasant, and only to a lesser extent those of the national or foreign market.

This meant that as long as a large section of the peasantry remained as independent producers there was always a danger that the ruling class might not have at its disposal sufficient quantities of marketable products. And the more the ruling faction felt insecure in its power, the more this potential threat of an economically independent peasantry seemed real and close. This feeling of insecurity and mistrust of the Bolsheviks was manifested in their hatred of the peasantry. "The peasant who has two cows is already an enemy," they would say. Hence the Party hierarchy made the decision not only to abolish the economic independence of the peasants, but also to "destroy peasantry as a class" by means of collectivization.

In their determination to "destroy peasantry as a class," the Bolsheviks first incited the poor and the medium peasants against the "kulaks" and then the landless against the small peasant owners. The Bolshevik agitators took advantage also of the traditional tensions within peasant families and aroused son against father and brother against brother. Thus inciting and exploiting resentments and hostilities between various peasant strata and taking advantage of family antagonisms, the Bolsheviks were able

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to force the peasants to join the collectives and the state farms. Those who opposed such policies were resettled or banished to convict labor camps. Many were massacred. According to Stalin ten million peasants became victims of this "class war."[5]

In order to insure their complete control over the farming population, the Bolshevik leaders sent the most trusted Party people from the city to the village to manage the newly formed *kolhozes*. These *novye bary* (new lords), as the peasants called them, installed themselves in the mansions of former estate owners and kept themselves at a considerable distance from the rural population, not unlike the former serf-owners. And not unlike the former gentry the new masters were also bent upon extracting maximum labor from the peasantry with minimum reward.

Under such conditions, the peasants, in the first outbursts of their reaction against this state of abusive submission resorted to outward aggression in the form of traditional uprisings. They burnt their crops and slaughtered their cattle rather than collectivize them. It is estimated that almost two-thirds of the entire livestock and a large part of the crops were destroyed.[6] Such a situation affected even the Ukraine, the "granary of Russia" and greatly contributed to the famine of 1932–33 in which hundreds of thousands of people died of starvation and epidemics. It was by such active rebellion that the peasantry forced the Party into a temporary retreat. The Party had to appease the peasants by giving each peasant household the right to retain in private use a small plot of land, and also in private possession a limited number of livestock. Also, private trade in agricultural products was restored in a limited degree.[7]

These were however only temporary concessions, since the Bolsheviks were determined to completely "industrialize" the peasantry as a means of political and economic control. Following such aims the highest possible degree of specialization in farm operation has been fostered and the members of the same family have been assigned to different, spacially separated activities. In this manner the agricultural brigade instead of the peasant family became the basic unit of agricultural production. For the same reason the highest possible degree of mechanization of

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chooses to consider that the interests of the children have not been safeguarded.[5] In such cases parental rights might be lost for up to five years.[6] According to the Soviet educational philosophy it is expected that the parents will *rear* the children, but that the public organizations under the Party's supervision will instruct and supervise parents in the ways of *Communist upbringing* of children.[7]

The Party considers it to be its duty to arouse antagonism of children against parents when such action is necessary in the interest of the survival of the Soviet regime. As mentioned earlier, planned rift between fathers and sons was, for instance, employed to speed up the process of collectivization. Commissar of Agriculture Jakovlev, speaking before a Party congress on the struggle against the kulaks, stated that "In a number of cases, the children of the kulaks are made to revolt against their parents, and thus the kulak families are divided and the kulaks still more isolated." The Party has also been known to take advantage of family conflicts to encourage the children to spy on their parents and to denounce them to the political police:

> Russian parents had to be very careful of what they said in the presence of their own children, and even of how they disciplined their children. One boy, Pavlik Morosov, was built up as a hero among youth because he had denounced his father who was organizing resistance against the kolhoz. Great propaganda was made about this boy. A book was written about him. Actually he became a hero to most children.[8]

In times of political "purges" there were frequent notices in the Soviet papers in which the children of the parents who were politically persecuted publicly renounced their parents.[9] That was the only way they could escape the vengeance of a regime which had revived the tradition of family hostages and used it as an instrument of political conformity.

The Bolsheviks consider that since "one's way of life is a social matter . . . a matter of national policy,"[10] the Party has the right to interfere even in pre-marital and extra-marital sex relations, as well as in the relations between the spouses. "Young Communist organizations cannot remain neutral when the con-

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welcomed them as liberators in World War II, indicate such possibilities.

III

In studying personality growth in the Soviet society, one should take into account also the differences between the urban and the rural environments and the influences of those environments on interpersonal relations within the family circle. Owing to the very rapid pace of urbanization and low rate of production of consumption goods, most of the families located in the urban areas are exposed to the housing shortage and lack of home privacy. Many of these families live in community apartments in which there is only one room per family and in which a number of unrelated families share a common kitchen and toilet facilities. Family conflicts and tensions tend to be intensified in such circumstances. Lack of privacy, noisiness, and lack of sleep in crowded quarters, together with the lack of sufficient food, long hours of work and unsatisfactory conditions of work increase dissatisfactions and magnify existing family conflicts. An outlet for dissatisfactions is found then in trivial scandals and bickering, in petty squabbles, but also in violent emotional outbursts.[31]

Conditions in rural areas are somewhat different. Though virtually all peasant families live in one or at most two-room cottages, which they often share with a few heads of livestock, yet the rural family does have its own privacy. Most peasant families possess a small lot of land around the cottage, on which they raise some poultry or a pig; some might even own a cow. Though this is all very modest, yet with some labor, after the work for the kolhoz has been done, the peasant family has been able to raise some food on its own property and perhaps to sell it on the open market and then buy some clothing and other bare necessities.[32]

Compared to the situation of the city worker, the peasant, though receiving lower wages for his work, and often going in rags, perhaps does feel relatively more independent. If he is an adult with a family he is much less likely to be pushed around, though he is constantly exhorted by kolhoz officials to work more

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reason or another feel rejected, non-accepted, humiliated, oppressed or ostracized in their own society and who find in these parties an opportunity to vent their accumulated grievances and pent-up hostilities. But they also tend to attract people who for idealistic and humanistic reasons seek Utopias of all-human brotherhood. They attract ambitious and talented intellectuals and semi-educated people who have been thwarted in their professional and political expectations; also intellectuals and semi-intelligentsia with mediocre abilities but strong urges for self-assertion and desire for leadership and domination. They also attract many patriots belonging to oppressed nationalities or races, who have identified themselves with their nation, race or ethnic and cultural minority and seek acceptance of their group in a Communistic millenium. In times of social upheavals these parties attract also many adventurers, criminals, vagabonds, and other deviants and offenders.

It is, however, people overcharged with destructive aggression who in these parties tend to climb toward the top levels of Party leadership, because it is such people to whom the Party offers great opportunities for their destructive urges and who therefore tend to be unconditionally loyal to Moscow as contrasted to the more moderate and more humane and patriotic elements, who for one reason or another might not want always to accept Moscow's dictate. As a result of such internal conditions the history of all Communist parties has been a history of internal intrigues, splits, purges, and frequent bloodshed which in turn made it easier to completely subdue these organizations to the will of the Kremlin:

. . . those who disorganize the Party are to be flayed without mercy. Championing as we do working class unity, we shall with so much more energy and irreconcilability fight for unity within our Parties. There can be no room in our Parties for factions, or for attempts at factionalism. Whoever will try to break up the iron unity of our ranks by any kind of factionalism will get to feel what is meant by the Bolshevik discipline that Lenin and Stalin have always taught us (applause) . . . *The Party is above everything else!* (Loud applause) To guard the Bolshevik unity of the Party as the apple of one's eye is the first and highest law of Bolshevism![88]

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175 cratic Czar. By the time of Ivan the Terrible, the power of the in-
642 dependent landed aristocracy was suppressed, and the autocratic power rested now on a service nobility who were given lands in conditional possession depending upon their service and their loyalty to the Czar. These people therefore found themselves in a slave-like dependency upon the ruler who was likened to God, a situation that promoted political and social regimentation and fostered domineering-subservience relationships, thus intensifying the existing incompatibilities between the upper and lower strata of the Czardom.

[157] Domineering-subservience relationships are likely to breed humiliating experiences of self-abasement and feelings of wounded self-esteem which in turn might foster intense hostilities as well as compensatory ideas of grandeur. Thus in new circumstances, both self-seeking and power-orientation were reinforced in the upper strata, and manifested themselves in the oppressive rule of the nobility, in their extreme factionalism, and in their ruthless struggle for personal power and for the favors of the Czar.

[566] This trend of events, by the second part of the sixteenth century, led to establishment of serfdom and to direct interference of the service nobility and of the government in the communal and family relations of the peasantry. From this time on, the Church, the State and the landlords joined hands in strengthening the power of the Father and of the village elders and sponsoring in the peasant family and in the village community, dominance-submission relationships, absolute power and dependence, blind obedience and self-abnegation.

181 The inevitable clash of this new power-oriented social philoso-
• [579] phy with the old stateless and equalitarian values, was reflected in intense family and community tensions and in mass restlessness. Thus a weakening of power and of controls on any level—family, local, or national—opened the way to urges of destructive aggression and revolt against all the holders of power: the fathers, the village elders, the landlords, the Church and the Czar. Outbreaks of such extreme enmity were manifested in frequent communal riots, in mass vagrancy, in bloody revolutionary uprisings, and in widespread dissent from the official

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623 626 [661] a fiction. Lacking means of physical enforcement because of the lack of a centralized political system, common action could take place only among those who voluntarily agreed. But when small bands of mounted warriors imposed their rule over the multitudes of non-warlike peasantry, the power-oriented conquerors made use of the Old-Slavonic system of unanimity for purposes of regimentation and governmentalization from above. That is, they imposed a dictated consensus by means of force else the opposition of the peasant majority would soon have deprived the ruling minority of its power.

634 [152] In this manner a number of band chieftains of nomadic origin ruled groupings of small peasant communities, in the form of manorial principalities. Each one of these local potentates, even though Slavicized in speech or born in mixed families, still exhibited extreme self-seeking characteristics and cherished personal power and aggrandizement above everything else, a tenet that had characterized his nomadic predecessors. Each, therefore, following steppe traditions, had a scheme of his own; each was interested primarily in accumulating riches for himself and his immediate family. In consequence, these local princes and their war bands constantly intrigued and fought among themselves. They also transferred their personal and factional strifes to the neighboring towns of burghers. In these squabbles and struggle for power and expansion, the feuding princes and fighting factions did not hesitate to call on the common enemies in their neighborhoods, such as the steppe marauders or the Viking pirates to come in and help them defeat their opponents.

[579] 628 [487] [177] It was in the course of such an internecine strife (*vsta rod na rod*) in Novgorod region in the middle of the ninth century that a band of Scandinavian merchant-pirates was called on to come and help one clique of native princes against the other.[18] These "Varangians" not only came in but stayed, founding later the Russian state in the Dnieper river basin, at that time the most important merchant thoroughfare in that part of the world. These Norse conquerors and state builders were soon assimilated by the natives. In the course of time a series of new principalities was formed and old factional bickerings and fratricidal warfare was renewed.[19]

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the mind of the burghers. As a result, the city folk changed their attitude and instead of haughty bearing they now "bow low" to Mikula.

Ilya of Murom, the other hero of peasant origin, is portrayed as "being crippled" for many years. Then suddenly he acquires gigantic strength from two sources: from psalm singers and from Svyatogor, a hero of supernatural origin and superhuman powers. By means of this acquired strength and by employing cunning, Ilya gets rid of Svyatogor and, like Mikula, joins the bandit-warriors. However, the professional warriors do not accept Ilya on equal terms because of his low origin. But by constant demonstration of superior physical strength employed as a means of intimidation Ilya is finally accepted by the ruling military aristocracy. After a terrifying demonstration of physical strength which shook the whole town to its foundation Prince Vladimir became so panicky that he hurried a messenger to humbly invite Ilya to a prince's feast:

> Knock upon the door five times
> Then cross yourself in the prescribed manner
> Make your bow as it is enjoined,
> Offer humble salutations, and beat with your forehead
> Upon the floor of bricks,
> Upon damp mother earth herself,
> Before the old Cossack, Ilya of Murom.[26]

It seems clear that in these two heroes of peasant origin we find reflected the vicissitudes to which the Old-Slavonic society has been exposed after it has been subjugated to warriors and traders. The moral and productive values of the peasants, symbolized by Mikula's strength, his skill in productiveness, his social responsibility and feelings of dignity and equality, were rapidly declining in the changing conditions. The peasants became an easy prey of the new ruling classes. The result was moral corruption on the part of the soil cultivators, disinterest in land, and an urge to revolt. The peasantry became "crippled." First they expected help from supernatural forces. Then finally they began to rely on guile and on terror to protect themselves. They realized that in the new political atmosphere it was superior physical force which was admired and respected. Many peasants

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therefore were leaving the land to move to the cities or to join the bandits as traders and warriors.

These bandit-warriors are pictured in the Russian folk epic as ruling by such terrifying violence and dreadful terror and craft that all the living beings on the earth flee and hide, or lie prostrate, and even the earth itself shrinks and the sun sinks away at their appearance:

> The red sun was sinking
> Behind the dark woods, behind the broad sea,
> Multitudes of stars studded the clear sky
> When Lord Volga Buslavlevich was born
> In holy Russia.
> When Volga Buslavlevich was five years of age,[27]
> Lord Volga Buslavlevich went forth over the damp earth
> Damp mother earth was rent,
> The wild beasts fled away up to the clouds;
> And the fish scattered in the blue sea:
> And Lord Volga Buslavlevich went
> To learn all craft and wisdom,
> All the various languages;[28]
>
> Volga grew in strength and stature.
> He chose for himself a bold druzhina,
> Of thirty youths save one,
> He, Volga making the thirtieth.
> His dear 'uncle' bestowed upon him,
> Gracious Vladimir of Royal Kiev,
> Three cities with their peasants.[29]

The hero knights of these legendary *Byliny* (the events of the olden days) when they find themselves in circumstances which appear to be under their control, are likely to be boastful, quarrelsome, disrespectful, sensitive to rank and inclined to belittle the strength of their adversaries. In such circumstances they spend their time either in plundering, fighting, maiming and killing, or in feasting, debauchery, and drunkenness.[30]

The extreme power-compulsion and delusions of grandeur of these supermen, as well as their complete lack of self-control, are well symbolized in folk narratives about Svyatogor. This hero has an irresistible urge to bring the heaven and the earth to-

6; Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

level violence was manifested in frequent beatings of wife and children, and on the rural community level in habitual drunkenness that often ended in brawls and even murder.[19] In conditions which foster human degradation and lack of trust, both self-seeking and vindictiveness flourish. Hence the Great-Russian peasant was inclined to commit atrocious acts of revenge against people whom he considered as his persecutors or who caused him any harm. When threatening with revenge the Great-Russian peasant was likely to say: "You will pay me with your own blood" (*Ty u menya kroviyu svoey umoeshsya*). Killing as a revenge, burning hay-ricks, barns and homes was a common occurrence. The peasants were likely to organize a collective hunt against real or fancied malefactors and mutilate them or put them to death by means of torture:

> For murder and robbery, death of the culprit—sometimes with mutilation by cutting and tearing off of various parts of his body. For horse-theft and grand larceny they practice sometimes hammering of iron nails into the head and forcing of wooden pins under the nails and also merciless beating even onto death; . . . in some instances the case ends by maiming the thief and letting him go.[19]

At the same time the frontiersmen and professional warriors, such as the Cossacks, became renowned and widely admired because of their deeds of vindictiveness and violence. War was a great opportunity for people with such inclinations. As Gogol has put it, the Cossacks found a great delight in "accumulating booty from raided towns, putting the villages and the fields on fire, and spreading their glories by far and wide throughout the steppe" in order "to revenge themselves for all evil and humiliation."[20] There were numerous robber and Cossack songs which told about such exploits, and expressed desire for vindictiveness and destructive aggression.

Destructive aggression was nursed on the patriarchal family level and reinforced by conditions in the local community. Thus as soon as the controls of the authorities would weaken, mass revolts would come into the open. Such a behavior in turn was used by the local authorities as a justification for their strictness in dealing with the peasants:

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Speaking of the character of the peasants Mr. Karnovitch observed, that whoever has to exercise authority over them must above all things guard against indecision, whether in word or act. The Russian always requires a definite command; and in disputes, if the settlement be distinct and pre-emptory, he will be satisfied, whether the sentence is favorable or unfavorable, wise or unwise. If there be hesitation, he immediately becomes intractable, while a resolute command has a magical influence which he cannot resist.[21]

In such a society which is kept together by naked force rather than by moral bonds, breakdown of controls easily results in revolt and upheavals, in widespread bloodshed and destruction. On such occasions, just like the raznochintsy intelligentsia, the peasants, too, tended to revolt against all forms of humiliation and oppressive submission and demanded reestablishment of the old community relations, in which truth and justice and equalitarian brotherhood of man prevailed.

Such forms of peasant protest, which were directed against all the authorities, the family, community elders, the landlord, the Church and the state, will be discussed on the following pages.

18
RELIGIOUS REVOLT OF THE PEASANTRY

I

THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH which in the course of its history came to be completely subjected to the state and was made an instrument of governing, supported the lay authorities in their policies of enserfment. But the state had meagerly rewarded the Church for such services. The revenues from the land donations given to the parishes by the state or by the landlords were not sufficient to maintain the parish priests and their families. The village priests therefore depended for their living upon the fees which the peasants

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the peasantry, and appealed to their deeply rooted hostilities against the ruling classes, and against all people of means. In their proclamations to the peasantry they stated that "the land belongs to those who till it." They incited the peasants to appropriate by force hay, pasture, and timber. They also encouraged violence and murder against all those whom they held responsible for their plight.[9]

As a result of such propaganda and agitation combined with economic and social difficulties, peasant disturbances were renewed and increased in frequency and intensity. They led to the events of 1905. That year the government suffered a considerable loss of prestige because of the defeat on the battlefield (the Japanese War of 1904–1905). In such circumstances (the same as after the Crimean War), fear and awe and unconditional obedience—the foundations of Czarist rule—were shaken, internal disturbances ensued and threatened the existence of the Czardom. By this time the revolutionary eruptions of the peasantry were combined with those of the industrial proletariat. Between January and April, 1905, there were about 660,000 workers on economic and political strikes.[10] In October of the same year there was again a general strike.

In that month also a general peasant rising took place embracing three hundred districts in 47 gubernias. Again it was the central and southern regions that took the lead;[11] and again the gubernias in which the landlords suffered the heaviest losses were predominantly those where the system of repartitional land tenure prevailed over the system of individual peasant households and of hereditary holdings. In the communities with communal land holdings the dissatisfaction was greatest and violence ran especially high.

The activities of the Social Revolutionaries in the village were joined by those of the Bolsheviks. By the beginning of the twentieth century a wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party, the Bolsheviks, who earlier scorned the peasants and worked exclusively among the urban proletariat, began to pay more attention to the Russian village. They became impressed by the frequency and the intensity of the peasants' disturbances and realized that the peasantry presented potentially very ex-

7:Lineva B-5 (no date)1893 RF1 Great Russia RF1

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The Mustaches have met in the grogshop,
And sat down in a circle by themselves;
The biggest Mustache was the chief of them all,
Gryshka Mourishka, a nobleman's son.

And he says, stroking his mustaches:
"Brethren mine, you bold Mustaches,
"The summer is passing, the winter is near,
"And we must consider how we will feed our bellies."

"Go, boys, and grind up your axes,
"Have the blacksmith make pikes for you,
"Whet your long knives to a good edge—
"For we shall need all these weapons soon."

"I know of a man who is very rich,
"And he lives on a mountain far away;
"He does not plow, but has wheat to sell,
"And the money for it he puts in a box."

[571] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries organized bands of robbers were frequent in Russia and were a ready refuge for young men, unable to bear the petty restrictions of law and custom at home. As they also often were protectors and avengers of the poor, they were rather popular with the masses; the strain of romance in their mode of life added to the regard in which they were held. For these reasons the number of robber songs, which passed amongst the people was quite great.

Mustache was probably the nick-name of some robber chief, adorned with particularly long mustaches, and his gang may have been called after him—the Bold Mustaches.

[533] A peculiarity of the robber songs is that they are hardly ever executed as solos; many other songs are used by a single voice as well as choir, but these it is customary to render by many voices together. This fact evidently is directly connected with the essence of the subject, which they deal with, as robbers did their work also in organized bands.

This same feature is observed in the laboring songs, which are translated herein; they also must be sung by a choir, as the work must be done by a gang of men together.

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F. BARGEMEN'S SONG.

16. VOLGA.

Down the Volga, down our mother river,
Down the broad and long river,
A storm has arisen,
Not a little storm either.
The waves run high;
Nothing can be seen in the waves,
But a small red boat.
White shine its sails,
And black are the caps of the rowers.
The master stands at the stern,
Dressed in his best attire.

This song is a favorite one with the bargemen on the river Volga, and is also much liked all over Russia; hardly a boating party takes place without the singing of the *Volga*.

This song originated amongst the robbers who used to infest the river Volga in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; they organized themselves into large bands and captured vessels; sometimes they were powerful enough to go out to sea and take and plunder large towns on the coast. [539]

The song describes the sailing of a band on the river in stormy weather; the crew is well dressed and the chief is in holiday attire. They are going down the river, and are going to carry away a young woman, who is waiting for them.

The song is quite old, several hundred years, but has been preserved in nearly the original form. The sustained boldness and freedom of the tune seem in perfect consonance with the storm on a broad and deep river.

G. LABORING SONGS.

17. HEAVE, HO!

(*Ay, oukhnem.*)

Oh, heave, ho!
Oh heave ho!

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single, the girl is allowed some freedom; she has more time at her disposal, she can go about with her friends, attend parties, etc. When married, the cares of her new position, the necessity of harder work for her new family and her altered position amongst people who are strangers to her and who look upon her as an intruder—all these reasons keep her in the house, and her time for social recreation is past. Therefore girlhood is considered the golden time in the life of a young woman, and a girl looks with dread and apprehension upon her approaching marriage; but on the other hand, love prompts her to join her husband and she hopes that his love will compensate her for what she will have to endure. In this way there is a mixture of grief and joy in the whole ceremony.

The weddings are nearly all held in the late fall or winter, when the field work is over for the year, the harvest sold and the family knows how much money it can afford to spend. When the old people have decided that their child shall marry, they ask him or her whom he or she likes best and whom next best. Marriage, it must be remembered, is often a business matter; there must be a wedding and at the chosen period. In fact, a marriage at any other time of the year is an exception. In this way it comes about that all the marriageable girls in the village are expecting their offers to come during the same week in the fall or winter, and are ready for them.

The room is cleaned and lighted up every night, the old people and the girl stay at home, while the smaller children run about the village, looking into the windows to find out how things are going on in their neighbors' houses.

The preliminaries are usually arranged between the two families, the marriage being really more the affair of these, than of the two young people themselves, since it is in fact the giving up of a working-hand by one family and her adoption into another one. The arrangements are made by friends or go-betweens. It is customary that a female relation of the groom goes to ask for the hand of the girl, and is then called a *svakha*. With her goes some old male relation or friend, who knows all the necessary forms of ceremony and is a persuasive talker; he is

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562 611 [583] *korobka* (chest) of her own. When a girl married, she took her korobka, together with the property given her by her father or brothers, to her new home as a dowry and was allowed to dispose freely of it. At the same time her husband was not responsible for her debts.[10] When a married woman died, if childless, her [428] korobka, as a rule, returned to her mother (matrilineal succession) and only if her mother was not alive, to her father. In some provinces the husband would inherit his wife's property if he lived with her four years or more.[11] If she had children, her property was inherited by both sons and daughters equally.[12]

Matriarchal traits are evident in contemporary folk philosophy and many folk customs in the Bielorussian villages as well as in some parts of the Ukraine. In the oral poetry of these [772] people, for instance, the sun is represented as a female who is wooing the moon, her bridegroom. In some songs of these peasant folk the maidens contend with the male youths in duels and defeat them.[13] Even today in some of these regions it is often the girls who take the initiative in finding their suitors. During harvest festivals, it is the maidens who play the leading part. Traces [583] of the capture of the bridegroom still persist in the folk customs of the Ukraine. In Ukrainian and Bielorussian folk poetry [593] women, especially the mother, play a very significant role, while the place of the father is less outstanding. In popular opinion in this area, the consent of the mother in the marriage of a daughter is considered more important than that of the father.

• 582 Marriage among the Old-Slavonic peasant folk was endogamous within the village community and perhaps even within the joint household community (*verv, zadruga*)—not unlike in the Croatian zadruga of our days.[14] There was also, apparently, 593 a particularly developed brother-sister attachment as is manifested by brother-sister incest which seems to have taken place occasionally in some Russian regions until recently.[15] There were, therefore, abundant opportunities for emotional attachments in the Old-Slavonic family, since there were no external political, economic, or social pressures that might have disturbed internal equalitarian family relationships. Such relationships have persisted until present times in certain parts of Ukraine:

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(*sud*). Accordingly, in the mind of these people, the universe and peace (*mir*) were also identical.[28]

Great calamities occasionally befell the Old-Slavonic communities—frequent raids and plundering by the invaders and slave hunters; then cattle plagues and epidemics. These were thought to have been brought on by certain demons and malevolent ghosts, but the Polesie people knew of ways to cope even with such disasters. Contagious diseases were prevented or stopped by means of magic, especially by the magical powers of women. As for their enemies, the soil cultivators of the Dnieper basin were not prepared for any offensive or defensive warfare and were an easy prey for many aggressors. Being not armed, their defense consisted of hiding themselves. They sought safety in impenetrable marshes and forests and even resorted to such ruses as lying submerged on the bottoms of marshes and breathing by means of cane sticks until the danger was over.[29]

Since the Old-Slavonic agriculturists contracted their marriage unions early in life, as a means of labor supply and since they were not exposed to exhaustion of constant warfare, the region which they originally inhabited soon reached its limits of population. Thus, in spite of their autarchic and intensive agricultural techniques and their attachment to the soil, the early Slav folk were forced to leave their original habitat in search of new lands. They did not migrate in a fury and did not traverse great distances like the mounted nomads of the steppes; rather, they moved slowly and quietly for short distances and by stages always keeping in touch with the mother community from which they had sprung.

In this manner the Old-Slavonic tillers penetrated new regions and territories, not by force and conquest like the predatory steppe raiders, but by cultivating new soil along the river basins, in the midst of forest clearings, drained marshes or irrigated steppes. Living in village communities which remained ethnically uninterrupted, they transplanted and perpetuated in their new homes their native agricultural techniques, their beliefs and customs, their family and community organization, as well as their philosophy of life. Thus as late as the twentieth century, the social organization and personality traits of the Zadruga peo-

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Family centrism, family isolation, and lack of trust in one's neighbor were apparently projected into the supernatural world where one's own Domovoy, though at times arbitrary, ill-tempered and spiteful, was generally considered to be benevolent—bringing good luck to the household which was under his care and solicitude. The neighbor's Domovoy, on the other hand, was always a malevolent and wicked being who could never be propitiated and who was likely to steal your hay or drive away your cattle for the benefit of the home which was under his protection. The Russian peasants, therefore, developed means of defense against the neighbor's Domovoy in the form of spells and exorcisms.

Lack of social trust is not favorable to the development of solidarity within a community. Therefore lack of group identification among the peasants and burghers, the same as the lack of the *esprit de corps* among the nobility, contributed to the perpetuation of the autocratic rule. Lack of communal identifications was an obstacle to the turning of group hostilities against the ruling classes. In such circumstances a great deal of personal aggressiveness had to find outlets and targets within the local community and within the family circle itself. Only when the authorities suffered crushing defeat and loss of prestige the hostilities would turn against them and mass uprisings would take place, demanding re-establishment of old communal values.

With the ascendancy of the otsovskaya system, family relations came to be organized in a hierarchical system along the lines of paternity, marriage status, seniority and sex. At one time, only married male members formed the family council (soviet). The males had priority over the females. Within each sex category the elder had priority rights over the younger. When the family was partitioned, custom demanded that the older brothers leave the ancestral home while the youngest, following Mongol traditions, remained on the paternal *koren* (root).[4] In marrying the daughters it was the eldest who had to be married first.

In the patriarchal family, in their relations to the father, all family members were expected to accept his rule with fear and awe (*strakh*) and with humility (*smirenie*). They had to show absolute submission and blind obedience (*besprekoslovnoe povinovenie*),[5] as well as love and gratitude (*blagodarnost*).[6]

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II

[582] 606 Perhaps as a result of family centeredness and the need of keeping a distance from one's neighbor, there developed the practice of looking for the bride not in one's own but in another, more remote locality. Brides from afar, who did not have an opportunity to keep frequent contact with their own parents, were considered not only more amenable to control and easier to assimilate, but less dangerous from the point of view of the family's collective responsibility and isolation. "Do not buy a horse nor marry a daughter of your neighbor: both will run away"; "Get a wife from afar, buy a cow from near," the people would say.

[584] Very often there was nothing for a girl to look forward to in her new family. Her mate was not of her choice; he and his family were often complete strangers to her. She might not have even seen any of them before the day of her marriage. Wedding songs always refer to the bridegroom, his home, his father, and his village as "the abode of the strangers," "the unknown, far off land." As soon as the father had "stuck the hands" with the match-maker, the bride-to-be would start to lament and implore her father not to "give her away to the strangers." On the eve of the bride's marriage, her girl friends would come to her home and spend all evening singing *piesni plachevia*—"weeping songs,"[10] while the bride would cry and wail continuously. In these songs the future bride imagines herself as being left completely alone and without any affection in a distant, unknown and unfriendly world.[11]

[538] The anxieties and fears felt by the bride when going away to marry a stranger in a "strange land" might have found, perhaps, a symbolic expression in the *Zmey* tales. Zmey is a mythical being whose function is to deceive and rape young maidens and keep them forever in captivity. In the Great-Russian folk tales the Zmey is pictured as a terrifying "winged" and "many-headed" monster which throws fire from his nostrils and his mouth, but assumes the form of a youth of marvelous beauty before he abducts his victim.[12]

The prospect of the bride's relations with her husband's

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178 In the new secularized and urbanized society, also, the position
565 of the clergy became increasingly precarious. Like other insti-
793 tutions of the Czardom the Russian Orthodox Church was organ-
ized along the lines of sharp social differentiation and domi-
nance-submission relationships. Russian Orthodox clergy as a
whole formed a closed caste institution. All lay clergymen and
many monastics were recruited from among the members of the
[582] families of lay clergy. Endogamous marriage was practiced
within this caste. The church maintained its own schools for
both the sons and the daughters of clergymen. In this manner
[184] the clergy had been separated from the rest of the society and
had developed a sub-culture of its own. The clerics were set
apart from others not only by their priestly garb, but by their
manners, and even by their names.

792 Internally, however, within the ranks of the Orthodox clergy
793 there was a sharp distinction between the monastic order (black
554 clergy) and the secular priesthood (white clergy). The monastic
order was rich in land donations and other possessions and all
the Church hierarchy was recruited from among its ranks. The
secular clergy was not only subordinate to the monastics, but
also poor. Among the secular clergy sharp class distinction ex-
isted between the city clergy and the village priests. This dif-
ferentiation was manifested in the differences in income, educa-
tion and prestige, as well as in the lack of intermarriage between
these strata. The difference was also reflected in the attitudes of
[364] the laity. While the city clergy were socially accepted by the mid-
dle and lower urban layers, the village priests were rather iso-
lated from the rest of the population.

However, the sharpest difference and social distance existed between the Church hierarchy and the rank-and-file clergymen. The heads of monasteries, for instance, behaved like real magnates. They took in large revenues, kept servants, horses and carriages, and hardly shared in the life of their monastic brothers, even though these Church dignitaries resided in monasteries. In the same way, the bishops were inclined to belittle the lay clergy under their control. They treated them with a great want of respect. They would abuse them, insult them and then even flog them.

2/4 [i.e. developing in the second half of the XIXth century -- Analyst]

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duct of its members in love and family life run counter to the ethics of Soviet Man."[11] The fundamental motivation behind this interference in love and sex life is political control. "Moral corruption brings political corruption,"[12] the Bolsheviks say. It is in accordance with such a line of thought that it is considered to be the duty of one to inform on his or her own spouse. Such behavior is especially expected of a Party member. Therefore "A prudent Russian today hesitates to confide in even his wife too fully."[13]

At the same time while the Soviet family laws and Soviet philosophy and practices tend to favor Party and government supervision of family relations and in some cases sharpen family conflicts, they also endeavor to enforce family discipline over children, and to strengthen the sense of mutual responsibility among family members. The Bolsheviks, however, do not encourage development of the sense of kinship loyalty which might go counter to the interests of the state. The Soviet family laws have broadened the concept of family to all ascending and descending lines and to brothers and sisters. In case any one of these relatives is needy or incapacitated, the others have the obligation of support.[14] Emphasis on family responsibility is manifested also in the provision of the law of 1926 which, contrary to the Russian traditions, abolished the principle of separate property of the spouses.[15]

In accordance with new policy, factual or non-registered marriage which earlier enjoyed state protection was denied that privilege and a decree in 1944 ruled that "only registered marriage confers the rights and obligations of spouses."[16] A decree of the same year ruled that divorce is allowed only in case the wish of one or even both parties who seek divorce coincides with the "government's recognition of necessity to dissolve marriage."[17] Moreover in order to make divorce proceeding prohibitive and marriage practically indissoluble, a long judicial procedure was established. In the course of this long procedure the parties must clarify the motives for divorce and bring witnesses. Also high divorce fees were introduced. And to facilitate state interference, nó grounds for divorce were stated or specified in the decree.

However, the procedural instructions concerning this decree

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and hence, no group support could be found if a leader had attempted to form a centralized political authority or an imperial system over the whole area. The old Russian Chronicle of Kiev (12th century) describing a tribe with such a culture (the Polians) states that among them each kindred group (*rod*) lived in its own separate locality and had its own government.[4]

In a like manner, principles of dignity and moderation, as well as personal autonomy and lack of coerciveness, prevailed in family relations of these people. The Chronicle, for instance, states:

> The Polians had customs of their fathers, customs mild and peaceful (*krotok i tikh*); they showed a kind of reserve (*stydenie*) towards their daughters-in-law (*snokha*) and their sisters, towards their mothers and their parents, towards their fathers-in-law and their brothers-in-law; to all of the persons named they showed great reserve. They had marriage cusoms: the bridegroom did not go to seek his bride; she was taken to him in the evening, and the following morning they brought what belonged to her (*chto vdaduche*).[5]

It appears that the family organization of the Polians rested on mutual respect of all family members; that the bride brought the dowry which remained her personal property; that she might have had the initiative in wooing. This contention is supported by other evidence. Cosmas Pragensis, for instance, speaking of the old Bohemian Slavs, states: "It is not the men who choose the maids, but the maids themselves who take the husbands they like, and when they like."[6] A French writer who visited Ukraine in the seventeenth century wrote: "In Ukraine, contrary to the customs of all other nations, the husbands do not choose their wives, but are themselves chosen by their future consorts."[7]

There is also other evidence concerning some matriarchal traits of the early Slavs.[8] Throughout ages, women of the plains betwen the Dnieper and the Volga maintained property rights over their dowries and also over income from vegetables, poultry, dairy products and yarn that they produced and sold, though such rights were not recognized to men.[9] Although a woman in Russia did not have any claim to the property of her father or her brother, and only a limited right to that of her husband, she had the privilege, denied to a man, of saving and building up a

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korobka (chest) of her own. When a girl married, she took her korobka, together with the property given her by her father or brothers, to her new home as a dowry and was allowed to dispose freely of it. At the same time her husband was not responsible for her debts.[10] When a married woman died, if childless, her korobka, as a rule, returned to her mother (matrilineal succession) and only if her mother was not alive, to her father. In some provinces the husband would inherit his wife's property if he lived with her four years or more.[11] If she had children, her property was inherited by both sons and daughters equally.[12]

Matriarchal traits are evident in contemporary folk philosophy and many folk customs in the Bielorussian villages as well as in some parts of the Ukraine. In the oral poetry of these people, for instance, the sun is represented as a female who is wooing the moon, her bridegroom. In some songs of these peasant folk the maidens contend with the male youths in duels and defeat them.[13] Even today in some of these regions it is often the girls who take the initiative in finding their suitors. During harvest festivals, it is the maidens who play the leading part. Traces of the capture of the bridegroom still persist in the folk customs of the Ukraine. In Ukrainian and Bielorussian folk poetry women, especially the mother, play a very significant role, while the place of the father is less outstanding. In popular opinion in this area, the consent of the mother in the marriage of a daughter is considered more important than that of the father.

Marriage among the Old-Slavonic peasant folk was endogamous within the village community and perhaps even within the joint household community (*verv, zadruga*)—not unlike in the Croatian zadruga of our days.[14] There was also, apparently, a particularly developed brother-sister attachment as is manifested by brother-sister incest which seems to have taken place occasionally in some Russian regions until recently.[15] There were, therefore, abundant opportunities for emotional attachments in the Old-Slavonic family, since there were no external political, economic, or social pressures that might have disturbed internal equalitarian family relationships. Such relationships have persisted until present times in certain parts of Ukraine:

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force behind the war expeditions of these predatory warriors might have been their need for self-assertion and dominance, as well as an urge for destruction. They were therefore likely to indulge in sadistic cruelty and in mass plunder, in lechery and debauchery.

It is important to notice, however, that in these conquests the mounted nomads would often invade and settle distant areas without their womenfolk. Therefore, when these womenless, predatory, patriarchal and polygynous horsemen invaded the plains and river valleys between the Ural mountains and the Carpathians, where the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators, Fino-Ugric hunters and other folks were settled, the newcomers not only imposed themselves as political rulers, but it became necessary for them to abduct native women *en masse*, to buy them, or to demand them as a tribute, and make them their wives, concubines, and slaves. Not only the historical records but the Great-Russian marriage customs, folk poetry and other oral literature testify to this trend of events. Marriage by capture, bride price and the use of women as slave laborers figure prominently in all these documents.

At first a great cultural diversity in the society at large resulted out of such a situation. Many early observers of the peoples of this area noticed this phenomenon. Often the customs of the peoples that went under the same name were very dissimilar. The same names covered a conglomeration of tillers of the soil, pastoral nomads, nomadic hunters, and warlike tribes. Some of these people were matriarchal, others patriarchal. Some of them lived in wagons and tents, others built houses. Some cremated their dead, others practiced inhumation. Some were cannibalistic, others vegetarians.[3]

It is for this reason that early observers when speaking of "Slavs" sometimes give contradictory data.[4] Such accounts are likely to confuse a student of early Slav society unless he keeps in mind the ethnical mixture and blending of cultures that was taking place in that area in the course of many centuries. Tacitus, for instance, noticed that "The Veneti [Slavs] have borrowed largely from Sarmatian character; in their plundering expeditions they roam over the whole extent of forests and mountains. . . ."[5]

3 [i.e. of the Turko-Mongols — Analyst]

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called the *svat*. It is his business to praise up the person he represents and to obtain easy conditions. This part is sometimes taken by an old and experienced relation of the groom.

As there is but little time to arrange a marriage, the two *svats*, on starting out, receive the names of several families in which to enquire for brides, and therefore it is a busy week in the village—many *svats* going about from house to house. They are dressed in holiday attire, which is a sufficient sign of their mission (these visits taking place mostly in the evenings during the week). The *svat* carries with him a quart of brandy, that he may offer the necessary treat during the negotiations.

The two *svats* slowly and solemnly enter the house, where they find the girl dressed up in her best, sitting at the table with her father and mother. When a prospective bride sees them she goes away and hides. The negotiations are opened and conducted with a great deal of ceremony, as the peasants are great sticklers for propriety and the girl would be highly offended if any formality were omitted, or the wedding celebrated with a particle less pomp than the family can afford. After the first courtesies, the *svats* are asked to sit down at the head of the room by the table. They refuse, upon one pretext or another, (as being cold, etc.,) and try to get a place under the middle beam of the ceiling, that being a good omen. Their attire, ceremonious behavior, etc., show plainly on what business they have come, and the actions and answers of the people of the house show them, in turn, whether or not they are welcome and what decision they may expect. Thus both sides proceed very cautiously.

The business opens with a general conversation about the weather, the price of wheat, etc. After a while the *svat* mentions casually, that he has heard the people of the house have a commodity to sell, and that he has a buyer for it, (this feature is quite plainly a relic of the ancient form of marriage by purchase). If the father says there is a mistake, that he did, indeed, have a commodity, but it is sold (which means that the girl has already been promised), then the *svats* take their departure in a little while and go to the next house on the list. If an excuse is

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Another picture refering to the wedding ceremonial is the one of Korsukhin, to be seen at the same place, and a copy of which we reproduce on page 16 of this book. It represents the return of the bride from the bath on the eve of the marriage, with her companions and the *svakha*, with songs and dances, while one maiden sweeps the path before the bride. This is a bit of superstition, and illustrates the fear that the bride might be bewitched by something thrown in her way.

4. The blessing of the bride by her parents. As the parents of the young couple do not go to church, the wedding procession is evidently the relic of the ancient form of marriage by capture, which was customary with the Russians in prehistoric times.

5. The arrival of the groom with his kinsmen, representing the ancient clan, who used to help him capture the bride. The whole party goes in procession to the church, for the celebration of the sacred rite,—with shouting, bell-ringing, etc.

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II

[582] Perhaps as a result of family centeredness and the need of 606 keeping a distance from one's neighbor, there developed the practice of looking for the bride not in one's own but in another, more remote locality. Brides from afar, who did not have an opportunity to keep frequent contact with their own parents, were considered not only more amenable to control and easier to assimilate, but less dangerous from the point of view of the family's collective responsibility and isolation. "Do not buy a horse nor marry a daughter of your neighbor: both will run away"; "Get a wife from afar, buy a cow from near," the people would say.

[584] Very often there was nothing for a girl to look forward to in her new family. Her mate was not of her choice; he and his family were often complete strangers to her. She might not have even seen any of them before the day of her marriage. Wedding songs always refer to the bridegroom, his home, his father, and his village as "the abode of the strangers," "the unknown, far off land." As soon as the father had "stuck the hands" with the match-maker, the bride-to-be would start to lament and implore her father not to "give her away to the strangers." On the eve of the bride's marriage, her girl friends would come to her home and spend all evening singing *piesni plachevia*—"weeping songs,"[10] while the bride would cry and wail continuously. In these songs the future bride imagines herself as being left completely alone and without any affection in a distant, unknown and unfriendly world.[11]

[538] The anxieties and fears felt by the bride when going away to marry a stranger in a "strange land" might have found, perhaps, a symbolic expression in the *Zmey* tales. Zmey is a mythical being whose function is to deceive and rape young maidens and keep them forever in captivity. In the Great-Russian folk tales the Zmey is pictured as a terrifying "winged" and "many-headed" monster which throws fire from his nostrils and his mouth, but assumes the form of a youth of marvelous beauty before he abducts his victim.[12]

The prospect of the bride's relations with her husband's

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music is the minor mode. But suffering from climatic and geographical conditions has its analogues in suffering produced by other causes, and this fact sufficiently accounts for the melancholy burden of the songs of the Russians who live in the sunlight of nature's smiles. A special cause of the mournfulness of the songs of the *devitchink*, moreover lies in the circumstance that once they dealt with things which were in themselves mournful. Formerly marriage, to the maiden, meant being sold or given into involuntary servitude. She was not consulted about the match, which implied not only permanent separation from parents and friends, but also possible ill-treatment by her husband and his family against which there was no sure safeguard but death. In the *Lootschina*, sung in the first scene of "A Russian Peasant Wedding," one of the most beautiful as it also is one of the most truthfully expressive of Russian folk songs, one may hear the voice of suffering caused by the persecutions of the Russian mother-in-law. "It is sad and joyful on a quiet summer's night," says Tolstoi, "in the midst of a wordless forest, to hear the wide-sweeping song of the Russians. In it is yearning without end, without hope, also power invincible, also the fateful stamp of destiny, iron preordination, one of the fundamental principles of our nationalty with which it is possible to explain much that in Russian life seems incomprehensible. And what, besides, may not be heard in that drawling song in the summer night and the silent forest? . . . We are like the sharp arrow: it flies from the string, where the hard point pierces there is its home. . . . Clouds concealed the moon, the wind shook the tops of the linden trees, and scattered blossoms in an odorous rain on the prince and on Yelena. The old branches trembled, as if wishing to say, 'For whom do we blossom, for whom do we blow?'"

Along with the gloom of the folk-music of Russia, however, we find a boisterous humor—the humor which whirls us off our feet in the *scherzos* and *finales* of the Russian symphonists. The phenomenon is startling but not inexplicable. The most profoundly melancholy composers that have ever lived have also been the maddest ones. So under the conditions of their life the

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single, the girl is allowed some freedom; she has more time at her disposal, she can go about with her friends, attend parties, etc. When married, the cares of her new position, the necessity of harder work for her new family and her altered position amongst people who are strangers to her and who look upon her as an intruder—all these reasons keep her in the house, and her time for social recreation is past. Therefore girlhood is considered the golden time in the life of a young woman, and a girl looks with dread and apprehension upon her approaching marriage; but on the other hand, love prompts her to join her husband and she hopes that his love will compensate her for what she will have to endure. In this way there is a mixture of grief and joy in the whole ceremony.

The weddings are nearly all held in the late fall or winter, when the field work is over for the year, the harvest sold and the family knows how much money it can afford to spend. When the old people have decided that their child shall marry, they ask him or her whom he or she likes best and whom next best. Marriage, it must be remembered, is often a business matter; there must be a wedding and at the chosen period. In fact, a marriage at any other time of the year is an exception. In this way it comes about that all the marriageable girls in the village are expecting their offers to come during the same week in the fall or winter, and are ready for them.

The room is cleaned and lighted up every night, the old people and the girl stay at home, while the smaller children run about the village, looking into the windows to find out how things are going on in their neighbors' houses.

The preliminaries are usually arranged between the two families, the marriage being really more the affair of these, than of the two young people themselves, since it is in fact the giving up of a working-hand by one family and her adoption into another one. The arrangements are made by friends or go-betweens. It is customary that a female relation of the groom goes to ask for the hand of the girl, and is then called a *svakha*. With her goes some old male relation or friend, who knows all the necessary forms of ceremony and is a persuasive talker; he is

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The business opens with a general conversation about the weather, the price of wheat, etc. After a while the *svat* mentions casually, that he has heard the people of the house have a commodity to sell, and that he has a buyer for it, (this feature is [583] quite plainly a relic of the ancient form of marriage by purchase). If the father says there is a mistake, that he did, indeed, have a commodity, but it is sold (which means that the girl has already been promised), then the *svats* take their departure in a little while and go to the next house on the list. If an excuse is

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584 offered and they are asked to call again to-morrow they know that the girl expects another suitor whom she prefers, but that her parents wish to keep the present offer open until the other one is closed with. But if the parents like the proposed match, they ask the two *svats* to move up to the head of the room, under the holy image, and to sit down at the table, which the old lady covers with a white cloth. The old man then asks the *svats* to speak out plainly, which they do. The parents answer that they have nothing against the proposition, but that they must ask the girl. The other side also asks to see her and get her own answer. The mother then goes after her daughter and brings her in, telling her meanwhile about the offer. If she declines, that is the end of the matter. While she is away the *svat* brings out the bottle of brandy which he had brought with him and sets it on the table. The girl comes in with some bread, which she also places on the table; her father pours some brandy into a glass and sets it on a plate, together with some bread; she takes up the plate and offers the refreshments to the two *svats*, without saying a word, but naturally with a blush—as this action shows that she is in favor of the match. As a visible token she takes up a towl and ties it around the left arm of the *svat*. The latter accepts the offer with thanks, tell the father that his commodity is a very fine one, and the first part of the bargain is done.

But if the young people do not know each other well enough, as, for instance, when they belong to distant villages, it becomes necessary to arrange a meeting between them, before making any definite answer. A day is set, as soon as possible, when the *svats* are to bring the young man to the girl's house, that the young people may become acquainted. The ceremony, as described, is gone through with, and when the girl is called in again (provided, of course, that the character and standing of the young man are satisfactory to the parents), if she likes his looks, she takes a long, embroidered towel, hangs it over his shoulder and knots it. She need not say a word; if she refuses to decorate him, the affair has fallen through.

If the girl accepts the young man, the bargain is but half done: the conditions of the marriage must still be settled by the

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parents and final disagreements about trifles are not infrequent. The wedding expenses are borne by the family of the groom, and it is a point of honor with the bride and her family that the feast must be as magnificent as their means will allow. On the other hand, the bride's family has to make presents to the members of the other one, which shall be worthy of them and cost not less than the expenses of the wedding. For these reasons the *svat* and the bride's father drive a long and hard bargain concerning the articles to be furnished. The latter calls for a certain quantity of breadstuff, meat, malt, brandy, etc., which he insists the groom shall furnish. While the *svat* demands that the bride bring with her for her own use, certain articles, more or less expensive, such as bedding, wearing apparel, and also presents for the members and relatives of the other family (for instance: a new dress, of a certain price, for the mother-in-law, handkerchiefs for the aunts, etc). The two sides may become excited and disagree over a bottle of brandy or a handkerchief and even break off the negotiations. Generally the expenses of a wedding are a heavy burden to a peasant's family.

When all the conditions have been settled (always by word of mouth only), the time of the wedding is set, usually two or three weeks ahead, and then the *svats* take a ceremonious farewell. First, however, a day is agreed upon for the formal betrothal, at which both families are present and give their blessing. Only then is the engagement considered binding, and damages can be claimed for expenses and dishonor, if one side breaks the agreement.

To remind the bride's family that it is time to begin the preparation for the wedding feast, the groom sends a large cake to the house of the bride. This is done with peculiar ceremonies. Then the baking, brewing, dressmaking, etc. begins. The maidens hold nightly parties (*devitchnik*) in the houses of the bride or her friends, at which they cut and sew and fit, regaling themselves with refreshments and songs while working. To these gatherings young men are not admitted.

After the betrothal, when a relative or friend comes to the house of the bride, the latter acquaints the former of her intended

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marriage by hiding herself and wailing for the loss of her maiden freedom and for her transfer to a strange family, and if she wishes to particularly honor the guest, she will do this, not only at the first visit, but also at every one that follows. The groom does not gain any new rights by the betrothal, and does not come to the house to see his bride; the most he can do is to come to the window, bringing cakes and candy, and talk to her from the outside, in the evenings. About two nights before the wedding, the maidens have a party, at which they try on the bridal dresses, help to finish the outfit, etc., singing at the same time doleful songs; deploring her hard fate of having to leave home and go among strangers to live. On the eve of the wedding there is another party, to which the young men are admitted. The maidens take leave of their playmate, who is going to bear the cares, hard work and responsibilities of a married woman; the men agree upon the order in which they will go in the wedding procession, and arrange about the outfit of sleighs, horses, bells, ornaments, etc. Meantime, of course, refreshments are served and songs sung.

In the marriage ceremonies themselves, are to be seen remains of many ancient social customs, and we may call attention to the changes in the life of a girl which they represent:

1. The meeting bears at first the character of the usual girls' social gatherings—*possidelky*, in this way depicting her previous easy life at home, free from care.

2. Enter the *svats*, who with ceremonies, sit down on the bench under the principal beam of the ceiling. They conduct the negotiations. The bride treats them to a glass of brandy, and gives expression to her consent by tying a towel around the arm of the *svat*.

3. The bride is preparing for the wedding. The *svat* and the other male guests are driven out of the room, with noise and jokes. The hair of the bride is combed and made up for the last time, into the single, free-hanging braid of a girl. This action can be seen in the picture of Makovsky, "The Dressing of the Bride," in the Russian section of the Art Palace, at the Columbian Exposition; only the scene and time refer to a wedding amongst Boyars, about 200 years ago.

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Argument of the Play.

ACT FIRST.—THE BETROTHAL.

SCENE 1ST. The best room in the house of the bride's parents. Enter the bride, her parents and a young brother; they tidy and adorn the room; a table is set with sweetmeats, nuts and small beer (*braga*). The old people finally sit down at the table and talk to each other; the bride and her brother stand at a little distance, talking apart.

SCENE 2D. The proceedings now about to begin, are similar to the usual winter night social gatherings—*posidelky*—which are frequented by the young people of the village.

Enter the girl friends of the bride, with their spinning combs (*prialki*) their knitting and sewing; soon after them arrive the young men of the neighbourhood. The bride meets and welcomes them; the girls sit down in a circle in the middle of the room, laughing and chatting; the young men stand around them talking and joking, treat them to nuts, candy, etc. Different songs appropriate to the occasion are sung by the company, *e. g.* "The Birchwood Splinter"—*Lootchina* (No. 5)[1], "I was sitting late at night"—*Posdno Vetcherom Sidela* (No. 6)[2], etc. Suddenly there is a loud rapping, the songs cease, and everybody looks towards the door.

SCENE 3D. Enter the two *svats* (matchmakers); they bow respectfully to the parents, with a "good morning, good people," to the girls, "good mornings, beautiful girls" and to the boys. The parents bid them welcome, and ask to sit at the table; the *svats* civilly decline to do so on some pretext or other, but take their chairs and place them directly under the middle beam of the ceiling. When the girls notice this, they begin to whisper meaningly. The parents and the *svats* then proceed to discuss the match, and finally conclude the bargain; the other guests meanwhile sing an appropriate song (*Devitzy Krasavitzy*).

When the preliminary arrangements have been settled to mutual satisfaction, the mother whispers the bride, that *svats*

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 29—Analyst]
[2] [See cat. 116, p. 30—Analyst]

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from such a young man (naming him) have come to ask for her. If she likes him, she ought to answer the *svats* and treat them to something. The girl throws a towel over her shoulder, puts a glass of brandy upon a plate and brings it to the *svat*, he accepts it with thanks, but before drinking asks her what answer he shall take to young so and so. The girl blushes, but takes off the towel, and ties it around his left arm—which means her consent: the *svat* thanks her and drains his glass, while she sits down at the table and cries. The *svat* then rises, thanks the people of the house for the entertainment, and starts to leave. At this juncture, the other girls, the friends of the bride, surround him, mock and jeer him, pull him about, splash water on him, etc., at the same time singing a mocking song, "Matchmaker, you foolish matchmaker"—*svatoushka* (No. 23)[1]; this is to express their displeasure for depriving them of a companion. Finally the *svat* pacifies them by some small presents and is allowed to withdraw; the *svakha* (female matchmaker) remains behind and sends out all the men. The girls at the same time surround the bride, cover her head with a kerchief (in sign of her future dependence), commiserate her, and cry over her.

SCENE 4TH. *The Braiding of the Hair* (shown in the picture by Makovsky, "The Toilet of the Bride," in the Russian Section of the Art Palace). The *svakha* takes the bride by the hand and leads her to a chair in the middle of the room; she undoes the single braid, as worn by peasant girls, and combs it out, all the girl friends also come up one after the other and help to comb it, it is then put up again, for the *last time in her life*, into the single plait. The girls, meantime, depict in song the sorrow of separation from her family, the uncertain treatment awaiting her, etc. "A little duck"—*Outoushka* (No. 23):[2] When the bride is dressed and her hair arranged, she is led to the table where she sits down with her younger brother by her side.

SCENE 5TH. A loud noise and stomping are heard approaching, and then a loud knocking at the door. On bidding them to come in, enter the groom, *droushka* (best man), and his friends. The bridegroom takes his place at the table by the bride, the others

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 44 — Analyst]
[2] [See cat. 116, p. 46; it should be no. 27 — Analyst]

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[XI century]

and hence, no group support could be found if a leader had attempted to form a centralized political authority or an imperial system over the whole area. The old Russian Chronicle of Kiev (12th century) describing a tribe with such a culture (the Polians) states that among them each kindred group (*rod*) lived in its own separate locality and had its own government.[4]

In a like manner, principles of dignity and moderation, as well as personal autonomy and lack of coerciveness, prevailed in family relations of these people. The Chronicle, for instance, states:

> The Polians had customs of their fathers, customs mild and peaceful (*krotok i tikh*); they showed a kind of reserve (*stydenie*) towards their daughters-in-law (*snokha*) and their sisters, towards their mothers and their parents, towards their fathers-in-law and their brothers-in-law; to all of the persons named they showed great reserve. They had marriage cusoms: the bridegroom did not go to seek his bride; she was taken to him in the evening, and the following morning they brought what belonged to her (*chto vdaduche*).[5]

It appears that the family organization of the Polians rested on mutual respect of all family members; that the bride brought the dowry which remained her personal property; that she might have had the initiative in wooing. This contention is supported by other evidence. Cosmas Pragensis, for instance, speaking of the old Bohemian Slavs, states: "It is not the men who choose the maids, but the maids themselves who take the husbands they like, and when they like."[6] A French writer who visited Ukraine in the seventeenth century wrote: "In Ukraine, contrary to the customs of all other nations, the husbands do not choose their wives, but are themselves chosen by their future consorts."[7]

There is also other evidence concerning some matriarchal traits of the early Slavs.[8] Throughout ages, women of the plains betwen the Dnieper and the Volga maintained property rights over their dowries and also over income from vegetables, poultry, dairy products and yarn that they produced and sold, though such rights were not recognized to men.[9] Although a woman in Russia did not have any claim to the property of her father or her brother, and only a limited right to that of her husband, she had the privilege, denied to a man, of saving and building up a

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class the tendency was toward the concentration of power in the hands of the more mighty princes.[13]

This concentration of power in the hands of the city plutocracy found its expression in the principle of an unanimity vote in the city assembly (*Veche*). Data on the early political and social organization of the Russian urban communities show that the unanimity in decisions was the rule. The old documents about these gatherings tell us that "what has been established by the oldest city, is maintained by its boroughs," that "all thought and spoke as one man," that "all were unanimous in the desire," and that the decision was reached "by all the oldest and all the youngest men of the assembly."[14]

But we also learn that this unopposed group consensus was achieved by means of threat and terror against all those who might show an inclination to disagree or who disagreed after the assembly had been held and after a resolution had been passed. The dissenters were often beaten with rods, despoiled of their property, or murdered. Sometimes they might escape such fate if ready to pay a fine that varied according to the rank of the dissenter. In this manner a minority, backed by physical force was able to enforce its will on the rest under the guise of "unanimity."[15]

Pressure for the unanimous consent on the part of the people was applied also in the village assemblies, and later in the land commune (*mir*). In some other customs of the Great-Russian peasantry, even in our own times, the unanimous consent was considered necessary. In marriage ceremonies, for instance, custom demanded that the bride when leaving her parental home obtain blessing from all her neighbors. There was, however, a threat against neighbors who refused their blessing. Curses were invoked against them: "Those who do not bless her, may they never marry their sons and daughters" (*Kto ne blagoslovit tomu vek sinov ne zhenit a docheri za muzh ne vdavat*).[16]

The principle of unanimity was apparently the procedure in the local assemblies of the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators of the Dnieper river basin. Such an unanimity was also practiced until our times in the Zadruga society of Croatia.[17] But in those pacific and anarchic societies the principle of unanimity was real, not

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that he might be rich and powerful in life.[6] For the same reason money was placed in the water when the child was bathed for the first time.[7]

In marriage customs the urge for power was expressed in certain activities performed during the marriage ritual and believed to contain magical properties that enabled either one or the other spouse to dominate. Also in the wedding party the bridegroom was called "knyaz" (prince) and his party "boyars"; an important part of the marriage ceremonies consisted in *velichat gostei*, that is in mutual glorification of the wedding guests.

The phrase *Kak vas velichat?*—how to glorify you?, which is employed when asking another person his name might indicate the same feelings. In early Russia personal names were formed by a combination of words which conveyed the image of rule, glory, power, holiness and destruction, such as Sviatoslav (the holy and glorious), Yaropolk (blazing power), Mstislav (the glory of revenge).

Another manifestation of power-seeking, mistrust and destructive aggression on the folk level is revealed, for instance, in attitudes toward women. The folk image of the woman is in remarkable contrast to the image of the mother. The derisive name for woman is *baba*, and baba is said "not to be a human being" (*Baba ne chelovek*), according to a proverb. Therefore mistreatment and abuse of women may be justified.[8] In the folk parlance distinction is made between *Krestyane* (Christians, peasants) and *zhenshchiny* (women). In the folk maxims women are pictured as immoral ("Three babas Sodom"), shameless ("A baba laughs where grandpa blushes"), more cunning than the devil ("Where the devil fails he sends a baba"), the cause of all man's troubles ("She was the cause of Adam's banishment"), and source of all evil ("We cannot expect any good from our rib").[9]

This folk concept of woman as an inferior being is found on all levels of Russian society. Comparatively few women have been admitted to the rank of saints in the Russian Church. Count Leo Tolstoy, a philosopher and novelist, who has been otherwise renowned for his ideas of Christian love, all-human brotherhood and an anarchic social and political equality, showed a great deal of misogynism. In his diary he pictures

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A Russian Peasant Wedding.

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AMONG the Russian peasants, particularly in more remote districts, the social ceremonies of a wedding are complicated and of long duration, and vastly more important in popular opinion than the church rite; for this reason we shall describe only the former. Of course, the blessing of the church is necessary to make the marriage binding, but it is comparatively an innovation, having been introduced only about one thousand years ago, while the relations represented by the social forms of the wedding date back very much farther. In them are plainly seen the former structure of the *clan* or *gens;* the opposing interests of the families of the bride and the groom; the existence, in prehistoric times of marriage by purchase and by capture amongst primitive people; the subjection of the girl to the father, in the patriarchal family, and to her father-in-law in the new home.

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It may be necessary to explain that in Russia the unit of social and economic life is the family, and that the father or eldest brother is the head of it; the young man, on marrying, does not set up for himself, but brings the bride to his father's house, where she becomes one of the daughters and takes her part in the work of the family. Only after the old man's death does separation take place; the married men divide the property and found households for themselves.

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In the family the woman is completely dominated by man, a fact that is indicated by many features in the ceremony. While

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single, the girl is allowed some freedom; she has more time at her disposal, she can go about with her friends, attend parties, etc. When married, the cares of her new position, the necessity of harder work for her new family and her altered position amongst people who are strangers to her and who look upon her as an intruder—all these reasons keep her in the house, and her time for social recreation is past. Therefore girlhood is considered the golden time in the life of a young woman, and a girl looks with dread and apprehension upon her approaching marriage; but on the other hand, love prompts her to join her husband and she hopes that his love will compensate her for what she will have to endure. In this way there is a mixture of grief and joy in the whole ceremony.

The weddings are nearly all held in the late fall or winter, when the field work is over for the year, the harvest sold and the family knows how much money it can afford to spend. When the old people have decided that their child shall marry, they ask him or her whom he or she likes best and whom next best. Marriage, it must be remembered, is often a business matter; there must be a wedding and at the chosen period. In fact, a marriage at any other time of the year is an exception. In this way it comes about that all the marriageable girls in the village are expecting their offers to come during the same week in the fall or winter, and are ready for them.

The room is cleaned and lighted up every night, the old people and the girl stay at home, while the smaller children run about the village, looking into the windows to find out how things are going on in their neighbors' houses.

The preliminaries are usually arranged between the two families, the marriage being really more the affair of these, than of the two young people themselves, since it is in fact the giving up of a working-hand by one family and her adoption into another one. The arrangements are made by friends or go-betweens. It is customary that a female relation of the groom goes to ask for the hand of the girl, and is then called a *svakha*. With her goes some old male relation or friend, who knows all the necessary forms of ceremony and is a persuasive talker; he is

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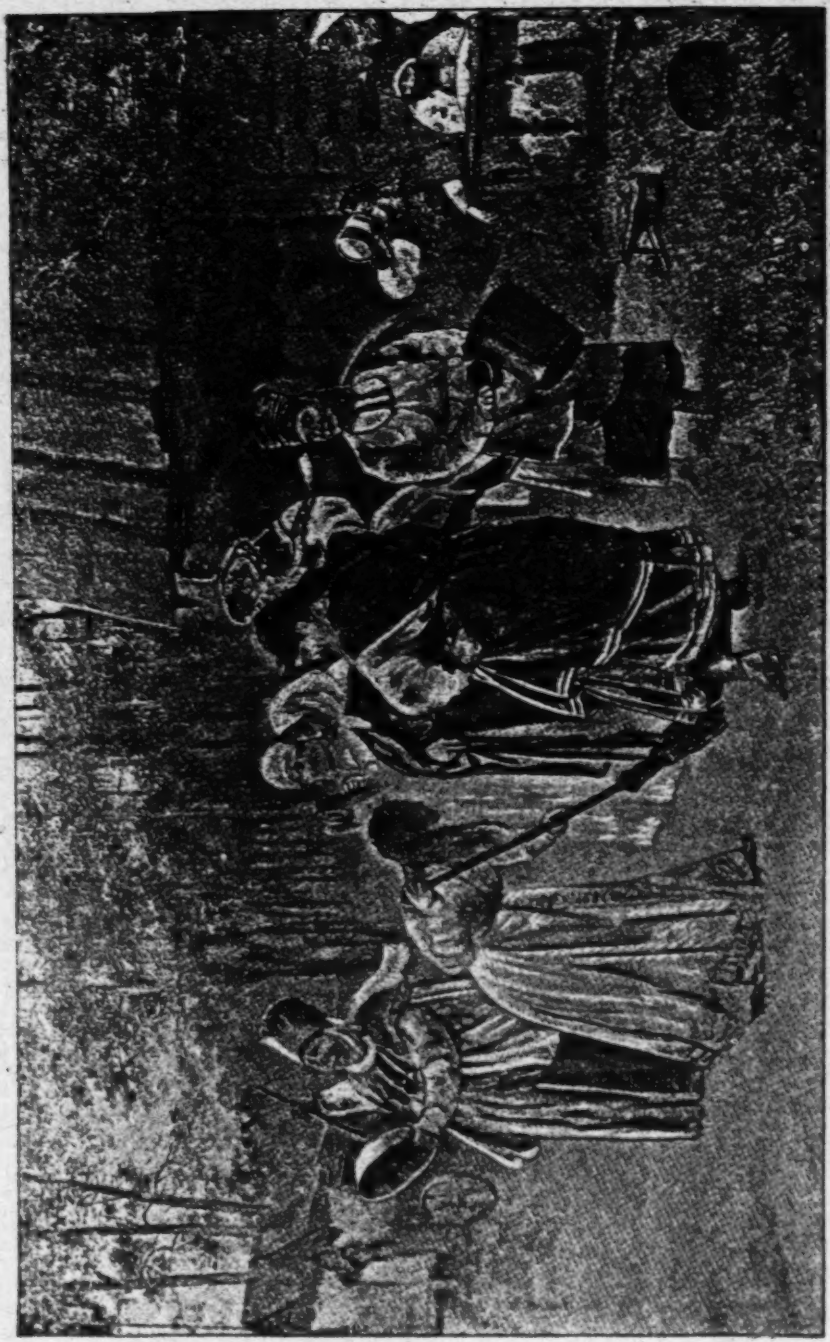

PROCEEDINGS USUALLY FOLLOWED AFTER THE BRIDE HAS TAKEN THE BATH.

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marriage by hiding herself and wailing for the loss of her maiden freedom and for her transfer to a strange family, and if she wishes to particularly honor the guest, she will do this, not only at the first visit, but also at every one that follows. The groom does not gain any new rights by the betrothal, and does not come to the house to see his bride; the most he can do is to come to the window, bringing cakes and candy, and talk to her from the outside, in the evenings. About two nights before the wedding, the maidens have a party, at which they try on the bridal dresses, help to finish the outfit, etc., singing at the same time doleful songs; deploring her hard fate of having to leave home and go among strangers to live. On the eve of the wedding there is another party, to which the young men are admitted. The maidens take leave of their playmate, who is going to bear the cares, hard work and responsibilities of a married woman; the men agree upon the order in which they will go in the wedding procession, and arrange about the outfit of sleighs, horses, bells, ornaments, etc. Meantime, of course, refreshments are served and songs sung. 584

In the marriage ceremonies themselves, are to be seen remains of many ancient social customs, and we may call attention to the changes in the life of a girl which they represent:

1. The meeting bears at first the character of the usual girls' social gatherings—*possidelky*, in this way depicting her previous easy life at home, free from care.

2. Enter the *svats*, who with ceremonies, sit down on the bench under the principal beam of the ceiling. They conduct the negotiations. The bride treats them to a glass of brandy, and gives expression to her consent by tying a towel around the arm of the *svat*.

3. The bride is preparing for the wedding. The *svat* and the other male guests are driven out of the room, with noise and jokes. The hair of the bride is combed and made up for the last time, into the single, free-hanging braid of a girl. This action can be seen in the picture of Makovsky, "The Dressing of the Bride," in the Russian section of the Art Palace, at the Columbian Exposition; only the scene and time refer to a wedding amongst Boyars, about 200 years ago. 585 [302]

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Another picture refering to the wedding ceremonial is the one of Korsukhin, to be seen at the same place, and a copy of which we reproduce on page 16 of this book. It represents the return of the bride from the bath on the eve of the marriage, with her companions and the *svakha*, with songs and dances, while one maiden sweeps the path before the bride. This is a bit of superstition, and illustrates the fear that the bride might be bewitched by something thrown in her way.

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4. The blessing of the bride by her parents. As the parents of the young couple do not go to church, the wedding procession is evidently the relic of the ancient form of marriage by capture, which was customary with the Russians in prehistoric times.

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5. The arrival of the groom with his kinsmen, representing the ancient clan, who used to help him capture the bride. The whole party goes in procession to the church, for the celebration of the sacred rite,—with shouting, bell-ringing, etc.

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from such a young man (naming him) have come to ask for her. If she likes him, she ought to answer the *svats* and treat them to something. The girl throws a towel over her shoulder, puts a glass of brandy upon a plate and brings it to the *svat*, he accepts it with thanks, but before drinking asks her what answer he shall take to young so and so. The girl blushes, but takes off the towel, and ties it around his left arm—which means her consent: the *svat* thanks her and drains his glass, while she sits down at the table and cries. The *svat* then rises, thanks the people of the house for the entertainment, and starts to leave. At this juncture, the other girls, the friends of the bride, surround him, mock and jeer him, pull him about, splash water on him, etc., at the same time singing a mocking song, "Matchmaker, you foolish matchmaker"—*svatoushka* (No. 23)[1]; this is to express their displeasure for depriving them of a companion. Finally the *svat* pacifies them by some small presents and is allowed to withdraw; the *svakha* (female matchmaker) remains behind and sends out all the men. The girls at the same time surround the bride, cover her head with a kerchief (in sign of her future dependence), commiserate her, and cry over her.

SCENE 4TH. *The Braiding of the Hair* (shown in the picture by Makovsky, "The Toilet of the Bride," in the Russian Section of the Art Palace). The *svakha* takes the bride by the hand and leads her to a chair in the middle of the room; she undoes the single braid, as worn by peasant girls, and combs it out, all the girl friends also come up one after the other and help to comb it, it is then put up again, for the *last time in her life*, into the single plait. The girls, meantime, depict in song the sorrow of separation from her family, the uncertain treatment awaiting her, etc. "A little duck"—*Outoushka* (No. 23)[2]. When the bride is dressed and her hair arranged, she is led to the table where she sits down with her younger brother by her side.

SCENE 5TH. A loud noise and stomping are heard approaching, and then a loud knocking at the door. On bidding them to come in, enter the groom, *droushka* (best man), and his friends. The bridegroom takes his place at the table by the bride, the others

[1] [See cat. 11b, p. 44 — Analyst]

[2] [See cat. 11b, p. 46; it should be no. 27 — Analyst]

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585 stand; the young men and women sing a song of glorification and praise. After its conclusion the groom thanks the company and rises; when he wants to lead the bride away, her brother resists him and has to be pacified with presents. This action hints at the old custom of purchasing the bride from her family or clan.

[788] SCENE 6TH. *The blessing of the bride.* The parents of the bride take a plate with bread and salt, and a holy image and advance into the middle of the room, where they stand facing the door. The groom leads the bride out to them, the young couple bow three times to each, kiss the image and then the old people, and receive their blessing. The bride embraces her mother and clings to her, crying. The *svakha* separates them and leads her out, preceded by the *droushka* and bridegroom. At the door the party is met by the girl's brother with a stick, and a girl friend with a spinning comb (*prialka*), who refuse to let them pass with threats and offers of violence. The *droushka* is obliged to buy them off again with a present, and then the young people go out to the waiting friends, who form into a procession and go to the church, with noise and merrymaking. The companions of the girl also leave the room; the parents of the bride remain behind after the leave-taking, and sit down at the table with bowed heads and crying.

ACT SECOND.—THE MARRIAGE FEAST.

SCENE 1ST. At the house of the groom. The parents of the groom busy themselves in preparing the room for the reception of the young couple, on their return from the church. Outside is heard the noise of an approaching party. The father of the groom takes a holy image, the mother some bread and salt on a plate (a sign of welcome), and both advance to the door to meet the procession.

SCENE 2D. The friends come in first, salute the old people and place themselves around the room; there are a few moments of expectation.

SCENE 3D. Finally the *droushka* (best man) appears, walking slowly and solemnly, leading the young couple, with the

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svakha behind. The groom and the bride advance to his parents and salute them. The company sing a song of glorification. The young couple bow to the groom's parents, three times to each, kiss them and receive their benediction; then the bridal pair are led to the table, at which they sit down. The *droushka* takes the plate with bread and salt from the father and goes out of the room with it to the bride's house, to invite her parents to the feast. 585

SCENE 4TH. The *svakha* leads the bride away into another chamber, where she is to change her dress and rearrange her hair. The *svakha* takes the veil off the bride, undoes her hair, combs it and makes it up again into two braids, which she winds around the head and covers with a kerchief; this is the way the married women dress their hair. [302]

SCENE 5TH. The bride is again covered with the veil and the *svakha* leads her out to the company, places her next to the groom and then solemnly pulls off her veil. This is the turning point in the ceremony, and from this moment the bride ceases to be a girl before the world and assumes the status of a married woman.

Somebody raps at the door.

SCENE 6TH. Enter the *droushka* with the bride's parents, who are welcomed with great honors and led to places near the head of the table.

Setting of the table. The *droushka* directs all the ceremonies of the feast. He first calls upon the *svakha*, who represents the groom's mother, to take out of the oven whatever she has and to set it upon the table. The *svakha* tries to remove the oven lid, but cannot do so and asks for help. The *droushka* then directs his friends to help her, and with songs, indicating the difficulty of the work, the young men of the groom's party pull off the lid and draw out the pots, which they place upon the table; the songs accompanying these actions are: "*Doobinoushka*" (No. 19)[1] and "Bold Mustaches"—*Oussy* (No. 14).[2]

The Feast. The whole company sit down to the table (except the *droushka* who sees that every guest has plenty of everything), cross themselves, asking a blessing and fall to. After they have eaten for a while, the best man offers a glass of 585 574

1 [See cat. 116, p. 40 – Analyst]

2 [See cat. 116, pp. 37–38 – Analyst]

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brandy on a plate to the groom's father, who tastes of it, but makes a wry face and says: "*gorko*" (bitter). The *droushka* puts a piece of sugar into the glass, the father tastes it again and repeats, "*gorko.*" Then the *droushka* asks the young couple to sweeten the drink; they thereupon rise, bow to the old man and kiss each other three times; the father then drains the cup with evident satisfaction, saying: "Ah, this is good." The same ceremony is repeated with the other relatives and guests, some of whom even insist on repeated sweetenings, to tease the young couple—especially if they see that the bride is bashful. The company, meantime, joke and sing appropriate songs. This scene is represented in the well known picture of Makovsky, called a Boyar's Wedding.

The presentation of gifts from the bride to the groom's relatives. The *droushka* first leads out the groom's father to a chair in the middle of the room, where he asks him to sit down; then the *droushka* approaches him with a glass of brandy on a plate, accompanied by the *svakha* with a present and by the young couple. They all bow to the father and ask him to accept the offerings. The *droushka* using a formula like this: "The young prince and the young princess do homage to you with a low bow and a bowl of festal mead. They beg you to accept the cup, to drain it and to cover the bottom—not with a dime or a dollar, but with a piece of gold; and if you have not that, half a dozen dollars will be acceptable to us and an honor to you." The presents consist of wearing apparel, gloves, kerchiefs, embroidered towels, etc. The father takes up the glass and tastes it, but refuses to drink, claiming it is too bitter; the young couple must sweeten it for him, just as before, which they finally do; when he drains the cup and accepts the present, they bow to him and kiss him. The mother of the groom is the next one to be led to the chair and given a present; she also asks for a sweetening of the drink, etc., and the same ceremony is gone through with all the groom's relatives.

In return for the teasing, each one puts a piece of money upon the plate. Songs enliven the proceeding, as for instance: "Glory to the Swan" (*Slava Lebediu*), etc.

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The feasting meantime goes on; the *drouzhka* treats everyone and asks the company to drink more. The songs at this time are: "I walk with the Wreath" (*So vyounom ya khojy*)[2] and "In the Meadows" (*Vo loosiakh*).[3]

The company gradually becomes more excited; they start to sing dance-songs; a young man and a girl come out into the middle of the room and start a jig dance, while the balance of the company sing the *Kamarinskaya* (No. 10) or the "Entrance Hall"—*Sseny* (No. 9).[4]

The bride's parents ask everyone to their house, to finish the night. The guests jump up and bid good-bye to the bridal pair and to the parents of the groom, and go away, singing and dancing.

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[2] [See cat. 116, p. 44 — Analyst]
[2] [See cat. 116, pp. 35–36 — Analyst]
[3] [See cat. 116, p. 35 — Analyst]
[4] [See cat. 116, pp. 34–35 — Analyst]

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duct of its members in love and family life run counter to the ethics of Soviet Man."[11] The fundamental motivation behind this interference in love and sex life is political control. "Moral corruption brings political corruption,"[12] the Bolsheviks say. It is in accordance with such a line of thought that it is considered to be the duty of one to inform on his or her own spouse. Such behavior is especially expected of a Party member. Therefore "A prudent Russian today hesitates to confide in even his wife too fully."[13]

At the same time while the Soviet family laws and Soviet philosophy and practices tend to favor Party and government supervision of family relations and in some cases sharpen family conflicts, they also endeavor to enforce family discipline over children, and to strengthen the sense of mutual responsibility among family members. The Bolsheviks, however, do not encourage development of the sense of kinship loyalty which might go counter to the interests of the state. The Soviet family laws have broadened the concept of family to all ascending and descending lines and to brothers and sisters. In case any one of these relatives is needy or incapacitated, the others have the obligation of support.[14] Emphasis on family responsibility is manifested also in the provision of the law of 1926 which, contrary to the Russian traditions, abolished the principle of separate property of the spouses.[15]

In accordance with new policy, factual or non-registered marriage which earlier enjoyed state protection was denied that privilege and a decree in 1944 ruled that "only registered marriage confers the rights and obligations of spouses."[16] A decree of the same year ruled that divorce is allowed only in case the wish of one or even both parties who seek divorce coincides with the "government's recognition of necessity to dissolve marriage."[17] Moreover in order to make divorce proceeding prohibitive and marriage practically indissoluble, a long judicial procedure was established. In the course of this long procedure the parties must clarify the motives for divorce and bring witnesses. Also high divorce fees were introduced. And to facilitate state interference, no grounds for divorce were stated or specified in the decree.

However, the procedural instructions concerning this decree

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do specify the cases in which the state wishes to facilitate divorce and dissolve marriage. Such cases are for instance, "a court sentence depriving either spouse of his or her liberty for no less than three years," and "the absence with no news of either spouse."[18] In such cases the party seeking divorce is exempted from the payment of fees and also from the requirement that a public notice be put in the local newspaper. These provisions are in accordance with the principle of family hostages and the well known practice of the Soviet political police to persecute the families of political offenders. Divorce from such a person may in some cases rehabilitate one in the eyes of the Party. The police as a rule exert pressure on the spouses of political culprits or suspects to seek divorce, and the law provisions are such that the court may facilitate divorce in such cases.

The Bolshevik regime depends to a great extent upon the available large contingents of manpower for its armed forces and for its industrial enterprises whose labor efficiency is very low. In accordance with such needs a series of measures was introduced designed to encourage large families, such as strict laws against birth control, maternity leaves, safeguards for employed pregnant women, monthly cash payments for children, reduced fees in nurseries, advantages in income tax payments, medals, awards, citations, and titles for mothers bearing and raising a certain number of children.[19] At the same time special taxes were imposed upon bachelors, childless couples and couples with only one or two children. Also suits to establish paternity were abolished and an unmarried mother was given the option to accept a modest allowance or to place the child in a public institution where the state takes care of it.

The recognition on the part of the Bolshevik rulers of the significance of the family as an institution of early training of Soviet subjects in discipline, subordination to the group, and obedience to authorities is manifested in the inclusion of family legislation within the jurisdiction of the central government of the Soviet Union. The constitution of the Soviet Union itself was amended for this purpose in 1947.[20] Thus the trend of Soviet legislation in the matters of family relations in the course of over thirty years of Bolshevik rule tended to increase and

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A Russian Peasant Wedding.

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AMONG the Russian peasants, particularly in more remote districts, the social ceremonies of a wedding are complicated and of long duration, and vastly more important in popular opinion than the church rite; for this reason we shall describe only the former. Of course, the blessing of the church is necessary to make the marriage binding, but it is comparatively an innovation, having been introduced only about one thousand years ago, while the relations represented by the social forms of the wedding date back very much farther. In them are plainly seen the former structure of the *clan* or *gens;* the opposing interests of the families of the bride and the groom; the existence, in prehistoric times of marriage by purchase and by capture amongst primitive people; the subjection of the girl to the father, in the patriarchal family, and to her father-in-law in the new home.

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failures and their sins would fall upon him. He was emotionally and socially dependent upon the members of his family, yet he had to be stern and distant to maintain his authority.

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With the ascendancy of the otsovskaya system, family relations came to be organized in a hierarchical system along the lines of paternity, marriage status, seniority and sex. At one time, only married male members formed the family council (soviet). The males had priority over the females. Within each sex category the elder had priority rights over the younger. When the family was partitioned, custom demanded that the older brothers leave
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[XII century]

and hence, no group support could be found if a leader had attempted to form a centralized political authority or an imperial system over the whole area. The old Russian Chronicle of Kiev (12th century) describing a tribe with such a culture (the Polians) states that among them each kindred group (*rod*) lived in its own separate locality and had its own government.[4]

In a like manner, principles of dignity and moderation, as well as personal autonomy and lack of coerciveness, prevailed in family relations of these people. The Chronicle, for instance, states:

> The Polians had customs of their fathers, customs mild and peaceful (*krotok i tikh*); they showed a kind of reserve (*stydenie*) towards their daughters-in-law (*snokha*) and their sisters, towards their mothers and their parents, towards their fathers-in-law and their brothers-in-law; to all of the persons named they showed great reserve. They had marriage cusoms: the bridegroom did not go to seek his bride; she was taken to him in the evening, and the following morning they brought what belonged to her (*chto vdaduche*).[5]

It appears that the family organization of the Polians rested on mutual respect of all family members; that the bride brought the dowry which remained her personal property; that she might have had the initiative in wooing. This contention is supported by other evidence. Cosmas Pragensis, for instance, speaking of the old Bohemian Slavs, states: "It is not the men who choose the maids, but the maids themselves who take the husbands they like, and when they like."[6] A French writer who visited Ukraine in the seventeenth century wrote: "In Ukraine, contrary to the customs of all other nations, the husbands do not choose their wives, but are themselves chosen by their future consorts."[7]

There is also other evidence concerning some matriarchal traits of the early Slavs.[8] Throughout ages, women of the plains betwen the Dnieper and the Volga maintained property rights over their dowries and also over income from vegetables, poultry, dairy products and yarn that they produced and sold, though such rights were not recognized to men.[9] Although a woman in Russia did not have any claim to the property of her father or her brother, and only a limited right to that of her husband, she had the privilege, denied to a man, of saving and building up a

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korobka (chest) of her own. When a girl married, she took her korobka, together with the property given her by her father or brothers, to her new home as a dowry and was allowed to dispose freely of it. At the same time her husband was not responsible for her debts.[10] When a married woman died, if childless, her korobka, as a rule, returned to her mother (matrilineal succession) and only if her mother was not alive, to her father. In some provinces the husband would inherit his wife's property if he lived with her four years or more.[11] If she had children, her property was inherited by both sons and daughters equally.[12]

Matriarchal traits are evident in contemporary folk philosophy and many folk customs in the Bielorussian villages as well as in some parts of the Ukraine. In the oral poetry of these people, for instance, the sun is represented as a female who is wooing the moon, her bridegroom. In some songs of these peasant folk the maidens contend with the male youths in duels and defeat them.[13] Even today in some of these regions it is often the girls who take the initiative in finding their suitors. During harvest festivals, it is the maidens who play the leading part. Traces of the capture of the bridegroom still persist in the folk customs of the Ukraine. In Ukrainian and Bielorussian folk poetry women, especially the mother, play a very significant role, while the place of the father is less outstanding. In popular opinion in this area, the consent of the mother in the marriage of a daughter is considered more important than that of the father.

Marriage among the Old-Slavonic peasant folk was endogamous within the village community and perhaps even within the joint household community (*verv, zadruga*)—not unlike in the Croatian zadruga of our days.[14] There was also, apparently, a particularly developed brother-sister attachment as is manifested by brother-sister incest which seems to have taken place occasionally in some Russian regions until recently.[15] There were, therefore, abundant opportunities for emotional attachments in the Old-Slavonic family, since there were no external political, economic, or social pressures that might have disturbed internal equalitarian family relationships. Such relationships have persisted until present times in certain parts of Ukraine:

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In a similar manner the old Kiev Chronicle points out the cultural differences between a number of Slavic-speaking tribes, such as the Polians—the "field-people," and the Drevlians (Drevlyane)—the "inhabitants of the forests," in the middle Dnieper basin. While the former are described as peaceful and mild, organized along egalitarian lines, the latter are represented as ferocious and wild, organized along monarchial, predatory, warlike, and polygynic principles. The Drevlians, says the Chronicle, ". . . lived like beasts; friends killed one another (*ubivahu drug druga*) . . . no marriage took place amongst them, but they captured young girls on the banks of the rivers."[6] And as for some other tribes, such as the Radimichi, the Vyatichi, and the Sever, the Chronicle says that ". . . shameful things occurred amongst them between fathers and daughters-in-law . . . there was no marriage . . . but the villagers would get together for dancing and satanic games, and there they captured their wives . . . they had generally two or three wives . . . they burned their dead."[7]

It is to be expected that under such circumstances cultural dualism and internal conflict and tension occurred within many individual families in this area. A Slavonic woman as wife or concubine of a Turco-Mongol horse-breeder and warrior might know nothing about his nomadic and predatory way of life, about horses and mares, about weapons, wagons and tents. She might therefore introduce into her new family agricultural techniques and a more settled way of life.

Being raised in an equalitarian society with some matriarchal traits, and with emphasis on self-respect and personal autonomy, a Slavonic woman would not be inclined to be completely submissive to her Turco-Mongol husband. Following child rearing customs of her own society the Slavonic woman would tend to remain close to her children, would teach them Slavonic speech, and might even be in a position to give them protection from the arbitrariness and impulsiveness of their warlike father. Such a situation reinforced and even magnified the traditional distance between the Turco-Mongol father and the members of his family.

At the same time the invader would insist on a subordinate

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role of the women and children in his family and on complete subjection of all people under his control. To accept anything else would have been contrary to his view of life, to everything he stood for. It would have conflicted with his temper and his character to have acted differently. It might have meant not only loss of face but loss of power as well.

The invader was therefore likely to maintain his social distance, to resort to physical force and violence, to the *knut*,[8] to impose his dominance on and to expect unconditional obedience from all the members of his household as well as from all others who were settled and worked on the land which he had conquered and which he controlled. He was backed in such attitudes and practices by the traditional philosophy of the steppe warriors which tells them that might is right and that only unchallenged power imposed by means of fear and awe brings personal satisfaction and security.

Such conflicting marital and social philosophies, however, provoked intense social conflicts, witnessed, for instance, by the history of Slav-Avar relations. The oppressed Slavonic concubines and wives, together with their children, tended to revolt against their tyrannical and inscrutable Avar husbands and fathers:

> The Chunen [Avars] came every year to the Slavs to spend the winter among them, and abuse the wives and daughters of the Slavs. . . . But the sons of the Chunen men and the wives and maidens of the Wenden [Slavs] did not tolerate this oppression; they refused to obey the Chunen and started an uprising.[9]

Such resolute and fighting women have been perhaps personified in Russian epic narratives by Polenitsi (steppe women), the female warriors. The physical strength of these Russian Amazons is represented as being greater than that of the Bogatyri, the legendary heroes. Polenitsi are pictured as daring, bold women, who fight, torture, maim and kill the Bogatyri. But they also invite these heroes to sleep with them and resort to various tricks or to sheer force to coerce the Bogatyri to take them in marriage.

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These feuds did not affect only the relations between local lords; intense strifes and vendettas were flourishing within the family of each one of the princes. Struggle for power and expansion often caused fratricidal warfare among the brothers after the death of their father. The old chronicles and other historical documents are full of examples of such family feuds. Murder, torture and blinding among the brothers and even between fathers and sons apparently were frequent.[20] The life of each one of these local potentates was spent in perpetual warfare, in feuding, and in plundering adventures.[21]

Power-thirstiness, factionalism, and rule of crude force prevailed among these petty rulers in no lesser way than among their nomadic predecessors and overlords. The internal system of rule on the domains of each prince was not more advanced. As the Russian written laws of that period testify, the killing of prince's representatives on the part of the peasants must have been frequent. City populace often rose in riots and revolutionary outbursts against the oppressive conditions imposed by these lords.[22] It was such conditions of physical, social and emotional insecurity that favored perpetuation of the institutions, practices, and other behavior traits which were introduced by the nomadic invaders and conquerors.

III

The changes that in the course of several centuries were taking place in social and psychological structure of the Old-Slavonic world as a result of the imposition of the rule of the nomadic warriors seem to have been well reflected in the Great-Russian folklore, especially in its epic legends. The military, the peasants, the burghers, their conflicts and their character traits are personified in these narratives by a number of popular heroes.[23]

The general picture which these folk documents present shows that the social stability which existed in the Old-Slavonic society was completely shattered as a result of nomadic invasions and conquests. The invading warriors not only caused great havoc but they provoked rapid and fundamental changes in the structure of the old society. Moreover the social disorganization and the political and economic instability that resulted out of these

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another instrument at the disposal of the father in imposing

discipline on his son consisted of threat of disinheritance and banishment. If an unmarried son left the paternal house during the lifetime of his father to establish his own separate household, the father was not obliged to give him anything and might even let him go "with nothing but his cross" (*s odnim krestom*).[8] But if a married son left with his father's consent, it was the privilege of the father to determine what his share should be.[9] Also in his testamentary disposition, the father was entitled to dispose of family property at will. The father also had the right to disinherit his son and chase him away from home as a punishment for bad behavior, especially disobedience.[10] He also had the power to select the disobedient son for military conscription. According to some sources the father had the right to sell his son "four times."[11] He might show predilection in testamentary disposition.[12] Many tales tell of a father's favoritism toward an obedient son.[13]

But the way the father used most often to impose his will and assert his power was coercion (*prinuzhdenie*) by means of physical beating (*poboi*). The horse whip and the birch rod (*rozga*) were used freely in family relations. The *Domostroy*, a code of Great-Russian family practices and ethics of the urban strata compiled and edited in the sixteenth century by Priest Sylvester, a councillor and confessor of Ivan the Terrible, prescribes in detail the application of corporal punishment as a sanction of the father's authority and rule:

> Beat your son in his youth, and he will comfort you in your old age . . . And do not weaken in beating the child. Beating with a rod will not kill him, but will make him healthier . . . If you will be weak in his childhood, he will make you suffer when he grows up . . . And give him no power in youth but crush his ribs while he is growing, because when he is big he will not obey you, and you will feel annoyed and ill at heart, and your house will be ruined . . . and your enemies will rejoice at your misfortune.[14]

The popular philosophy of life as expressed in the Great-Russian folk proverbs approves of the teachings of the Domostroy. "If God gives you sons, don't be lazy, teach them and beat them"; "If he did not obey his father, he will obey the whip,"

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593 861 the people would say. Hence, made secure by the prevailing philosophy of life, upheld by court decisions and supported by Church teachings on the supernatural sanction of his will, the father might be tempted to take advantage of his unlimited power and to expose his son to excessively severe and humiliating treatment. "I had born you and I shall kill you," said Taras Bulba to his son and shot him to death.[15]

593 The father might also take advantage of his uncontrolled power in the use of family property and funds. He might gamble them away, spend them on debauchery, or bring the family to ruin as a result of drunkenness or mismanagement. Such incidents in Russian families are often described in autobiographies and other writings of Russian men of letters. It is characteristic of Great-Russian family relations that the other family members were not expected to complain against such extreme abuse of paternal authority.[16] Hence in all strata of Russian society, there was a tendency to accept anything the father did, even the most degrading treatment, as his paternal prerogative. Even if a father had ruined his family because of gambling or lechery he was still held in reverence both by his society and by his children.[17]

606 835 Occasionally, particularly among the peasants, the father might take sexual advantage of his daughters-in-law, a practice which became known as *snokhachestvo* (*snokha* is daughter-in-law). This habit, which was already noticed by the writer of the Kiev Chronicle, was favored by the frequent absences of married sons who spent a part of the year in the city as workers or who were away from home for many years, or indefinitely, when conscripted for military duty. "The more women in the house, the more sin" (*Bolshe bab v semie, bolshe greha*),[18] the people would comment.

593 562 As much as the traditions of the steppe warriors prevailed in the Great-Russian patriarchal family the wife was placed on an equal footing with her children in relation to her husband. She had to show absolute submission and blind obedience to her husband. "The husband is father to his wife" (*Muzh zhene otets*);[19] "Christ is the head of the Church, the husband that of

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his wife"; "The husband is the law unto his wife," the proverbs say. As a result of such a view of husband-wife relations, the husband had the right and duty to apply brutal force to his wife as a means of discipline, the same as to his children. "It is woman's fate to be always beaten," the people would say.[20]

The description of folk life in the eastern parts of Russia corroborate this attitude toward wives as expressed in popular sayings. The informants tell of the "miserable fate of the women" (*nepriglyadnaya uchast zheny*),[21] the constant fights of husband and wife (*muzh deretsya s zhenoi*), and the thrashing (*poboi*) to which the wives were exposed on the part of their husbands. In case of adultery the punishment for the woman was "merciless beating" (*neshchadnoe bitie*) or strangling (*udushenie*).[22]

Domostroy, which was under the influence of Church teachings, agrees with this philosophy and practices and even offers elaborate and detailed precepts to the husband about how to treat his wife ". . . if the wife is not afraid of the punishment and does not follow the instructions, the husband should beat her." According to Domostroy only if the wife is blindly and unconditionally submissive "everything will run smoothly in the family." The wife must do everything "to please her husband and God and she must listen to him with fear and awe."[23]

Domostroy was compiled primarily for the urban classes of the Czardom. Its rules reflect a certain deterioration in the status of women as they moved from the peasant to the urban level. In the cities, especially among the merchants, the women were confined to the *terem* (gyneceum) and had less opportunity to work and earn for themselves. In the urban environment, the Turco-Mongol influences were therefore reinforced.

In the rural areas the women retained their role in economic production. The peasant women were thus enabled to retain some of the the Old-Slavonic traditions; they often knew how to assert themselves and influence family affairs. In a like manner, with the increasing opportunities for schooling in urban centers, a growing number of city women emancipated themselves from family ties and became economically and socially independent. In such circumstances also many women in the urban

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middle and upper strata knew how to assert themselves and increase their role and influence, thus reviving the Old-Slavonic traditions.

III

Though the father was to be severe and strict, he was expected also to love his wife and his children. Just like God in Heaven, father's duty was to inflict harsh punishment, but he was also to show compassion, kindness, understanding and constant solicitude for the members of his household. He was responsible before God and men for the failings and misdeeds of his family members, and he was therefore to look after their well-being and salvation. Thus love and violence were often mingled in the Great-Russian family. A number of folk sayings express this ambivalent trait of attachment and hostility when referring to the attitudes and behavior of the father. "To love one's wife is to hold her in terror" (*Lyubit zhenu-derzhat grozu*); "Whom I love I thrash" (*Kovo lyublyu togo i biyu*).[24]

One of the basic underlying motives in the father's violence seems to have been his self-seeking and urge for dominance as well as a need for succor. "Beat your wife oftener, it will be useful for the future," the men would say. The Domostroy justifies child beating in a similar manner ". . . he will comfort you in your old age and will give beauty to your soul. . . . and he will make you happy when he grows up. . . . and your enemies will envy you. If you will be weak in his childhood, he will make you suffer when he grows up; will set your soul on edge."[25]

There is in some proverbs also an indication of an expectation of "masochistic" indulgence according to which violence and deprivation would arouse love. "Not to beat one's wife is not to be loved by her" (*zhenu ne bit i milu ne byt*),[26] the people would say. In a folk song, for instance, the husband buys gifts for his wife, but it is of no avail. When the husband buys a knut and gives his wife a beating with it, it is only then that she responds with love. In another folk song the wife boasts the knuting "is an honor to me and is not painful" (*Mne to za chest, ne bolno.*)[27]

Though the father felt dependent upon his wife and children

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and was expected to love his family, he was to remain detached and distant. Such paternal behavior was particularly noticeable in the urban strata where both the Turco-Mongol and the Church influences were stronger. "Do not smile at him, do not play with him" is the advice of the Domostroy concerning father-son relations.[28] The father was not supposed to show any outward signs of emotion, neither anger nor affection toward his wife, children, or his servants. Even during the beating the father was expected to remain cold and detached, according to the Domostroy. His love was to be of a charitable and compassionate character. Any kind of personal closeness and familiarity with his wife or children might have undermined an authority that was based on sternness, fear and awe.

A number of autobiographies and other writings of Russian men of letters, as well as the accounts given by foreign observers, stress this duality in the behavior of the father. He is pictured as compassionate, kind and goodhearted, but also as detached, harsh and abusive.[29] A number of these documents tell about the *groza* (terror) in which the father or the grandfather had held all his dependents; about his detachment even when playing with children, and about his inability to be with them on comradely terms or to laugh with them. They often tell about the difficulties the children experienced in attempting to approach their father on intimate and friendly terms, though they felt that he had a "good heart" and was "compassionate":

> My father, true to the family tradition, took up the profession of soldiering . . . To his children he was a comparative stranger but we were terrified of him. We only saw him at meals; he spent the rest of his time in his private rooms which none of us dared to enter save at his command. A masterful, violent nature, he either could not or would not control his temper, and was an object of terror to us and to his servants. However, he had a good heart. But at the period when he lived, harshness had become a moral principle. To show benevolence was to be weak, to be cruel was to be strong . . . and my father, like most men, was cast in the mould of his period. He carefully concealed his feelings under a mask of harshness. He was certainly brutal; he was also compassionate in his own way . . . At this period children, the poor and the weak, and still more the serfs, were scarcely considered to possess a soul. My father reigned, but did not govern.

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Like Jupiter, he only interfered in the affairs of mortals in moments of crisis. But when he did interfere it was no laughing matter, and everybody, from cellar to attic, trembled in his shoes . . .[20]

This God-like, unapproachable, inscrutable, absolute and arbitrary power of a stern and violent but also benevolent, compassionate and solicitous father was apparently projected into the Russian supernatural world in the form of the *Domovoy*, the house spirit. According to the Great-Russian folk beliefs, the Domovoy was the protector of the house; he had patriarchal prerogatives over it, but also depended upon it. He demanded from the family all kinds of honors. At the same time he was as unpredictable in his behavior as any stereotyped family head in the Great-Russian patriarchal family system.

Thus the Domovoy was at times protective, benevolent and compassionate, but at other times he would become wicked, vindictive and mischievous. He was endowed with supernatural powers and could bring either fortune or calamity upon the family, depending upon his frequently changing moods and dispositions. It was, therefore, considered wise to address him as "Grand Father" and to propitiate and appease him by frequent offerings in viands. If such attention were shown to him he was likely to be helpful. But if he were neglected, he would become enraged and full of wrathful vengeance. In such a case, he could be atoned only by blood; the corners of the izba were sprinkled with blood of a cock that was killed for the occasion and various incantations were uttered.[21]

8
FAMILY CONFLICTS

I

THE FATHER treated his family members as wards and minors because he was responsible for their well-being, their behavior and their salvation. He had to show a constant solicitude for them (*neustannaya zabota*). The blame for their

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failures and their sins would fall upon him. He was emotionally and socially dependent upon the members of his family, yet he had to be stern and distant to maintain his authority. 593●

At the same time, the family members were expected to completely identify themselves with the family as a whole. This submerging of the individual in the family collective was manifested, for instance, in the ideas of common family good, rooted in the Old-Slavonic principles of mutual reponsibility and mutual aid of all community members ("all for one, one for all"). The elder brothers were expected to take care of their minor brothers and of their unmarried sisters; the aged or disabled parents were in the care of their children; the father was expected to maintain his daughter-in-law if she lost her husband or if her husband were away.[1] 592

Earlier, following Mongol traditions, the family was collectively responsible for the misdeeds or crimes of any one of its members.[2] In early Russia, according to the Expanded Version of the *Pravda*, "if anyone attacks and kills another without the slightest provocation, the inhabitants of the district do not make payment for this kind of a murderer, but they shall surrender him, with his wife and children, for sentencing to banishment or imprisonment, and his home shall be given up for plundering."[3] Also later in Muscovite Russia all members of a family were considered involved in the offense of a member. [672] [681]

This complete identification with one's family and this penal philosophy of collective responsibility, of implied collective culpability and family hostages (retained in Russian police practices until nowadays) favored family self-centeredness and self-concern. There was therefore a tendency to draw a curtain of secrecy around the family in order not to expose it to accusations and to protect it from defamation. In the urban strata the master of the household was very much preoccupied with this problem. "Your neighbors will reproach you, and your enemies will rejoice at your misfortune," warns Domostroy. Such family centeredness, which was a result of the ascendency of an autocratic state, favored social isolation and lack of intimate contact with neighbors; hence, it fostered also lack of social trust. [156]

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With the ascendancy of the otsovskaya system, family relations came to be organized in a hierarchical system along the lines of paternity, marriage status, seniority and sex. At one time, only married male members formed the family council (soviet). The males had priority over the females. Within each sex category the elder had priority rights over the younger. When the family was partitioned, custom demanded that the older brothers leave
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6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

These attitudes implied complete dependency and self-abnegation on the part of the wife and children in relation to their master. The wife and the children were expected always to speak with respect to the father, that is, in the second person plural instead of the second person singular—the way the children addressed each other or their mother. The wife did not address her husband by his first name, but by his first and second name (patronymic) which was the way less intimate acquaintances addressed each other. The children had to demonstrate their thankfulness for the father's care and solicitude by kissing his hands. Before a bride left her parental home, custom demanded that she say to her father, "God will help you for bread and salt." And he would advise her to be obedient to her new relations: "Be obedient to them the way you were obedient to me" (*slushay kak menia slushala*).[7]

Emphasis on fear and awe, obedience and gratitude was very outstanding in the Great-Russian patriarchal family relations. These feelings and attitudes had a supernatural sanction. As a result of the teachings of the Russian Orthodox Church, it was considered in popular opinion that any disobedience or disrespect of the father's will was mercilessly punished by God who brought life-long misery and misfortune for such unfilial behavior. Even after death, the soul of a disobedient and ungrateful child could hardly escape punishment in the eternal fire of hell. Many Great-Russian folktales place a great emphasis on obedience and gratitude and stress the cruel penalty and fearful fate that awaited a disobedient and ungrateful son.[8]

Such family relations in which demands of a harsh and detached, and even capricious and arbitrary father had to be answered by humility, unconditional submission, blind obedience, love and gratitude; in which family members fought over priorities and rights; where all felt dependent upon one another and isolated from the rest of the world, could not fail to provoke tensions and cause intense family antagonisms and animosities. Such tensions and conflicts became characteristic of the Great-Russian patriarchal family and were manifested in the relations between husband and wife, father and sons, between the siblings and between the in-laws.[9]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

parents and brothers, and with her sisters-in-law was not any brighter. In folk sayings the father-in-law is often referred to as "worse than a dog," and the mother-in-law as a "wicked satan." Her expectations about the treatment on the part of other in-laws were not more cheerful, as witnessed by the folk songs.[13]

When married, she soon realized that "before the husband the wife is always guilty" (*Pered muzhem zhena vsegda vinovata*). And there was no one to whom to complain or from whom to seek comfort. Her own parents and brothers were "far away" or indifferent to her fate, now that she was "cut off from the loaf" and belonged to another family. And if she did not develop an attachment to her husband or to her children, she might have sought an escape from such a difficult emotional situation in extra-marital love affairs, or in fantasies about such affairs. The Great-Russian folk songs are abundant with such themes and often justify these liaisons as a need for love and attachment which was denied to the bride in the home of the husband.[14] Extreme husband-wife antagonism as expressed by murder is occasionally the theme of Great-Russian religious sagas and more frequently the theme of folk tales[15] and of folk songs:

Against my will was I married;
I have taken an evil wife,
An evil one, not to my liking,
Neither in feeling nor in thought.
Lovingly live with her—that will I not.
Across the stream will I go,
Love will I make to the girls.
As for that wife of mine
I will go pray for her death.
Along the bank of the stream
Death, the beautiful, goes.
"Ho there! My beautiful Death!
Turn thee back again, Death!
Make an end of my wife."
Scarce had I spoken—when Death
Began her work with my wife.
Scarce had I time to look around—
Shrouded in linen white was her corpse
Struck was the stroke on the bell.[16]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

III

●593 No less intense seems to have been the tension between father and son. The son in this family was placed in a difficult position in respect to the absolute power of his father, sanctioned by the Church, by the local authorities, by the landlord, and by the law of the state. According to the Church teachings and according to the popular opinion, the parent's blessing brought good fortune and the parent's curse life-long misery. There was also fear of disinheritance, banishment, and military conscription. But there was also a strong desire for freedom and independence from an arbitrary and brutal paternal authority.

Open rebellion against this authority was not expedient, nor advisable. Leaving home without the father's consent was practically impossible because all the authorities would support the [48L] father against the son. Without father's consent the police would not issue a passport which was necessary for travelling within the country. There was also a strong emotional resistance against fighting back one's father because, according to the popular view of life, "The hands which beat the father shall never be able to earn anything." Besides, as long as the father was physically stronger the outcome of such a struggle did not look promising.

There was, however, also a tendency on the part of the son to attach himself to his father, and to identify himself with him. But since the father tended to be detached and stern and might even abuse his son, the son had difficulties in experiencing a close and warm relationship with father and to identify himself with him. And since the father was not always harsh but often good hearted, compassionate and kind, the deprivation of a friendly and intimate contact with the father was painfully felt as a rejection. The result was the development of ambivalent feelings of identification and rebellion, of love and hatred in father-son relations. "When I have a father, I feel like killing him; when I have none, I feel like buying one," was the people's saying.

A son's wounded pride and rebellion against a tyrannical and abusive father took on normally a silent and inner form, at least as long as the father remained physically stronger than his son. This inner form of revolt was sometimes manifested in a secret

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

desire for his father's death.[17] Only then was there hope for freedom. A folk maxim, for instance, says: "When the earth takes the parents, the children get their freedom." Such an extreme form of revolt, however, was not so simple because it went counter to the accepted image of the father, his supernaturally sanctioned absolute power, his care and solicitude for the welfare of all the family, and the traditional obligation of love and gratitude towards him on the part of the family members. Hence antagonistic attitudes against the father were regularly mixed with strong feelings of guilt.

Both the feeling of guilt and the fear of being rejected by the father might have perhaps been manifested in those folk tales which tell gruesome and frightful stories about children who were abandoned by their parents[18] and left at the mercy of wild beasts, frost, open sea, and in those folk tales in which the children are dismembered by their own parents and thrown away in small pieces. That the father himself sensed a potential feeling of rebelliousness on the part of his son and that he himself might have had a feeling of guilt because of his treatment of his son is witnessed by folk sayings which express a dread of old age with its dependency upon one's own children: "To pay old debts and to feed old parents are the hardest things in the world"; "One father will feed nine children sooner than nine children will feed one father"; "God take away my life rather than let me be under my son's care."[19]

There were other tensions and conflicting situations in the Great-Russian patriarchal family, particularly in the urban strata. The principle of seniority, for instance, reserved disciplinary privileges and responsibilities for the brothers in relation to their sisters, and for the senior brothers and sisters in relation to their juniors. At the same time a father's absolute power often took the form of favoritism in respect to a younger son, or to a daughter, which was counter to the established principles of seniority and therefore considered unjust. There was therefore plenty of opportunity for resentments, rivalries, jealousies, hatreds, and fights among the siblings, or between the older and the younger family members:

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The family was divided into two clans, the elder and the younger. The elder ones were proud, rich, all powerful, fearing none but Jupiter [father]. They had fine rooms where they could run about and play without fear of colliding with the furniture; they lived in style and despised us, and punished us. The youngsters were weak and oppressed, with only a little room as their domain; they were kept running errands and had sweets to eat only on the rare occasion when they were given a few. They were teased and were accused of lying when they were not telling lies; . . . They had none to defend them against the iniquity of the elders . . . The two clans carried on constant warfare. The elders . . . would treat the youngsters as vassals and make fun of them.[20]

In the homes of merchants and petty officials, frictions, tensions, and animosities were so outstanding a feature of family life as late as the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, that they formed a recurrent theme in Russian belles-lettres of those days, such as in the works of Dostoyevsky and of Ostrovsky. N. Dobrolyubov, a noted Russian critic, commenting on the writings of Ostrovsky, asserted that it was [157] the system of tyranny which caused cunning, hatred, lack of justice and of human dignity in the family.[21] In a similar way Peter Kropotkin, observing family relations in various strata of Russian society in the second part of the nineteenth century, claimed that, "quite a network of habits and customs of domestic slavery, of utter disregard of human individuality, of despotism on the part of the fathers, and of hypocritical submission on that of the wives, the sons, and the daughters, had developed."[22]

9
MOTHER-CHILD ATTACHMENT

I

THOUGH the internal situation in the Great-Russian patriarchal family tended to be rather tense, the role played by the mother was likely to introduce into that family an element of moderation and emotional integration.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

ment of moderation and emotional integration. In the early Slav society, mother's role in all family affairs was very significant. With the growth of the patriarchal family, one of her important duties came to be that of intercessor and of protector against the wrath of the father. In the patriarchal family the mother was not the chief disciplinarian; therefore she did not have to resort to threat, violence, privations, and humiliation as a means of discipline. Her punishments were mild and her main means of control were those of love and reasoning. Her authority and self-respect were therefore not endangered by being close to children and by being on familiar terms with them. She was always available and approachable. The children, therefore, felt much more at ease and free in the presence of their mother than in that of their father.[1]

The mother, if feeling neglected, abused or degraded by a remote and harsh husband, was likely to seek compensation for the lack of love and for wounded self-esteem by being over-protective and over-affectionate in relation to her children, expecting indulgent response from them. The son, if barred in his desire for attachment to his father or if abused and humiliated by him, might feel the more attracted to his mother as a means of emotional outlet and as compensation for feelings of rejection and humiliation.

It is this role of the mother as warm protector and close friend that has been expressed in folk sayings and other products of folk philosophy and imagination. "Fear your father, and respect your mother" says a Russian folk proverb pointing out the sharp contrast in the attitude of a child toward his father and his mother. The folk sayings emphasize also the intimate and tender bond that exists between mother and child and the importance of such close ties for the child. "Without a father the child is half orphan, without a mother a child is a complete orphan"; "Mother's beating does not hurt"; "Mother raises her hand high, but does not strike hard." Because of such close mother-child relationship, it was considered in the popular view of life that mother's influence on the child was in the long run deeper than that of the father. "What mother puts into the child's head, the father will not knock out," the people would say.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

●593 538 The Great-Russian epic legends have the same image of the mother. One of the most peculiar and significant aspects of these narratives is that in times of distress, in moments of gloom or when gripped by strong feelings of guilt it is often the mother who comes to the rescue of the *bogatyr* (legendary hero), gives him solace, helps him with advice, places her treasure at his disposal.[2] The mother is considered to be of such a great value that heroes, in the course of their feasting and drinking bouts, when boasting of their war exploits, of their horses and possessions, boast also of their mothers:

> One boasts of his good steed,
> One boasts his silken breeches,
> One boasts his villages with hamlets,
> One boasts his towns with their suburbs,
> One boasts of his dear mother,
> But the foolish one boasts of his young wife.[3]

593 771 Mother's role as a moderator *vis-à-vis* a harsh and detached father was expressed very early in the Russian religious lore. For instance, one of the most popular religious tales of early Russia was the one of the "journey of the Mother of God through the Inferno." In this story the *Bogoroditsa* (Birth-giver to God), impressed by the tortures of sinners, implored God to pardon them. At first God was implacable, but finally, as a result of Bogoroditsa's supplication, he promised some relief in their suffering.[4] In the same manner the contemporary Russian religious folk poetry often pictures the Mother of God as the "fastest helper" and as the "warm interceder":

> Mother mine—Mother Maria,
> Purest maiden—The Most Holy
> Mother of the World—Maria,
> Most holy Birthgiver to God,
> Beautiful sun,
> Purest dove,
> Mother of God,
> The fastest helper,
> The warm interceder
> Intercede, save and have mercy.[5]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

This idealized image of mother as a helper and interceder that was projected into religious lore has been manifested also in widespread Madonna worship. The cult of the Bogoroditsa was noticeably developed in Russian society from the days of its conversion to Christianity. The old Russian princes of the Kiev period invoked the help of the Mother of God, dedicated their cities to her, and wrote prayers to her.[6] Throughout many centuries Madonna icons were very widely in use and prayers to Madonna were very frequent in the religious practices of the Russian Church. Some of the most outstanding Russian Orthodox cathedrals have been dedicated to the Mother of God.

Identification with mother is seen in the often used phrase "Mother Russia" and in the word *rodina*—"mother-country." Also rivers and cities are regularly identified with mother (Mother Volga, Mother Moscow). The days in the week which are considered holy or consecrated are sometimes identified with mother, such as Mother Wednesday, Mother Friday.[7] And in Russian epic poetry, the whole earth is invariably identified with mother in the often-repeated phrase *Mat syra zemlya*—moist Mother Earth.

Of course other attachments took place in the Great-Russian family as manifested in the identification of a younger brother with his older brother and in frequent father-daughter emotional ties. There were, also, families in which mother appeared not in her expected role of close friend and protector but in that of a domineering and tyrannical despot. All such relations had their particular effects on the development of a child's personality, as we shall see on the following pages.

10
DEPENDENCE, SENSE OF GUILT, FEAR

I

WHEN a child's demand for attention and love is thwarted by a dominating and forbidding father, feelings of

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[Ivan the Terrible]

In this manner popular religious ideas and practices which might have developed as a response to the interpersonal relations in the family and in the Czardom in their own turn tended to perpetuate the existing social and political order, its institutions and practices. There were, however, other aspects of interpersonal relations intrinsic to that social organization which provoked responses that tended not to perpetuate it, but to undermine it and to destroy its very foundations. These important agents of structural change in Russian society will be discussed on the following pages.

11
POWER-SEEKING, MISTRUST, AND DESTRUCTIVE AGGRESSION

I

A CHILD who has been rejected and humiliated by a stern and scornful father, but who has been spoiled by an overindulgent mother might respond to such a situation by developing an exaggerated concern for his own ego, and an extreme intolerance for privations and denials. And in case the mother cannot serve as a satisfactory substitute for rejection by the father, complete detachment from the group, and pity for an abandoned, degraded and suffering self might develop. In such circumstances also a deeply rooted suspicion of others, an unbridled desire for power, and an overwhelming hate and urge for destruction of all those who stand in one's path might take place.

The life histories of a number of Russian rulers and intelligentsia apparently show such an effect of their family environment.[1] Childhood experiences and character traits of Ivan the Terrible, for instance, provide an outstanding example. There is sufficient evidence for the contention that the strange behavior of this Czar was rooted in rejection and in alternating mistreat-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[Ivan the Terrible]

[Dobrolyubov]

593 154 159 ment and indulgence to which Ivan was exposed as a child. Early in his life Ivan was left an orphan. His father died when he was four and he lost his mother four years later. As a child Ivan was reared among crouching servility as well as among arrogance, violence, and contempt. He was greatly pampered on the part of some of his tutors and courtiers, but also often deeply wounded on the part of others. Some of the boyars at the court would annoy him and insult him. They would arrest and threaten with death persons to whom Ivan was attached.

In his own writings, Ivan tells us how much he suffered because he was deprived of his attachments and frustrated in his expectations. It is possible, that it was as a result of such experiences that Ivan developed ideas of rejection, persecution and self-pity, as well as an urge for self-assertion by means of destructive aggression. He sought for himself power which was as overwhelming as that of omnipotent God and asserted himself by means of ruthless violence. "My parents never had a care for me," he claimed. He also said: "In vain I have looked for some man to have pity upon me, but have found no one. Yea, no comforter have I found, but only such as have rewarded me evil for good and hatred for love."[2] He felt emotionally very dependent upon his wife and blamed the courtiers for her early death. He himself explained his assassinations of the boyars on that ground. "Why divided ye me from my wife? Had ye not taken from me my *unitza* (heifer—young wife), never had there been the slayings of the boyars."[3] The old documents say about Ivan [157] that "He pitieth not men, nor yet yieldeth. Likewise, he loveth not contrary speech, but doth conceive anger against them who do speak it."[4] He is described by his biographers as "self-seeking, opinionated, ferocious and self-willed."

More recent evidence of the effect of rejection-indulgence is given by Dobrolyubov, one of the outstanding Russian intellectual rebels of the second part of the nineteenth century. According to his biographers and according to his own diary, Dobrolyubov was thwarted in his attachment to his father, a clergyman, who was detached, harsh and even brutal in dealings with his son. Dobrolyubov was very close to his mother, but this relation apparently did not compensate for the thwarting and

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[Dobrolyubov]

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humiliating treatment which Dobrolyubov experienced at the hands of his father. As a reaction to such a family situation, Dobrolyubov developed strong needs for emotional attachment and felt very disillusioned and deeply embittered when his need for dependency was frustrated. When he was sixteen years of age this "forerunner of Bolshevism" wrote in his diary:

> No matter how many attachments I had formed in the past, always the evil fate would whisk the beloved being far away from me; and in my soul remains only the sorrowful memory and bitter realization of my despair . . . I could never live without love, without attachment to someone. This has been so ever since I remember myself. But this constant irony of fate, which makes all my hopes and dreams usually crash into dirt, constantly hardens and chills my heart, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that soon it will be both hard and cold as stone.[5]

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Later, apparently, Dobrolyubov found an outlet for his repressed hostilities, in his writings in which he tended to emphasize the dark sides of Russian society ("Realm of Darkness"). He joined that group of "Nihilists" who excelled in their philosophy of extreme individualism, who attacked the existing society and devised the ways to destroy "coldbloodedly" its very foundations, including the family. It was in this ideology of "Nihilism" that Russian Anarchism as well as Bolshevism have been rooted.

000

The demand for unlimited power as a means of compensation for humiliations and deprivations and as a means of satisfying craving for acceptance and support tends to perpetuate a political system which gives one a chance to indulge such needs through relationships of absolute dominance and unconditional submission and through destructive action. Such a social and political structure, in its own turn, tends to reinforce paternal despotism and absolute obedience in the family. In this manner, just as in the society of steppe marauders, power-seeking, mistrust and destructive aggression are perpetuated, become generalized and are manifested in many social relations.

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On the folk level desire for power was manifested, for instance, in the customs connected with childbirth. On that occasion the midwife would place the child on a sheepskin coat or furcoat so

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[Belinsky]
[Nekrasov]
[Herzen]

was to convey to the masses a social message. In their literary essays they stressed the social and political ills of Russia and believed in the Westernization of their country as a way out of its social and political difficulties.

It is reported that Belinsky grew up with the feeling of revolt against the despotism of his father who tyrannized the family. Nekrasov, "at the age of 17 . . . broke with his father whom he detested even as he idolized his mother" . . . And it was Nekrasov who in his writings showed an especially "great and unfeigned compassion for the poor and the suffering" and who "idealized and worshipped the Russian people,"[1] that is, the people who have been exposed to an age long misery. In a similar manner Herzen had generalized his childhood experiences and had transferred his reactions to all human kind. As a child he showed a strong reaction against his "inaccessible" father and a deep sympathy for all those whom his father abused:

> . . . the hushed voices and noiseless steps of the servants were no sign of devotion, but of repression and fear. All impulsiveness and frankness my father disliked and called familiarity; and all display of feeling passed with him for sentimentality. And when this proud old man, with his clear understanding and sincere contempt of mankind, played this part of a passionless judge, whom did he mean to impress by the performance: A woman whose will he had broken, though she never tried to oppose him; a boy whom his own treatment drove from mere naughtiness to positive disobedience; and a score of footmen whom he did not reckon as human beings! . . . Always on his guard, discontented with everyone, he suffered when he saw the feelings he inspired in every member of the household. Smiles died away and talk stopped whenever he came into the room. Stinging mockery and cool contemptuous irony were the weapons which he could wield with the skill of an artist, and he used them equally against us and against the servants. There are few things that a growing boy resents more; and, in fact, up to the time of my imprisonment I was on bad terms with my father and carried on a petty warfare against him, with the men and maids for my allies . . . did I deserve that he should preach even the truth in a manner so repulsive to the heart of youth? His intelligence, chilled by a long life spent in a corrupt society, made him suspicious of all the world; his feelings were not warm and did not crave for reconciliation; and therefore he remained at enmity

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[Herzen]
[Sophia Perovskaya]

with all his fellow creatures . . . I felt intense pity for the old man, but I could do nothing—he was inaccessible.[2]

The liberalizing influences which were penetrating Russia from the West reinforced urges of revolt against despotism as well as feelings of identification with suffering masses. By the second part of the nineteenth century the reaction against the tyrannical family environment and oppressing political system took often an extreme form. It is common knowledge that many Russian terrorists and assassins of the second part of the nineteenth century grew up exposed to constant family tensions and personal humiliations, and sought total destruction of society. Others were inclined to identify themselves with all who were abused. Thus we find the urge for destruction and identification with suffering as fundamental aspects of the ideology of Russian revolutionary movements. For instance, Kropotkin, the outstanding Russian Anarchist directly related his revolutionary activities to his identification with all those who were persecuted. He appealed to all who were exposed to maltreatment to rise against their oppressors:

> Ay, all of us together, we who suffer and are insulted daily, we are a multitude whom no man can number. We are the ocean that can embrace and swallow up all else. When we have but the will to do it, that very moment will justice be done; that very instant the tyrants of the earth shall bite the dust.[3]

Or take, for instance, Sophia Perovskaya, one of the plotters in the assassination of Czar Alexander II. According to her biographers her father was a willful despot "such as the patriarchal system alone could have produced," and her mother, "constantly humiliated and insulted," remained at home to protect the children. Thus, in her own family Perovskaya learned to hate oppression and developed her love for the oppressed and weak. For her mother, one of the down-trodden, she had a love "bordering upon adoration."[4] Catherine Breshkovskaya, another outstanding Russian revolutionary, who became known as the "little grandmother of the Russian revolution," tells us in her reminiscences and letters how her childhood experiences affected her feelings, thoughts, and actions throughout her life:

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[Catherine Breshkovskaya]
[Bakunin]

How many times, stupefied and shocked, I have been the witness of such humiliating, degrading, excruciating things! How many times I have thrown myself at my father's feet to implore pardon for a so-called culprit, whose only fault, perhaps, was to have fallen asleep while herding the sheep! How many times I have been indignant to see how hundreds of peasants would be kept waiting in the courtyard, bare-headed and shivering with cold, waiting for the master to appear, after making them wait all day, would send them off without a word, so taken up was he with gambling at cards with other lords, who in their turn were making their coachmen wait on the carriage box till their hands were frozen! These things tormented my childish mind, and pursued me even into my bed, where I would lie awake for hours, unable to sleep for thinking of all the horrors about me. Child as I was, I could not understand why these honest folk should bear the entire burden of work and of taxes. I saw that my father, good though he was, put much more heart into looking after his own interests than the interests of his serfs, and I was shocked at the inequality between the rich and the poor. From the age of eight, how to find justice was the question that troubled me.[5]

Identification with suffering is outstanding in the literary works of Dostoyevsky. Influenced by religious feelings, he considered his own sufferings as a blessing. He identified Russia with crucified Christ and regarded the sufferings of the Russian people as a means by which the wrongs of all mankind will be expiated so that a new and better order will prevail on the earth: "All men will be holy and love one another, and there will be no more rich nor poor, no exulted nor humbled, but all will be as the children of God, and the true Kingdom of Christ will come."[6]

II

Not in all families of Russian intelligentsia was the situation alike. There were families in which harmonious relations prevailed. There were also families in which reaction developed not against the despotism of the father but against the tyranny of the mother. Bakunin, for instance, describes his mother as "a vain, egotistical woman and none of her children loved her."[7] According to Carr, Bakunin "attributed his passion for destruction to the influence of his mother, whose despotic character

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

[Bakunin]

[Saint Theodosius]

593 159 [668]

inspired him with an insensate hatred of every restriction on liberty."[8]

Identifying himself with all the oppressed, this leading Russian anarchist revolted not only against the family and the state, but against God as well, because God was a symbol of authority and fear. To Bakunin the concept of a God of fear implied abdication of reason and of justice, and was the negation of human liberty. He expounded therefore the overthrow of God as a necessary precondition of human liberation.[9] To Bakunin the revolt of Satan against God was the first attempt of free thought, of science, and of human freedom.[10]

Not unlike this was the reaction of Turgeniev toward the despotism of his mother. This outstanding Russian novelist apparently developed a great compassion for the Russian serfs and became a champion in the struggle for freedom and for the emancipation of the peasants because he identified his own sufferings with the plight of the muzhiks on the estate of his mother. Turgeniev's mother apparently gave vent both on her son and on her serfs for the sufferings of her unhappy married life, and in bringing up her own son she made few concessions. The same excessive strictness that she applied against serfs she exercised also against her own son. "I was flogged almost every day for merest trifles," says Turgeniev.[11] [538]

An earlier case of reaction against a despotic mother and resulting identification with those who are humiliated is that of Saint Theodosius. This Russian saint was one of the founders of Russian monasticism in the eleventh century. According to Fedotov, the main theme in the hagiography of Theodosius is the "strife with his mother . . . the cruel treatment he endured, and his threefold escape. Many scenes are painted with truly artistic skill, particularly the portrait sketched of the mother, with her passionate transitions from outbursts of anger to caresses, with her appearance as a virago: 'She was strong in body, vigorous as a man: anybody who would not have seen her but only heard her voice would believe it was that of a man.' "[12] 593 159 792

Theodosius reacted to the despotism of his mother by wearing "uncouth and patched garb" like the poor and the beggars to the dismay of his parents, who were well-to-do people and felt hor-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[Saint Theodosius]

593 159 792 rified by such behavior. After his father's death, Theodosius used "to go to the fields with the slaves and work humbly."[13] Later when Theodosius finally escaped from his mother's tyranny by entering a monastery, he became the founder of that school of Russian monastic philosophy which emphasizes self-abnegation and meekness, as well as charitable love and compassion for those who suffer. In that manner Theodosius identified himself and his Church with all those who were tyrannized. But he was also active in protecting those to whom injustice was done. He became "intercessor for many before judges and princes, rescuing people."[14]

152 695 Deep sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them might explain why the Russian juries and the peasant courts were so ready to acquit the repentants. Juries and courts would often set free criminals who were found guilty by well established evidence. The verdict in such a case might be "not guilty" because of "commiseration for the poor murderer." A jury sitting through Holy Week would tend to acquit everybody, because "at the time of our Lord's Passion, it does not become Christians to condemn their brethren."[15]

152 538 Sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them is an outstanding trait of Russian literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Russian writings of those days exhibit a preoccupation with great social, political, religious and psychological problems of mankind. They picture a gloomy, painful, and tragic world, full of misery, injustice, blood and death. In the same manner the school textbooks of those days contained many heartbreaking stories full of compassion and commiseration for the suffering, unprotected, weak.

152 783 538 668 When identification with suffering is a manifestation of revolt or is combined with the urge for revolt, strong feelings of guilt might develop. On such grounds compulsion to suffer and to be persecuted might thrive. This "Russian Kenotism" is found among the early Russian monastics[16] as well as among the Russian nineteenth century revolutionaries and men of letters. Some Russian revolutionary factions, for instance, emphasized sacrifice and martyrdom to the point of self-destruction.[17] In the like manner Count Leo Tolstoy claims in his diary that he, "often

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

●593 154 517 Some Russian intellectuals, leaders and men of letters, such as Dobrolyubov, Ostrovsky, Herzen and Kropotkin were very much impressed by the effect which Russian family atmosphere had in shaping the personality of the Russian people, especially the intelligentsia. Herzen pointed out that in a family in which there was "much to hate and despise, and almost nothing to love and to respect," the psychological development was not full, but warped. In a similar manner Kropotkin explains that people who are brought up in families in which the personal relationships between children and their parents are based not on love and mutual respect but on fear and unconditional submission become both domineering and servile, as well as rebellious:

[861] A child's spirit is weak. It is so easy to coerce it by fear . . . They make the child timid, and they talk to him of the torments of hell. They conjur up before him the sufferings of the condemned, and vengeance of an implacable God . . . and by that habit of submission the thought of the next generation attains this religious twist, which is at once servile and authoritative; for authority and servility walk ever hand in hand. . . . Then the degradation of the ruler and of the judges, of the clergy and of the more or less comfortable classes becomes so revolting that the pendulum begins to swing the other way.[16]

The family environment, however, is itself an integral part of the society to which it belongs and is therefore interacting with it. Hence an understanding of the structure of the whole society, of the view of life, traditional culture and general orientation of its various strata, of the configuration of its interpersonal, institutional and power relationships is necessary in order to explain personality formation and peculiarities of behavior of a people.[17] It is in such a total context that also the direct and the indirect influences of physical environment or of any other "external" pressures might be correctly appraised.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Building on the traditional role of the Father in the Russian family the Party portrays the Party Leader as a strict and distant but also watchful and solicitous man who takes good care of his family. Following the traditional image of God and of the Father, the Party Leader is pictured as being benevolent toward those who submit to him unconditionally, but as being wrathful and merciless toward his foes and all those who disobey. And just like the members of the Great-Russian family, the Soviet people are expected to show "filial gratitude" to their Elder for his care and vigilance. Hence the supreme Party Leader is addressed as "our own father" (*rodnoy otets*), teacher (*uchitel*), leader (*vozhd*), friend (*drug*), and feeder (*kormilets*). Articles and letters of gratitude published daily in the Soviet press invariably mention his fatherly solicitude (*otecheskaya zabota*), his wise (*mudry*) plan and his genius (*geny*). Without fail they thank him ardently (*goryachee spasibo*) for what he has done for the well-being (*blago*), happiness (*schastie*), and world mightiness of the Soviet state (*velichaishaya derzhava mira*). On the occasion of the Leader's birthday numerous songs and musical compositions include titles which convey the idea of dependence upon and filial gratitude to an All-Powerful and All-Wise Vozhd.

It is expected that such identifications will reinforce in the Soviet people the feeling of guilt and make them redouble their efforts in building and supporting the Soviet system. Thus in the letters which various institutions, organizations and associations write to Vozhd, pledges are given to fulfill and overfulfill their quotas and to improve quality of products in gratitude for his unceasing "paternal care" and solicitude. And if they have failed, stayed behind, or have not come up to the expectations of their "father and teacher," they admit their guilt and promise to spare no efforts to improve, and thus arrest his wrath and rejection.[19] Not only lowly and humble folk from the bottom of the Soviet social pyramid, but men and women on the lofty peaks of Soviet arts and sciences, write such letters to Stalin in the same tone of religious reverence and humility, that strongly remind one both of the servility of Czarist official classes and of the prayers to an All-Mighty and wrathful God in the Russian Orthodox Church.

The ruling hierarchy realizes, however, that deification of the

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

strengthen the control of the Party over that fundamental social institution. This intent to completely subject the family to the Party's aims is expressed in Bolshevik ideological parlance as "the cultural-educational influence of the socialist state upon family relationships in the direction of strengthening socialist principles."[21]

II

Following Russian traditional attachment to the Mother Country, Soviet pedagogical principles demand that love for the *Rodina* should be emphasized in the training of children. Building on traditional mother-child attachment in the Russian family, the Party instructs teachers to point out to their pupils how Lenin was attached to his mother.[22] It also emphasizes the tender relations between Stalin and his mother. Teachers are told that this natural attachment of a child to his mother should be used as a means to instill in the child love for his Mother Country.[23]

At the same time in the school textbooks, in the daily press, in the speeches of Party leaders and all other means of mass communication, it is the Bolshevik Party that is represented to be the Mother of the Komsomols, Pioneers, and Octobrists, and the "mother of the Soviet people." The love for the Rodina is, therefore, interpreted as being conditioned by and subordinated to the primary duty of love for the Party or the Leader with whom the Party is identified. Hence, even when mother-attachment remains strong in a Soviet child, the attempt is made to transfer that attachment to the Party and to raise loyalty to the Leader and to the Party above loyalty to the country. Thus Party loyalty precedes both family and national loyalty in the Soviet educational philosophy. "Party is above everything else," the Bolsheviks say. And it is this loyalty to the Leader, Party or Cause which precedes all other loyalties that forms the core of Bolshevik internationalism and the basis of its world appeal, not unlike the appeal of a universal church.

Most children of elementary school age and a greater part of those on secondary school level belong to Party auxiliary organizations, the Octobrists, the Pioneers and the Komsomols. In the great variety of activities in which these organizations are ex-

6: Tomasi... E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

pected to help the Party "at all times," there is always a possibility of conflict between the demands of the Party and those of the family. Also, owing to a great shortage of manpower and a very low standard of living, most women, with the exception of those from the upper ruling strata, are forced to work long hours outside the home. Many of them have to engage in heavy physical labor. Such mothers are not only physically exhausted at the end of the day, but are often disillusioned, bitter, as well as critical of the system, a fact which is confirmed by a rather high percentage of women in convict labor camps. Such mothers cannot pay sufficient attention to their children.

At the same time great demands and responsibilities placed on parents in regard to the discipline of their children and the interference of the Party and the government in family affairs often causes harshness in treatment of children. Hence overstrictness as well as negligence of children is the result.[24] Such a situation favors both feelings of rejection and revolt, as well as extreme self-concern and destructive aggressiveness on a larger scale and in a more intense way than in the days of Czardom. And since the Soviet system of vigilance encourages family members to inform on one another, mutual suspicions, fears, and hostilities rooted in patriarchal traditions are greatly magnified. Training in self-confidence and trust, and in group attachment cannot thrive in such circumstances. But it is exactly self-concern, mistrust, and destructive aggression that are so instrumental in the perpetuation of the Bolshevik rule.

Unstable political and economic conditions, together with consequences of wars, depletion of rural areas of adult men, famines, convict labor camps to which millions of parents have been confined, have resulted in an unprecedented number of broken families and a growing number of neglected, illegitimate and delinquent children. A number of such children, especially orphans of war heroes, at the age of nine are sent to military schools. Many neglected and delinquent children at the age of 3 to 13 are sent to special homes for children which are in charge of the secret political police.[25] The increasing stress on internal vigilance, together with the pressing need of the political police to feed their vast economic enterprises with cheap

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

000 authorities as soon as these showed signs of weakness and defeat.

Could it be that lack of acceptance, thwarted and unstable attachments in the Soviet system of rule will bring about the same results? And will the fanaticism, cynicism, and extreme self-concern cause the Soviet "Oprichniki" to play as fateful a role in their own day as their predecessors did in theirs? Will such "Janizaries" become the spearheads of a new plan for world conquest, in the name of a new Allah? Or will they bring about internal chaos and anarchy as soon as their personal power is imperilled? Increasing complaints against misappropriation of public funds and properties, venality of government officials and Party members indicate such possibilities. Disrespect for personal rights on the part of the government bureaucracy and the military, emphasis on hatred in the educational system and the press, and inhuman practices of the political police point in the same direction.

593 [672] On the other hand, the same pressures that work in the direction of family tension and of breaking up of family ties might, in certain circumstances, strengthen family attachments and family solidarity. In the police practices of the Soviet Union all those who had any ties (*svyaz*) with a political culprit are suspected of the same crime. It is this philosophy of implied culpability that leads to the principle of joint family responsibility and family hostages in case of political offenses by one family member. It appears that a number of "confessions" in the political trials were the result of a promise on the part of the secret police that the family members of the victim will be spared. Such conditions of consistent external threat if combined with indifference toward Soviet efforts might foster the tendency to withdraw within one's own family circle, to keep the outside contacts to a minimum, and to strengthen the intimacies of the home.

In those cases when changes in family relations take such a trend, the status of the father apparently assumes a different position and function from that which was typical of the Great-Russian patriarchal family system in the past. Instead of the strictness and detachment which characterized the father's role

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in that family, the new circumstances call for more leniency and more intimacy on his part toward his wife and his children. The mother at the same time, because now closer to her husband, is in no need to become over-attached to her children. Such well-balanced family relations come to closely resemble those in the Old-Slavonic family.

It is the children with such close family ties in an emotionally balanced family atmosphere that develop traits of moderation, self-control, responsibility, group orientation and humane feelings. It is in such families that patriotism, idealization of the past and longing for a more humane and more equalitarian political system are nursed.[28] In such families skepticism concerning Bolshevik mythology and opposition to Soviet system may be safely expressed. In such families also religion is cultivated or secretly practiced.[29] In such families apparently numerous anecdotes which ridicule Soviet regime circulate and are spread throughout the Soviet Union.[30] It is to break such family intimacy and solidarity which breed opposition to their regime that the Bolsheviks have shown increasing concern for the control of family relations.

But if the opposition to the Bolshevik regime centers in such families of patriots and humanists, the fate of the Soviet system might rest upon them, in the final analysis. These people might be reluctant to support a Soviet war of aggression led by careerists and fanatics, but ready to defend their Mother Country in the event of hostile aggression from the outside. However, in a war against the Soviet Union which the patriots and the humanists would interpret as a war of liberation from the oppressive, inhuman and destructive policies of Soviet rulers, they might be inclined to take the side of the invading liberators. Inasmuch as such people already find themselves at the fringes of Soviet power structure as specialists and experts in economic management and government administration, in times of crisis the shift of power to these people could easily take place.

Such a trend of development will be even more emphasized among the oppressed, but nationally-conscious minorities, than among the dominant Great-Russians. Millions of Soviet subjects who willingly gave themselves up to the German invaders and

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

welcomed them as liberators in World War II, indicate such possibilities.

III

In studying personality growth in the Soviet society, one should take into account also the differences between the urban and the rural environments and the influences of those environments on interpersonal relations within the family circle. Owing to the very rapid pace of urbanization and low rate of production of consumption goods, most of the families located in the urban areas are exposed to the housing shortage and lack of home privacy. Many of these families live in community apartments in which there is only one room per family and in which a number of unrelated families share a common kitchen and toilet facilities. Family conflicts and tensions tend to be intensified in such circumstances. Lack of privacy, noisiness, and lack of sleep in crowded quarters, together with the lack of sufficient food, long hours of work and unsatisfactory conditions of work increase dissatisfactions and magnify existing family conflicts. An outlet for dissatisfactions is found then in trivial scandals and bickering, in petty squabbles, but also in violent emotional outbursts.[31]

Conditions in rural areas are somewhat different. Though virtually all peasant families live in one or at most two-room cottages, which they often share with a few heads of livestock, yet the rural family does have its own privacy. Most peasant families possess a small lot of land around the cottage, on which they raise some poultry or a pig; some might even own a cow. Though this is all very modest, yet with some labor, after the work for the kolhoz has been done, the peasant family has been able to raise some food on its own property and perhaps to sell it on the open market and then buy some clothing and other bare necessities.[32]

Compared to the situation of the city worker, the peasant, though receiving lower wages for his work, and often going in rags, perhaps does feel relatively more independent. If he is an adult with a family he is much less likely to be pushed around, though he is constantly exhorted by kolhoz officials to work more

7: Lineva B-5 (no date)1893 RFl Great Russia RFl

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In my native country lives my stern father;
He was harsh and had no pity on me.
He forbade me to walk out in the evening;
I disobeyed my father and pleased my lover."

This song is greatly liked at dancing parties amongst the peasants, but it really was not a dancing song originally. While the time is quick and lively, still there can be heard in it an undercurrent of sadness, and this combination of two opposing feelings is also expressed in the words of the song.

A young woman remembers her former home, from which she escaped against the wishes of her stern father, who did not allow her to atttend the social gatherings of her friends. Her present life with her husband seems to be a happy one, and this strain predominates in the tune, and she wants the falcon to go to her father and tell him so; but then she also has a feeling of homesickness, which can be heard beneath the rollicking tune. [593]

The simplicity of the melody gives it great strength, but it also contains the danger of being easily made trivial by an unfeeling execution.

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10. KAMARINSKAYA.

What a queer fellow you are Kamarinsky peasant,
As you run stumbling along the street!
"I am running to the rumshop, with a headache.—
Without drinking a peasant can not live."

One of the favorite male dancing songs; the words are humorous, but rather coarse, so that but one verse can be given here, and even that one slightly modified.

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11. THE MEADOWS.

(*Vo loosiakh.*)

In the meadows, in the green meadows,
There grew soft, silky grass,
There bloomed little blue flowers,
There spread sweet odors.
On that grass I will feed my horse,
I will feed it and comb it:
I will put on its silver bridle,

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665 701 with the real rank and uniform of general or perhaps even with that of marshal.

24
FAMILY BACKGROUND OF PERSONALITY IN SOVIET RUSSIA

I

PROMPTED by drives of destructive aggression and supported by the ideological traditions of Nihilism and Anarchism, the Bolsheviks were determined to destroy the family in order to have unchallenged control over the training of children and the molding of their personalities. Their view was that there was not much that they could do with the parents, but that "the children belonged to the Party." Such a trend of thought was supported also by an intense reaction of many people against the old patriarchal and despotic family pattern which existed in the Czardom. There was a strong desire on the part of many family members to liberate themselves from the old practices of parental and marital authority and discipline. It was in such an atmosphere that the Bolshevik Party at first introduced a series of decrees and measures which greatly facilitated the dissolution of family ties.[1]

The Bolsheviks, however, soon realized that the family could not be allowed to disintegrate without dire consequences for their regime which was bent upon rapid industrialization and militarization and was in great need of manpower. Also as a result of wars, famines and a growing number of broken families, there were hundreds of thousands of homeless and neglected children and aged people. Care for these proved too great a burden for an economy which had to use all its available resources primarily for state security and war preparedness. Thus instead of destroying the family the Bolsheviks decided to maintain it but to manipulate it so as to use it as an instrument

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

of the new order. The family, therefore, as all other institutions of the Soviet society, was to be reconstructed and regimented in such a way as to best serve the purposes and the objectives of the new ruling class.

As a result of such a change in attitude and reversal of policy the Bolsheviks have introduced laws and decrees whose aim has been to impose mutual responsibilities and obligations on family members. The new laws have also favored "indissolubility" of marriage ties and encouraged large families. At the same time, however, the family has been placed under the guidance, control and overseeing of the Party and of the government authorities. In consequence of a series of laws and decrees, the Soviet family has been given the task of training children in discipline, in collective responsibility, in obedience to authorities and in faith in Bolshevism. Just as the Soviet school, the Soviet family has been given the task of helping to train willing toilers, zealous labor drivers and agitators, and fearless fighters for the cause of world Communism.[2]

Following the traditions of the Russian patriarchal family and in order to make the parents an instrument of the training of children in obedience to authorities, parents have been made legally responsible for the behavior of their children. Prosecution by civil and criminal law, administrative fines and prison terms[3] have been established against the parents whose children came into conflict with administrative regulations or existing laws. Just as in the Domostroi the parents are encouraged to be strict and non-indulgent, and to rely on frequent punishment as a means of correction; they are also encouraged to be authoritative and to keep a necessary distance from children so that their authority is not undermined by unnecessary intimacy. The parents have been given joint rights of discipline but subjected to government and Party control.[4]

This interference of the Party-state into the family relationships has been backed also by another law according to which parental rights have been subordinated to the interest of children. The "interests of children" are determined according to the Party interests and views; the court has been empowered to deprive the parents of their parental rights whenever the Party

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

chooses to consider that the interests of the children have not been safeguarded.[5] In such cases parental rights might be lost for up to five years.[6] According to the Soviet educational philosophy it is expected that the parents will *rear* the children, but that the public organizations under the Party's supervision will instruct and supervise parents in the ways of *Communist upbringing* of children.[7]

The Party considers it to be its duty to arouse antagonism of children against parents when such action is necessary in the interest of the survival of the Soviet regime. As mentioned earlier, planned rift between fathers and sons was, for instance, employed to speed up the process of collectivization. Commissar of Agriculture Jakovlev, speaking before a Party congress on the struggle against the kulaks, stated that "In a number of cases, the children of the kulaks are made to revolt against their parents, and thus the kulak families are divided and the kulaks still more isolated." The Party has also been known to take advantage of family conflicts to encourage the children to spy on their parents and to denounce them to the political police:

> Russian parents had to be very careful of what they said in the presence of their own children, and even of how they disciplined their children. One boy, Pavlik Morosov, was built up as a hero among youth because he had denounced his father who was organizing resistance against the kolhoz. Great propaganda was made about this boy. A book was written about him. Actually he became a hero to most children.[8]

In times of political "purges" there were frequent notices in the Soviet papers in which the children of the parents who were politically persecuted publicly renounced their parents.[9] That was the only way they could escape the vengeance of a regime which had revived the tradition of family hostages and used it as an instrument of political conformity.

The Bolsheviks consider that since "one's way of life is a social matter . . . a matter of national policy,"[10] the Party has the right to interfere even in pre-marital and extra-marital sex relations, as well as in the relations between the spouses. "Young Communist organizations cannot remain neutral when the con-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

duct of its members in love and family life run counter to the ethics of Soviet Man."[11] The fundamental motivation behind this interference in love and sex life is political control. "Moral corruption brings political corruption,"[12] the Bolsheviks say. It is in accordance with such a line of thought that it is considered to be the duty of one to inform on his or her own spouse. Such behavior is especially expected of a Party member. Therefore "A prudent Russian today hesitates to confide in even his wife too fully."[13]

At the same time while the Soviet family laws and Soviet philosophy and practices tend to favor Party and government supervision of family relations and in some cases sharpen family conflicts, they also endeavor to enforce family discipline over children, and to strengthen the sense of mutual responsibility among family members. The Bolsheviks, however, do not encourage development of the sense of kinship loyalty which might go counter to the interests of the state. The Soviet family laws have broadened the concept of family to all ascending and descending lines and to brothers and sisters. In case any one of these relatives is needy or incapacitated, the others have the obligation of support.[14] Emphasis on family responsibility is manifested also in the provision of the law of 1926 which, contrary to the Russian traditions, abolished the principle of separate property of the spouses.[15]

In accordance with new policy, factual or non-registered marriage which earlier enjoyed state protection was denied that privilege and a decree in 1944 ruled that "only registered marriage confers the rights and obligations of spouses."[16] A decree of the same year ruled that divorce is allowed only in case the wish of one or even both parties who seek divorce coincides with the "government's recognition of necessity to dissolve marriage."[17] Moreover in order to make divorce proceeding prohibitive and marriage practically indissoluble, a long judicial procedure was established. In the course of this long procedure the parties must clarify the motives for divorce and bring witnesses. Also high divorce fees were introduced. And to facilitate state interference, no grounds for divorce were stated or specified in the decree.

However, the procedural instructions concerning this decree

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do specify the cases in which the state wishes to facilitate divorce and dissolve marriage. Such cases are for instance, "a court sentence depriving either spouse of his or her liberty for no less than three years," and "the absence with no news of either spouse."[18] In such cases the party seeking divorce is exempted from the payment of fees and also from the requirement that a public notice be put in the local newspaper. These provisions are in accordance with the principle of family hostages and the well known practice of the Soviet political police to persecute the families of political offenders. Divorce from such a person may in some cases rehabilitate one in the eyes of the Party. The police as a rule exert pressure on the spouses of political culprits or suspects to seek divorce, and the law provisions are such that the court may facilitate divorce in such cases.

The Bolshevik regime depends to a great extent upon the available large contingents of manpower for its armed forces and for its industrial enterprises whose labor efficiency is very low. In accordance with such needs a series of measures was introduced designed to encourage large families, such as strict laws against birth control, maternity leaves, safeguards for employed pregnant women, monthly cash payments for children, reduced fees in nurseries, advantages in income tax payments, medals, awards, citations, and titles for mothers bearing and raising a certain number of children.[19] At the same time special taxes were imposed upon bachelors, childless couples and couples with only one or two children. Also suits to establish paternity were abolished and an unmarried mother was given the option to accept a modest allowance or to place the child in a public institution where the state takes care of it.

The recognition on the part of the Bolshevik rulers of the significance of the family as an institution of early training of Soviet subjects in discipline, subordination to the group, and obedience to authorities is manifested in the inclusion of family legislation within the jurisdiction of the central government of the Soviet Union. The constitution of the Soviet Union itself was amended for this purpose in 1947.[20] Thus the trend of Soviet legislation in the matters of family relations in the course of over thirty years of Bolshevik rule tended to increase and

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strengthen the control of the Party over that fundamental social institution. This intent to completely subject the family to the Party's aims is expressed in Bolshevik ideological parlance as "the cultural-educational influence of the socialist state upon family relationships in the direction of strengthening socialist principles."[21]

II

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Unstable political and economic conditions, together with consequences of wars, depletion of rural areas of adult men, famines, convict labor camps to which millions of parents have been confined, have resulted in an unprecedented number of broken families and a growing number of neglected, illegitimate and delinquent children. A number of such children, especially orphans of war heroes, at the age of nine are sent to military schools. Many neglected and delinquent children at the age of 3 to 13 are sent to special homes for children which are in charge of the secret political police.[25] The increasing stress on internal vigilance, together with the pressing need of the political police to feed their vast economic enterprises with cheap

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and harder and to produce more for Socialist Motherland. Not infrequently the brigade leaders have to use physical force to make him get up early enough to work on collective property.

Yet in spite of such unfavorable circumstances, compared to city workers, the peasant might still be in a somewhat better position in regard to security and stability, attachment to his family, to his cottage, to his small plot of land, and to his village. For this reason he has been able to put up resistance against the Party and the government.[33] It is against these scanty remnants of emotional and economic security, of personal independence, of group solidarity and resistance that the Bolshevik rulers are campaigning; it is to eradicate this psychology of group intimacy and opposition that the Party had recently attempted to resettle the farmers and move them into concentrated and urbanized surroundings; the Bolsheviks are exerting all efforts to eradicate these "residues of kulak psychology" root and branch and to make the peasants as completely helpless, insecure and subdued to the Party will as they have done with the industrial and intellectual workers.

There is a considerable disproportion in sex ratio in Soviet rural areas. Owing to great casualties in wars it is estimated that at present there are about fifteen million more women than men in the Soviet Union. And due to the increasing need of manpower to maintain huge military forces and to feed the inefficient city industries, the Soviet leaders are constantly draining both male youths and adult men from the villages in the form of military and labor drafts. They are therefore increasingly relying for agricultural work on peasant women. Hence peasant villages and peasant families tend to be composed predominantly of women.

Here too a family structure with semi-matriarchal traits, similar to the Old-Slavonic family, is being formed. Though in such circumstances the number of illegitimate children is increasing, it is quite possible that the women, especially those who are traditionally strongly attached to their family, are exerting a moderating and softening influence on the personality of the peasant child. An indication of such possible differences in the psychological atmosphere of the city and the country is given in

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those accounts of Soviet life in which the gloomy appearance of the city populace is contrasted to the more optimistic outlook of the country folk.[34]

25
DESTRUCTIVE AGGRESSION

I

642

PROMPTED by extreme power-seeking and by deeply rooted mistrust of their own subjects, the Bolsheviks have built a monolithic Party-state system which differs in the degree of its rigidity and power concentration from all other systems of despotism, theocracy, military dictatorship, totalitarian and police state. In those autocratic political systems not all aspects of life are regimented. A certain limited degree of freedom is left at least in some spheres of personal and of group behavior. But the main difference between these systems and the Bolshevik regime is that while the former prohibits only those activities which have a direct negative bearing upon perpetuation of the system, the latter allows only such behavior as has a direct positive bearing upon the perpetuation of the ruling faction in power.

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In the Soviet society the ruling class is not content with mere passive acceptance of the Bolshevik rule. It demands of each subject a "positive attitude" toward the regime. In such a society there is necessarily a premium in terms of privileges and power for the activities in the fields of political organization and agitation, of vigilance and violence, as well as in the fields of labor-driving, economic management, and military preparedness, since it is in the main upon such activities that perpetuation of Bolshevism depends. In such a "prison and barracks society", it is the calculating and ambitious careerists and zealous devotees and watchdogs, specialists in conspiracy and violence who climb toward the top levels of the Soviet political and social pyramid where blind obedience, crouching servility, jockeying for positions and power, and advancing on the cadavers of one's associates become a matter of survival.

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III

Personality Development

7

PATERNAL VIOLENCE AND COMPASSION

I

TWO CONTRASTING family types, the Turco-Mongol and the Old-Slavonic—one patriarchal and power-oriented and the other matriarchal and equalitarian—seem to have provided the elements out of which the structure of the Great-Russian extended household was shaped. This family community was known among the Great-Russians as the *bolshaya semya* (the great-family). In its fullest development the Great-Russian joint family consisted of grandparents and their descendants, or of a number of married brothers, their wives and descendants, together with some other incorporated persons—such as adopted husbands or children of a widow married to a member of the household. They lived in a number of *izbas* (huts, cabins) built around the *dvor* (courtyard).

This family collective was ruled by its eldest male member known as the *bolshak* ("the great man").[1] An elderly woman known as the *bolshuka* ("the great woman") was in charge of the

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

596 women and children of the household. The power of the bolshak was lifelong, but in case of mismanagement, prolonged illness or want of mental powers, the family adult male members or the village elders could remove him and place another adult male as the head man of the household.[2] All the property: land, farm implements, cattle, buildings, household furniture, and utensils were considered common property of all household members, particularly male adults. But women's clothing and other personal belongings, such as linen and canvas, brought as a dowry or produced by women were considered their private property. When such a household was broken up the common property was divided equally among all the adult male members, regardless of the degree of blood relationship.

The bolshak was assisted in his management by a family council (*soviet*) consisting of married male members, while the bolshuka was assisted by the married females. Though the bolshak's place after his death was taken by his eldest son or his eldest brother, it happened occasionally also that such a household came to be ruled by a woman, if she proved to be an exceptionally resolute personality and good manager.

596 178 476 The remnants of such a family collective persisted in some rural parts of Russia until the beginning of the twentieth century. Such a household in which some of the Old-Slavonic traditions were still in existence was looked upon as a labor association, as much as an association of blood-related families. This is why the heads of such a family commune were designated, not by parental names, as father or mother of the family, but by functional names, as managers of the common property.[3]

596 651 621 Originally the powers of the household soviet were an important check on the authority of the head elder. The soviet assured protection against inequity and tended to maintain equalitarian relationships among the married members of the household. However, early in the development of the Great-Russian society the events tended to favor the power of the bolshak. Following the practices of Mongol rule, frequent censuses were held and frequent levies were imposed on the population according to the number of households or according to acreage. The village community which composed a cess district was made jointly respon-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

sible for the whole amount of the tributes and taxes assessed. It was, therefore, in the interest of this land tax commune to favor concentration of power in the hands of the household head and to support his strictness in rule so that each household might contribute at the end of the fiscal year its share of the common tax assessment. With the lack of such a system of control, the taxes of the defaulters might fall on other members of the village community.

To meet the obligations to the tax commune it was necessary for each household to have sufficient manpower and all the farm equipment it needed. Household partition, which implied dispersal of manpower, need for new equipment, and increased taxation, was therefore frowned upon. Loitering or prolonged absence from the community also had to be discouraged. Early marriages, joint households, and rigid supervision by the elders were fostered. In addition, internal household conflicts provoked by forced regimentation and intensified because of lack of privacy, crowded quarters, insufficient food and clothing increased the need for autocratic rule:

> All in the household well know and have learned by experience that in the interest of the well-being of the household it is absolutely necessary that all obey one elder, who has knowledge and experience about the household and upon whom would depend all matters of husbandry.[4]

The landed nobility and the land-owning Church also supported the absolute power of the bolshak and disapproved of household partitions on their estates. The estate owners were bound to furnish the timber and other materials for the construction of new izbas in case of the division of an old household. They also had to provide the new households with farm equipment, all of which was a burden because it implied additional expense for the landlords. At the same time the government, which was constantly engaged in warfare and was increasingly in need of new recruits, found it more expedient to get these from large households so that the tilling of the soil would not suffer and the tax-paying powers would not decrease while military campaigns were taking place. Therefore, all the authori-

3: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

ties—the state, the Church, the landlords, and the village tax commune—joined hands in backing the collective household system and the power of its head elder.

II

In this manner, under the pressure of circumstances, the *bolshaya* system of jointly ruled community household was gradually giving way to the *otsovskaya* system, that is, the patriarchal family in which the power-oriented steppe traditions tended to take precedence over the Old-Slavonic egalitarianism. Patriarchal traits prevailed especially in the urban strata. The father became absolute master as well as the exclusive owner of the family property in the otsovskaya system. As a result of this change in household structure all family members became economically and personally dependent upon the father; and as long as his power was supported by the state and the Church, they were expected to submit unconditionally to his will; there was no appeal against his arbitrariness, favoritism, and even misbehavior.

As a result of such a development the steppe traditions of life and death power of the father over his wife and children, the relationship of absolute dominance and complete subordination tended to be reinforced and perpetuated. The Church was particularly instrumental in this matter. Under the influence of the Church the father was likened, in the popular mind, to the Almighty. "As God is to the people, so is a father to his children" (*Kak Bog do lyudey, tak otets do detey*),[6] the people would say.

The father had at his disposal a number of ways to impose his will. Owing to the Church teachings, one of the main paternal sanctions consisted of invoking God's wrath This was done by means of malediction or withdrawal of blessing. Parental curse, as well as lack of parental blessing, was certain to bring great misfortune to the disobedient child (*Lisheniem otsovskogo blagoslovenia shchitaetsa chelovekom propashchim.*)[8] The emphasis on need of parental blessing and fear of disastrous consequences of parental curse is stressed in many Great-Russian folk customs and in their folk sayings, folk songs, and folk tales.[9]

Another instrument at the disposal of the father in imposing

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

discipline on his son consisted of threat of disinheritance and banishment. If an unmarried son left the paternal house during the lifetime of his father to establish his own separate household, the father was not obliged to give him anything and might even let him go "with nothing but his cross" (*s odnim krestom*).[8] But if a married son left with his father's consent, it was the privilege of the father to determine what his share should be.[9] Also in his testamentary disposition, the father was entitled to dispose of family property at will. The father also had the right to disinherit his son and chase him away from home as a punishment for bad behavior, especially disobedience.[10] He also had the power to select the disobedient son for military conscription. According to some sources the father had the right to sell his son "four times."[11] He might show predilection in testamentary disposition.[12] Many tales tell of a father's favoritism toward an obedient son.[13]

But the way the father used most often to impose his will and assert his power was coercion (*prinuzhdenie*) by means of physical beating (*poboi*). The horse whip and the birch rod (*rozga*) were used freely in family relations. The *Domostroy*, a code of Great-Russian family practices and ethics of the urban strata compiled and edited in the sixteenth century by Priest Sylvester, a councillor and confessor of Ivan the Terrible, prescribes in detail the application of corporal punishment as a sanction of the father's authority and rule:

> Beat your son in his youth, and he will comfort you in your old age . . . And do not weaken in beating the child. Beating with a rod will not kill him, but will make him healthier . . . If you will be weak in his childhood, he will make you suffer when he grows up . . . And give him no power in youth but crush his ribs while he is growing, because when he is big he will not obey you, and you will feel annoyed and ill at heart, and your house will be ruined . . . and your enemies will rejoice at your misfortune.[14]

The popular philosophy of life as expressed in the Great-Russian folk proverbs approves of the teachings of the Domostroy. "If God gives you sons, don't be lazy, teach them and beat them"; "If he did not obey his father, he will obey the whip,"

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

These attitudes implied complete dependency and self-abnegation on the part of the wife and children in relation to their master. The wife and the children were expected always to speak with respect to the father, that is, in the second person plural instead of the second person singular—the way the children addressed each other or their mother. The wife did not address her husband by his first name, but by his first and second name (patronymic) which was the way less intimate acquaintances addressed each other. The children had to demonstrate their thankfulness for the father's care and solicitude by kissing his hands. Before a bride left her parental home, custom demanded that she say to her father, "God will help you for bread and salt." And he would advise her to be obedient to her new relations: "Be obedient to them the way you were obedient to me" (*slushay kak menia slushala*).[7]

Emphasis on fear and awe, obedience and gratitude was very outstanding in the Great-Russian patriarchal family relations. These feelings and attitudes had a supernatural sanction. As a result of the teachings of the Russian Orthodox Church, it was considered in popular opinion that any disobedience or disrespect of the father's will was mercilessly punished by God who brought life-long misery and misfortune for such unfilial behavior. Even after death, the soul of a disobedient and ungrateful child could hardly escape punishment in the eternal fire of hell. Many Great-Russian folktales place a great emphasis on obedience and gratitude and stress the cruel penalty and fearful fate that awaited a disobedient and ungrateful son.[8]

Such family relations in which demands of a harsh and detached, and even capricious and arbitrary father had to be answered by humility, unconditional submission, blind obedience, love and gratitude; in which family members fought over priorities and rights; where all felt dependent upon one another and isolated from the rest of the world, could not fail to provoke tensions and cause intense family antagonisms and animosities. Such tensions and conflicts became characteristic of the Great-Russian patriarchal family and were manifested in the relations between husband and wife, father and sons, between the siblings and between the in-laws.[9]

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A Russian Peasant Wedding.

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AMONG the Russian peasants, particularly in more remote districts, the social ceremonies of a wedding are complicated and of long duration, and vastly more important in popular opinion than the church rite; for this reason we shall describe only the former. Of course, the blessing of the church is necessary to make the marriage binding, but it is comparatively an innovation, having been introduced only about one thousand years ago, while the relations represented by the social forms of the wedding date back very much farther. In them are plainly seen the former structure of the *clan* or *gens;* the opposing interests of the families of the bride and the groom; the existence, in prehistoric times of marriage by purchase and by capture amongst primitive people; the subjection of the girl to the father, in the patriarchal family, and to her father-in-law in the new home.

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It may be necessary to explain that in Russia the unit of social and economic life is the family, and that the father or eldest brother is the head of it; the young man, on marrying, does not set up for himself, but brings the bride to his father's house, where she becomes one of the daughters and takes her part in the work of the family. Only after the old man's death does separation take place; the married men divide the property and found households for themselves.

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In the family the woman is completely dominated by man, a fact that is indicated by many features in the ceremony. While

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single, the girl is allowed some freedom; she has more time at her disposal, she can go about with her friends, attend parties, etc. When married, the cares of her new position, the necessity of harder work for her new family and her altered position amongst people who are strangers to her and who look upon her as an intruder—all these reasons keep her in the house, and her time for social recreation is past. Therefore girlhood is considered the golden time in the life of a young woman, and a girl looks with dread and apprehension upon her approaching marriage; but on the other hand, love prompts her to join her husband and she hopes that his love will compensate her for what she will have to endure. In this way there is a mixture of grief and joy in the whole ceremony.

The weddings are nearly all held in the late fall or winter, when the field work is over for the year, the harvest sold and the family knows how much money it can afford to spend. When the old people have decided that their child shall marry, they ask him or her whom he or she likes best and whom next best. Marriage, it must be remembered, is often a business matter; there must be a wedding and at the chosen period. In fact, a marriage at any other time of the year is an exception. In this way it comes about that all the marriageable girls in the village are expecting their offers to come during the same week in the fall or winter, and are ready for them.

The room is cleaned and lighted up every night, the old people and the girl stay at home, while the smaller children run about the village, looking into the windows to find out how things are going on in their neighbors' houses.

The preliminaries are usually arranged between the two families, the marriage being really more the affair of these, than of the two young people themselves, since it is in fact the giving up of a working-hand by one family and her adoption into another one. The arrangements are made by friends or go-betweens. It is customary that a female relation of the groom goes to ask for the hand of the girl, and is then called a *svakha*. With her goes some old male relation or friend, who knows all the necessary forms of ceremony and is a persuasive talker; he is

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

duct of its members in love and family life run counter to the ethics of Soviet Man."[11] The fundamental motivation behind this interference in love and sex life is political control. "Moral corruption brings political corruption,"[12] the Bolsheviks say. It is in accordance with such a line of thought that it is considered to be the duty of one to inform on his or her own spouse. Such behavior is especially expected of a Party member. Therefore "A prudent Russian today hesitates to confide in even his wife too fully."[13]

At the same time while the Soviet family laws and Soviet philosophy and practices tend to favor Party and government supervision of family relations and in some cases sharpen family conflicts, they also endeavor to enforce family discipline over children, and to strengthen the sense of mutual responsibility among family members. The Bolsheviks, however, do not encourage development of the sense of kinship loyalty which might go counter to the interests of the state. The Soviet family laws have broadened the concept of family to all ascending and descending lines and to brothers and sisters. In case any one of these relatives is needy or incapacitated, the others have the obligation of support.[14] Emphasis on family responsibility is manifested also in the provision of the law of 1926 which, contrary to the Russian traditions, abolished the principle of separate property of the spouses.[15]

In accordance with new policy, factual or non-registered marriage which earlier enjoyed state protection was denied that privilege and a decree in 1944 ruled that "only registered marriage confers the rights and obligations of spouses."[16] A decree of the same year ruled that divorce is allowed only in case the wish of one or even both parties who seek divorce coincides with the "government's recognition of necessity to dissolve marriage."[17] Moreover in order to make divorce proceeding prohibitive and marriage practically indissoluble, a long judicial procedure was established. In the course of this long procedure the parties must clarify the motives for divorce and bring witnesses. Also high divorce fees were introduced. And to facilitate state interference, no grounds for divorce were stated or specified in the decree.

However, the procedural instructions concerning this decree

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[XII century]

and hence, no group support could be found if a leader had attempted to form a centralized political authority or an imperial system over the whole area. The old Russian Chronicle of Kiev (12th century) describing a tribe with such a culture (the Polians) states that among them each kindred group (*rod*) lived in its own separate locality and had its own government.[4]

In a like manner, principles of dignity and moderation, as well as personal autonomy and lack of coerciveness, prevailed in family relations of these people. The Chronicle, for instance, states:

> The Polians had customs of their fathers, customs mild and peaceful (*krotok i tikh*); they showed a kind of reserve (*stydenie*) towards their daughters-in-law (*snokha*) and their sisters, towards their mothers and their parents, towards their fathers-in-law and their brothers-in-law; to all of the persons named they showed great reserve. They had marriage cusoms: the bridegroom did not go to seek his bride; she was taken to him in the evening, and the following morning they brought what belonged to her (*chto vdaduche*).[5]

It appears that the family organization of the Polians rested on mutual respect of all family members; that the bride brought the dowry which remained her personal property; that she might have had the initiative in wooing. This contention is supported by other evidence. Cosmas Pragensis, for instance, speaking of the old Bohemian Slavs, states: "It is not the men who choose the maids, but the maids themselves who take the husbands they like, and when they like."[6] A French writer who visited Ukraine in the seventeenth century wrote: "In Ukraine, contrary to the customs of all other nations, the husbands do not choose their wives, but are themselves chosen by their future consorts."[7]

There is also other evidence concerning some matriarchal traits of the early Slavs.[8] Throughout ages, women of the plains betwen the Dnieper and the Volga maintained property rights over their dowries and also over income from vegetables, poultry, dairy products and yarn that they produced and sold, though such rights were not recognized to men.[9] Although a woman in Russia did not have any claim to the property of her father or her brother, and only a limited right to that of her husband, she had the privilege, denied to a man, of saving and building up a

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

593 861 the people would say. Hence, made secure by the prevailing philosophy of life, upheld by court decisions and supported by Church teachings on the supernatural sanction of his will, the father might be tempted to take advantage of his unlimited power and to expose his son to excessively severe and humiliating treatment. "I had born you and I shall kill you," said Taras Bulba to his son and shot him to death.[15]

593 The father might also take advantage of his uncontrolled power in the use of family property and funds. He might gamble them away, spend them on debauchery, or bring the family to ruin as a result of drunkenness or mismanagement. Such incidents in Russian families are often described in autobiographies and other writings of Russian men of letters. It is characteristic of Great-Russian family relations that the other family members were not expected to complain against such extreme abuse of paternal authority.[16] Hence in all strata of Russian society, there was a tendency to accept anything the father did, even the most degrading treatment, as his paternal prerogative. Even if a father had ruined his family because of gambling or lechery he was still held in reverence both by his society and by his children.[17]

● 606 835 Occasionally, particularly among the peasants, the father might take sexual advantage of his daughters-in-law, a practice which became known as *snokhachestvo* (*snokha* is daughter-in-law). This habit, which was already noticed by the writer of the Kiev Chronicle, was favored by the frequent absenees of married sons who spent a part of the year in the city as workers or who were away from home for many years, or indefinitely, when conscripted for military duty. "The more women in the house, the more sin" (*Bolshe bab v semie, bolshe greha*),[18] the people would comment.

593 562 As much as the traditions of the steppe warriors prevailed in the Great-Russian patriarchal family the wife was placed on an equal footing with her children in relation to her husband. She had to show absolute submission and blind obedience to her husband. "The husband is father to his wife" (*Muzh zhene otets*);[19] "Christ is the head of the Church, the husband that of

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

II

[582] Perhaps as a result of family centeredness and the need of keeping a distance from one's neighbor, there developed the practice of looking for the bride not in one's own but in another, more remote locality. Brides from afar, who did not have an opportunity to keep frequent contact with their own parents, were considered not only more amenable to control and easier to assimilate, but less dangerous from the point of view of the family's collective responsibility and isolation. "Do not buy a horse nor marry a daughter of your neighbor: both will run away"; "Get a wife from afar, buy a cow from near," the people would say.

[584] Very often there was nothing for a girl to look forward to in her new family. Her mate was not of her choice; he and his family were often complete strangers to her. She might not have even seen any of them before the day of her marriage. Wedding songs always refer to the bridegroom, his home, his father, and his village as "the abode of the strangers," "the unknown, far off land." As soon as the father had "stuck the hands" with the match-maker, the bride-to-be would start to lament and implore her father not to "give her away to the strangers." On the eve of the bride's marriage, her girl friends would come to her home and spend all evening singing *piesni plachevia*—"weeping songs,"[10] while the bride would cry and wail continuously. In these songs the future bride imagines herself as being left completely alone and without any affection in a distant, unknown and unfriendly world.[11]

[538] The anxieties and fears felt by the bride when going away to marry a stranger in a "strange land" might have found, perhaps, a symbolic expression in the *Zmey* tales. Zmey is a mythical being whose function is to deceive and rape young maidens and keep them forever in captivity. In the Great-Russian folk tales the Zmey is pictured as a terrifying "winged" and "many-headed" monster which throws fire from his nostrils and his mouth, but assumes the form of a youth of marvelous beauty before he abducts his victim.[12]

The prospect of the bride's relations with her husband's

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

parents and brothers, and with her sisters-in-law was not any brighter. In folk sayings the father-in-law is often referred to as "worse than a dog," and the mother-in-law as a "wicked satan." Her expectations about the treatment on the part of other in-laws were not more cheerful, as witnessed by the folk songs.[13]

When married, she soon realized that "before the husband the wife is always guilty" (*Pered muzhem zhena vsegda vinovata*). And there was no one to whom to complain or from whom to seek comfort. Her own parents and brothers were "far away" or indifferent to her fate, now that she was "cut off from the loaf" and belonged to another family. And if she did not develop an attachment to her husband or to her children, she might have sought an escape from such a difficult emotional situation in extra-marital love affairs, or in fantasies about such affairs. The Great-Russian folk songs are abundant with such themes and often justify these liaisons as a need for love and attachment which was denied to the bride in the home of the husband.[14] Extreme husband-wife antagonism as expressed by murder is occasionally the theme of Great-Russian religious sagas and more frequently the theme of folk tales[15] and of folk songs:

Against my will was I married;
I have taken an evil wife,
An evil one, not to my liking,
Neither in feeling nor in thought.
Lovingly live with her—that will I not.
Across the stream will I go,
Love will I make to the girls.
As for that wife of mine
I will go pray for her death.
Along the bank of the stream
Death, the beautiful, goes.
"Ho there! My beautiful Death!
Turn thee back again, Death!
Make an end of my wife."
Scarce had I spoken—when Death
Began her work with my wife.
Scarce had I time to look around—
Shrouded in linen white was her corpse
Struck was the stroke on the bell.[16]

7: Lineva B-5 (no date)1893 RF1 Great Russia RF1

B. POSSIDELOTCHNY SONGS.

(SOCIAL GATHERING.)

5. THE BIRCHWOOD SPLINTER.

539

(*Lootchina.*)

My dear birchwood splinter,
Why don't you burn brightly?
Or, may be, you have not been in the oven?
I have been in the oven all last night,
But the wicked mother-in-law crept into the oven,
She crept into it to put a pan of water,
And drenched me all over with water.

This is one of the possidelotchny or social gathering songs, which are used at the *possidelky*, as explained on page 17.[1] The subject refers to the unhappy condition of a newly married young woman, living with her husband's family, whom the mother-in-law does not like and annoys out of spite. The birchwood splinter was used formerly by the peasants for lighting the house at nights. [606] [373]

A long block of birchwood was carefully split into long pieces, like laths, which were dried in the big oven over night; when a light was necessary, such a splint was stuck into an iron fork, which stood on the floor, and the lower end ignited. This splint, even when perfectly dry, caused a great deal of trouble, as it had to be attended to frequently, to snuff it and to renew it. When wet, it was nearly useless, of course, and to work by it was nearly impossible.

In the next piece an allusion is made to the ends of the splints which had been left over from previous nights, and which the careful housekeepers required to be burnt when there was chance to do so, *i. e.*, when there was no company and not so much light was needed.

The simple and plaintive melody alone is sufficient to depict the deep grief caused by the tyranny of the family over a defenceless member of it

1 [See cat. 116 —— Analyst]

7: Lineva B-5 (no date)1893 RFl Great Russia RFl

7. I FEEL SLEEPY.

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(*Spitsia mne.*)

I feel sleepy and am dozing,
My head is dropping on the pillow;
My father-in-law is walking in the hall.
Angrily he is making a noise.
He knocks, he raps,
He knocks, he raps,
He does not let the daughter sleep.
"Get up, arise, you sleepy-head
"Get up, arise, you sleeper,
"You useless girl, you lazy one!"

My mother-in-law walks in the hall,
Angrily she goes up and down.
She knocks, she raps,
She knocks, she raps,
She does not let the daughter sleep.
"Get up, arise, you sleepy-head
"Get up, arise, you sleeper,
"You useless girl, you lazy one!"

I feel sleepy and am dozing,
My head is dropping on the pillow,
My dear husband walks in the hall.
Easily, softly he is saying:
"Sleep, dream, my dear,
"Sleep, dream, my own!
"You have been scolded and persecuted,
"You have been given away
"Too early in marriage!"

This is another example of songs which refer to the ill-treatment of a young wife by her husband's parents; only the love of her husband makes life at all bearable to her.

[606]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

women as stupid and nasty, conceited and licentious, and as the mainspring of all calamities of the world.[10] But Tolstoy, too, like the Russian popular view of life, did make a distinction between the woman and the mother.[11]

Hostile drives, mistrust and destructive aggression might be revealed also in attitudes towards strangers. These are sometimes likened to animals, especially dogs. Comparing people with beasts indicates an inclination to abase them and to mistreat them. Such an attitude is shown especially toward those who are considered to be "enemies." When talking about the Tartars, the people would say "the dog of a Tartar." In a like way, xenophobia was manifested in the attitudes toward the "thrice accursed Latins," that is, the Western, non-Orthodox peoples.

Perhaps this need to abuse and to destroy in order to demonstrate one's power was manifested also in treatment of those who were abandoned and helpless, such as prisoners in foreign wars, as well as prisoners in rebellions and civil wars at home, or convicted criminals. In the rebellions and civil wars atrocities were committed by both sides, the government troops and the rebels, the Orthodox and the Dissenters, the Whites and the Reds. In a similar manner convicted criminals, domestic servants and serfs were often used as targets of destructive aggression.

Tendency to abuse was manifested also in the relations between merchants and customers, capital and labor. In the lowest strata ruthless self-seeking took also the form of begging. There was a great number of beggars; begging became a widely spread business. Some of the beggars became people of considerable means. Leaders among the beggars would mutilate, deprive of eyesight, and deform healthy men and boys to use them as their instruments in begging. Entire villages, and even some regions were said to have made begging their regular profession.[12]

II

In circumstances where power-seeking, destructive aggression and mistrust prevail any accident may be interpreted as a sign of another person's hostile intentions. The other person tends to be looked upon as a potential enemy. "You mustn't stroke anyone's head—you might get your hand bitten off," said Lenin.[13] And as

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

There is also a deliberate policy on the part of the ruling class
177 626 609 to prevent personal contact and exchange of ideas between the Soviet subjects and the foreigners. In this way the Bolshevik Party is performing the same role in the social and psychological development of Russia as the Orthodox Church has done in the past. Xenophobia and a deliberate avoidance of strangers easily develops in such circumstances, traits which have been noticed by all the observers of Soviet society. Xenophobia is so outstanding in the Soviet world that it has been noticed even by the most casual and most friendly visitors. Soviet authorities have done their best to encourage this feeling. "We were completely cut off [625] from the great bulk of the Russian people by constant police surveillance, by propaganda and by the threat of punishment."[7] "The air itself was clothed with hate and suspicion . . . penetrated even to the child world. . . . Our next door neighbours, too, were grilled, and though we had known them for years, they took to avoiding us utterly."[8] As a rule, only police informers are assigned to foreigners as servants because everyone else is afraid to work for them.

517 647 In such conditions original ideas and independent intellectual pursuits are fraught with great risks and it is often the less original, the mediocre, the cynical, the shrewd and the unscrupulous that take the lead. Some independent and creative people in such circumstances tend to become apathetic, to withdraw, to sever social contacts and put an end to their creative activities.[9] Others tend to seek safety in bureaucratic routine and in avoidance of initiative and responsibility. For each decision they tend to cover themselves by presenting the matter to various committees, or by seeking the Party's advice, thus letting others shoulder the responsibility.

517 665 The social consequences of such a development are then manifested in a pronounced anti-intellectualism, bureaucratism and vigilantism. The ascendancy of anti-intellectualistic and watchdog trends in Soviet society is well expressed, for instance, in the change in the composition of the membership of the Politbure. In this topmost ruling body the more intellectual types of revolutionaries have been gradually purged and replaced by the activists, the semi-educated professional conspirators, Party organizers, agitators and former security officials.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1
[XI century]

and hence, no group support could be found if a leader had attempted to form a centralized political authority or an imperial system over the whole area. The old Russian Chronicle of Kiev (12th century) describing a tribe with such a culture (the Polians) states that among them each kindred group (*rod*) lived in its own separate locality and had its own government.[4]

In a like manner, principles of dignity and moderation, as well as personal autonomy and lack of coerciveness, prevailed in family relations of these people. The Chronicle, for instance, states:

> The Polians had customs of their fathers, customs mild and peaceful (*krotok i tikh*); they showed a kind of reserve (*stydenie*) towards their daughters-in-law (*snokha*) and their sisters, towards their mothers and their parents, towards their fathers-in-law and their brothers-in-law; to all of the persons named they showed great reserve. They had marriage cusoms: the bridegroom did not go to seek his bride; she was taken to him in the evening, and the following morning they brought what belonged to her (*chto vdaduche*).[5]

It appears that the family organization of the Polians rested on mutual respect of all family members; that the bride brought the dowry which remained her personal property; that she might have had the initiative in wooing. This contention is supported by other evidence. Cosmas Pragensis, for instance, speaking of the old Bohemian Slavs, states: "It is not the men who choose the maids, but the maids themselves who take the husbands they like, and when they like."[6] A French writer who visited Ukraine in the seventeenth century wrote: "In Ukraine, contrary to the customs of all other nations, the husbands do not choose their wives, but are themselves chosen by their future consorts."[7]

There is also other evidence concerning some matriarchal traits of the early Slavs.[8] Throughout ages, women of the plains betwen the Dnieper and the Volga maintained property rights over their dowries and also over income from vegetables, poultry, dairy products and yarn that they produced and sold, though such rights were not recognized to men.[9] Although a woman in Russia did not have any claim to the property of her father or her brother, and only a limited right to that of her husband, she had the privilege, denied to a man, of saving and building up a

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

562 *korobka* (chest) of her own. When a girl married, she took her
611 korobka, together with the property given her by her father or
[583] brothers, to her new home as a dowry and was allowed to dispose freely of it. At the same time her husband was not responsible for her debts.[10] When a married woman died, if childless, her
[428] korobka, as a rule, returned to her mother (matrilineal succession) and only if her mother was not alive, to her father. In some provinces the husband would inherit his wife's property if he lived with her four years or more.[11] If she had children, her property was inherited by both sons and daughters equally.[12]

Matriarchal traits are evident in contemporary folk philosophy and many folk customs in the Bielorussian villages as well as in some parts of the Ukraine. In the oral poetry of these
[772] people, for instance, the sun is represented as a female who is wooing the moon, her bridegroom. In some songs of these peasant folk the maidens contend with the male youths in duels and defeat them.[13] Even today in some of these regions it is often the girls who take the initiative in finding their suitors. During harvest festivals, it is the maidens who play the leading part. Traces
[583] of the capture of the bridegroom still persist in the folk customs of the Ukraine. In Ukrainian and Bielorussian folk poetry
[593] women, especially the mother, play a very significant role, while the place of the father is less outstanding. In popular opinion in this area, the consent of the mother in the marriage of a daughter is considered more important than that of the father.

582 Marriage among the Old-Slavonic peasant folk was endogamous within the village community and perhaps even within the joint household community (*verv, zadruga*)—not unlike in the Croatian zadruga of our days.[14] There was also, apparently,
593 a particularly developed brother-sister attachment as is manifested by brother-sister incest which seems to have taken place occasionally in some Russian regions until recently.[15] There were, therefore, abundant opportunities for emotional attachments in the Old-Slavonic family, since there were no external political, economic, or social pressures that might have disturbed internal equalitarian family relationships. Such relationships have persisted until present times in certain parts of Ukraine:

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

(*sud*). Accordingly, in the mind of these people, the universe and peace (*mir*) were also identical.[28]

Great calamities occasionally befell the Old-Slavonic communities—frequent raids and plundering by the invaders and slave hunters; then cattle plagues and epidemics. These were thought to have been brought on by certain demons and malevolent ghosts, but the Polesie people knew of ways to cope even with such disasters. Contagious diseases were prevented or stopped by means of magic, especially by the magical powers of women. As for their enemies, the soil cultivators of the Dnieper basin were not prepared for any offensive or defensive warfare and were an easy prey for many aggressors. Being not armed, their defense consisted of hiding themselves. They sought safety in impenetrable marshes and forests and even resorted to such ruses as lying submerged on the bottoms of marshes and breathing by means of cane sticks until the danger was over.[29]

Since the Old-Slavonic agriculturists contracted their marriage unions early in life, as a means of labor supply and since they were not exposed to exhaustion of constant warfare, the region which they originally inhabited soon reached its limits of population. Thus, in spite of their autarchic and intensive agricultural techniques and their attachment to the soil, the early Slav folk were forced to leave their original habitat in search of new lands. They did not migrate in a fury and did not traverse great distances like the mounted nomads of the steppes; rather, they moved slowly and quietly for short distances and by stages always keeping in touch with the mother community from which they had sprung.

In this manner the Old-Slavonic tillers penetrated new regions and territories, not by force and conquest like the predatory steppe raiders, but by cultivating new soil along the river basins, in the midst of forest clearings, drained marshes or irrigated steppes. Living in village communities which remained ethnically uninterrupted, they transplanted and perpetuated in their new homes their native agricultural techniques, their beliefs and customs, their family and community organization, as well as their philosophy of life. Thus as late as the twentieth century, the social organization and personality traits of the Zadruga peo-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

II

The Slavonic soil cultivators, depending upon economic self-sufficiency and cooperative effort in marshy and forest regions, as well as in the steppes, practiced a system of joint-family ownership of land (zadruga system). But when nomadic warriors imposed their rule over the tillers of the soil, the invaders considered the land over which they ruled to be their property and forced the peasants who were settled on it to pay them tribute in grain and other agricultural produce. According to the expanded version of the *Pravda Ruskaya,* for instance, after the death of a *smerd* (peasant) his sons would inherit the land, but if there were no sons the property went to the prince.

It is possible that already at that time some of the Asiatic conquerors occasionally divided and redistributed the land among the peasants according to the changing size of their families, the ability to till it and pay taxes and tithes. This might have been the most expedient way by which the conquerors sought to increase the income from the lands which they controlled. At the same time the peasants that formed a land commune were held jointly responsible by their over-lords for a predetermined amount of tributes, as well as for criminal acts committed on their territory.

The system of joint community responsibility was a well-known practice in the society of steppe nomads. It was especially applied as a means to procure fines and force the payment of debts. In that social system if a wrong-doer was unable to pay a fine, his nearest relatives, and failing them, the whole camp, had to provide it.[10] Therefore when these predatory herdsmen imposed their rule over the farming folk, they might have introduced the principle of joint responsibility as the most expedient way to collect the tributes and to exploit economically the subjected peoples.

It was by such social processes that the non-warlike and stateless society of the Old-Slavonic agricultural folk was incorporated into a military society of power-oriented horsemen of the Eurasian steppes.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 - RF1 Great Russia RF1

596 women and children of the household. The power of the bolshak was lifelong, but in case of mismanagement, prolonged illness or want of mental powers, the family adult male members or the village elders could remove him and place another adult male as the head man of the household.[2] All the property: land, farm implements, cattle, buildings, household furniture, and utensils were considered common property of all household members, particularly male adults. But women's clothing and other personal belongings, such as linen and canvas, brought as a dowry or produced by women were considered their private property. When such a household was broken up the common property was divided equally among all the adult male members, regardless of the degree of blood relationship.

The bolshak was assisted in his management by a family council (*soviet*) consisting of married male members, while the bolshuka was assisted by the married females. Though the bolshak's place after his death was taken by his eldest son or his eldest brother, it happened occasionally also that such a household came to be ruled by a woman, if she proved to be an exceptionally resolute personality and good manager.

596 178 476 The remnants of such a family collective persisted in some rural parts of Russia until the beginning of the twentieth century. Such a household in which some of the Old-Slavonic traditions were still in existence was looked upon as a labor association, as much as an association of blood-related families. This is why the heads of such a family commune were designated, not by parental names, as father or mother of the family, but by functional names, as managers of the common property.[3]

596 651 621 Originally the powers of the household soviet were an important check on the authority of the head elder. The soviet assured protection against inequity and tended to maintain equalitarian relationships among the married members of the household. However, early in the development of the Great-Russian society the events tended to favor the power of the bolshak. Following the practices of Mongol rule, frequent censuses were held and frequent levies were imposed on the population according to the number of households or according to acreage. The village community which composed a cess district was made jointly respon-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

sible for the whole amount of the tributes and taxes assessed. It was, therefore, in the interest of this land tax commune to favor concentration of power in the hands of the household head and to support his strictness in rule so that each household might contribute at the end of the fiscal year its share of the common tax assessment. With the lack of such a system of control, the taxes of the defaulters might fall on other members of the village community.

To meet the obligations to the tax commune it was necessary for each household to have sufficient manpower and all the farm equipment it needed. Household partition, which implied dispersal of manpower, need for new equipment, and increased taxation, was therefore frowned upon. Loitering or prolonged absence from the community also had to be discouraged. Early marriages, joint households, and rigid supervision by the elders were fostered. In addition, internal household conflicts provoked by forced regimentation and intensified because of lack of privacy, crowded quarters, insufficient food and clothing increased the need for autocratic rule:

> All in the household well know and have learned by experience that in the interest of the well-being of the household it is absolutely necessary that all obey one elder, who has knowledge and experience about the household and upon whom would depend all matters of husbandry.[4]

The landed nobility and the land-owning Church also supported the absolute power of the bolshak and disapproved of household partitions on their estates. The estate owners were bound to furnish the timber and other materials for the construction of new izbas in case of the division of an old household. They also had to provide the new households with farm equipment, all of which was a burden because it implied additional expense for the landlords. At the same time the government, which was constantly engaged in warfare and was increasingly in need of new recruits, found it more expedient to get these from large households so that the tilling of the soil would not suffer and the tax-paying powers would not decrease while military campaigns were taking place. Therefore, all the authori-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

592 Family centrism, family isolation, and lack of trust in one's
771 neighbor were apparently projected into the supernatural world
776 where one's own Domovoy, though at times arbitrary, ill-tempered and spiteful, was generally considered to be benevolent—bringing good luck to the household which was under his care and solicitude. The neighbor's Domovoy, on the other hand, was always a malevolent and wicked being who could never be propitiated and who was likely to steal your hay or drive away your cattle for the benefit of the home which was under his protection.
[789] The Russian peasants, therefore, developed means of defense against the neighbor's Domovoy in the form of spells and exorcisms.

156 Lack of social trust is not favorable to the development of
• 621 solidarity within a community. Therefore lack of group identi-
578 fication among the peasants and burghers, the same as the lack of the *esprit de corps* among the nobility, contributed to the perpetuation of the autocratic rule. Lack of communal identifications was an obstacle to the turning of group hostilities against the ruling classes. In such circumstances a great deal of personal aggressiveness had to find outlets and targets within the local community and within the family circle itself. Only when the authorities suffered crushing defeat and loss of prestige the hostilities would turn against them and mass uprisings would take place, demanding re-establishment of old communal values.

With the ascendancy of the otsovskaya system, family relations came to be organized in a hierarchical system along the lines of paternity, marriage status, seniority and sex. At one time, only married male members formed the family council (soviet). The males had priority over the females. Within each sex category the elder had priority rights over the younger. When the family was partitioned, custom demanded that the older brothers leave
[428] the ancestral home while the youngest, following Mongol tradi-
[582] tions, remained on the paternal *koren* (root).[4] In marrying the daughters it was the eldest who had to be married first.

593 In the patriarchal family, in their relations to the father, all family members were expected to accept his rule with fear and awe (*strakh*) and with humility (*smirenie*). They had to show absolute submission and blind obedience (*besprekoslovnoe povinovenie*),[5] as well as love and gratitude (*blagodarnost*).[6]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

tioned them to dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships, but yearning also for the Old-Slavonic anarchic and egalitarian justice, the "Slavophils" tended to idealize especially those institutions in which paternalistic, as well as equalitarian, relationships were well established, but which they saw distintegrating in new circumstances. Such was, for instance, the *mir* institution, according to their view.

According to the Slavophil interpretation, the old Russian and Slav community was founded on the principles of obedience, mutual responsibility, social justice and equality, Christian love and humility.[5] They asserted that the Russian land commune was the foundation of an original and highly satisfactory culture which was exempt from the vices of the Western civilization, untainted with proletarianization, pauperism, and the problem of wages. The mir was an institution in which man felt as an organic and integral part of his community. There was no uncertainty, no insecurity, and no frustrations in that social system since in it the values were absolute and unchallenged.[6]

The Slavophils idealized Russia's patriarchal relationships based on absolute and unchallenged values, on faith and on total fusion of man and community, as contrasted to Western individualism, cosmopolitanism, rationalism and skepticism. They contended that reason, if separated from faith, introduces doubts, splits and conflicts between man and his society. They stressed the organic totality and harmony of the Old-Slavonic and pre-Petrine Russian society in contrast to the materialism and class strife of the West.[7]

The old pre-Petrine order which the Slavophils idealized had greatly depended upon Church support and religious sanction for its perpetuation. The Slavophils therefore feared that Western liberalism which was beginning to penetrate Russia would undermine its religious foundation. As a defense against such demoralizing influences, the Slavophils pointed out that the Western world was rapidly disintegrating because of the spreading of free thought and because of the decline of the faith. The West was a prey to Roman heathenism, they said, and it was from this traditional anti-Christian spirit that revolutions, free thought, the papacy, and the Reformation had sprung.

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claimed that the commune should be the main unit of social organization of mankind. In the commune, it was not force or external coerciveness, not the minority or majority rule, but the collective mind, the inner motivations, the principle of unanimity and organic totality that prevailed.[12] It is only by being completely rooted in his own community and completely identified with his own people that man can be creative and can reach all-human ideas, they said.

In such a society in which the state disappears in the Church and in which the commune becomes the basic unit of social organization, instead of external and formal law and authority imposed from above, emotional bonds of unity, self-discipline, informal egalitarian justice and charity will prevail.[13] It is only in such an integrated community which has been fused with the Church and in which the total and organic unity of all members is established that real freedom of the individual can be realized,[14] according to Slavophilism.

Slavophil ideas exerted considerable political influence in Russia and in the rest of the Slav world. Exposed to the growing pressure of imperial designs of Western powers, and embarked on a program of their own imperial expansion in the direction of the Mediterranean and the Pacific, some of Russia's political circles welcomed Slavophil ideas as an ideological justification of Russia's foreign policies. Thus the idea of protection of Orthodox and of Slav peoples,[15] the idea of defense of the Slavs against the encroachments of the Germans and the idea of uniqueness and superiority of Slav culture played an important role in a series of nationalist movements and wars in which Russia became involved since the middle of the nineteenth century.

According to this Pan-Slav movement Russia was the only Christian land, the world outside Russia was "the land of the anti-Christ," the "incorporation of Satan." Accordingly, struggle with the West was not only inevitable, but necessary and salutary, both for Russia and the rest of humankind. And the victory will be undoubtedly on the side of Russia.[16]

For the continuance of its organic life the world required a centre. This centre must be found in a single nation able to

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

668 625 secret police had completely free hands in hunting down the members of the Terrorist movement, using the same cunning means as the terrorists did. Each party relied on terror, based on the principle that all means were justified. One of the princi- [643] pal victims in this struggle was Czar Alexander II whose ideas and policies were aimed at liberalizing the Russian society and raising it to the economic and educational level that had been achieved in the European West.

661 668 As a reaction against this event, Alexander's son and successor, Alexander III, instituted officially a regime of terror and declared a ruthless war of extermination of all terrorists and other subversive elements. The Russian public opinion, too, shocked by the assassination of Alexander II, was becoming alert to the dangers of terrorist practices.[29] Such circumstances had a disheartening effect on terrorist plans. A number of revolutionaries found it expedient to move the center of their activities to European capitals. Other young malcontents endeavored to "go among the people" (*iti v narod*) and start mass agitation and propaganda. These *Narodniki* wanted also to raise the educational and economic standards of the lower strata of the Russian society, particularly the peasants who were to play a significant role in the coming events.

16
THE STRUCTURE OF VILLAGE COMMUNITY

I

BEFORE serfdom, the land commune (*mir*) whose 621 function was to distribute land periodically, to collect taxes and 651 maintain order, was also an institution which protected its members from outside interference. It was an institution made up of peasants who were not differentiated economically and who knew their own needs and capacities. In such village communities the Old-Slavonic traditions of mutual aid and egalitarian

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

brotherhood could still be maintained. Since the seventeenth century, however, expenditures for military campaigns and for growing ranks of salaried bureaucrats necessitated increasing state incomes which could be obtained without much delay. Since the state was industrially and commercially undeveloped, the only way to increase revenues was in finding new means to squeeze out of the peasantry a still larger part of its produce. Therefore the old system of direct tax collecting from the mir was found to function inefficiently on the estates of the nobility, and laws were passed which made the landowners responsible for the collection of state taxes from the peasantry. In this way ties between the manorial peasants and the central government were severed.[1]

As a result of such a change in the political structure, the manorial serfs became now entirely dependent upon the owners of the manorial estates. There was no more possibility for the peasants to appeal directly to the government. Between the government and the manorial peasants stood now the landlords to whom the peasants became exclusively responsible as a final authority in all matters, administrative as well as judiciary.[2] *Pomeshchik* was now looked upon as the "natural protector of people, their local judge, the guardian of their welfare, their tutor, the trustee of poor and orphans, observer of good order and law."[3] He was considered as the Czar's overseer and watchdog.[4] The patriarchal dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships which existed between the Czar and his subjects were now extended to the landlord and his serfs. Both the Czar and the landlord were addressed as *batyushka* (father).

The position of the serf, however, was now so much more precarious because in new relationships the power of the landlord was absolute. A life-long banishment to Siberia awaited him who lodged a complaint against his master. And since there were neither written laws nor any established customary law to regulate the relations between the serfs and the manorial lords, the serfs were completely dependent upon the degree of moral or ethical standards of their masters for their lives and well-being. These were often very low. Hence unprotected either by

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

written or by customary rules of conduct and often exposed to the arbitrariness and mistreatment of their lords, the serfs on many manorial estates came to be completely dependent upon the will and capriciousness of their masters.

It is obvious that many landed gentry who were given such absolute rights over their serfs would tend to completely subjugate the mir also. In such circumstances the mir was likely to lose its character of a self-ruled and self-contained community and instead tended to become an instrument of landlord's power which made the landowner the absolute monarch of his estate. Under the overlordship of the estate owner the mir kept its watchful eye over every peasant, and made it easier for the landowner to manage his property, and for the government to rule the country. It was under such external pressures that the steppe traditions of an absolute, stern and distant patriarchal power were being strengthened among the peasantry.

II

The conditions of the peasants did not improve in these respects after the abolishment of serfdom in the second part of the nineteenth century.[5] The peasants were emancipated from the rule of the pomeshchiks and subjected again directly to the government. But now the government, pushed by pressing demands for increasing revenues, made the mir an instrument of state control and found in it one of the most exacting of tax collectors. In order to be assured of payment the state had to concede to the mir all of the most severe measures of authority. Now the mir was entitled to banish unsolvent peasants to Siberia. And when corporal punishment was abolished in urban criminal law practice, it was still left in use in the mir.[6]

After the abolishment of serfdom the mir came under the supervision of the district chief of police (*Ispravnik*). The law of 1874 gave the police the right to arrest and to fine the village elders, and even to demand from the governor of the province their discharge. The position of the elder became so undesirable that the mir sometimes had to exert force to obtain candidates for this office or to prevent those in office from resigning.[7]

There was another official in this system of rural administra-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

There was another official in this system of rural administration, the *pisar,* who, though only a salaried clerk, with no executive authority, frequently exerted great influence. He was usually a stranger to the commune because of his urban manners and dress. He might be a former divinity student, an army veteran, or a city clerk dismissed for inefficiency. He was ill paid as a commune clerk and inclined to make up for his low salary by accepting bribes.[8] But the real power in the village was often vested in the hands of the *uryadnik,* the village constable, who had manifold duties and many prerogatives. He tended to consider himself as Czar of the village and was inclined to be arbitrary and insolent. He often terrorized the peasants and "the government protected him in his practices, even to the point of prohibiting the newspapers from printing accounts of outrages he perpetrated."[9]

In the meantime other structural changes were taking place in the Russian village. Since earlier the landlords and now the government relied on a few peasants who controlled the mir, these often took advantage of their privileged position and tended to beguile the commune out of its best lands. Some of these people also owned taverns (*kabak*) and were money lenders and usurers. They tended to ape their masters, kept at a certain distance from other peasants and looked down upon them. Because of their greediness, misuse of power, and contemptuous attitude toward the peasants, they became known among the peasants as *miroedy* (mir-eaters) and as *kulaki* (fists).[10]

According to the established custom the decisions in the village assembly were arrived at unanimously and by acclamation. If there was a minority opinion the minority was expected to expressly or tacitly accept the view of the majority. In the Old-Slavonic village community and in the mir before serfdom a genuine unanimity rule was possible because that community was on the whole undifferentiated economically or socially, and was governed to a large extent by public consensus. But as soon as this rural community became stratified, the unanimity principle was exploited to the advantage of the dominant cliques. When serfdom was established, the unanimity principle was often employed to support the decisions and the whims of the landlords. And after emancipation, the police or an oligarchy of

[i.e. after the abolition of serfdom --Analyst]

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623 a few kulaks were often able to force the commune members into unanimous decision by means of threats or bribing. And there was no appeal against such decisions.

565 In such circumstances many land communes tended to lose
●621 their former equalitarian and protective aspects and the peasants
154 came to fear the mir and to feel an awe before it as much as they had a fear and awe before God and the Czar or before a stern and distant father. They feared the overwhelming power of the mir, the finality of its decision, and the lack of redress against its will They tended to identify the mir's final power with that of Almighty God. "There is no court for the mir, one God is its judge," they would say. Feeling helpless in the front of such an
[156] uncontrollable power, there seemed to be nothing else for the peasants to do but to submit to its will. "One cannot argue with the mir"; "Mir will stand for itself, you cannot go against it" they would say. And since there was no other way out for one but to be a part of such an overwhelming and capricious institution the most expedient way of behavior for him was to accept it and to do as the others do. "Although bad, you cannot do without it"; "If you have to live with wolves you might as well howl as they do."[11]

621 The mir and police were empowered to interfere not only in
625 the system of planting, sowing, and harvesting, but in family
156 and personal affairs as well. The problems of paternal authority and filial duties, the relations between husband and wife, and between in-laws, the questions of inheritance, military conscription, and general behavior, all were within the grasp of these village authorities.[12] Just as in his own family, the rank-and-file individual was completely lost in his village commune. A rank-and-file man had the right to participate in the debates and was expected to vote unanimously for the regulations which restricted his personal and his economic freedom. He who dared to object was unprotected against the despotism and arbitrariness either of the ruling minority or of an incited mob. Thus the feelings of complete dependence upon superior powers prevailed in the community.

241 In addition, poor quality of land, lack of sufficient moisture, long and hard winters, many years of military service, low

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This is great fortune
For all the servants of the world,
Sharers in honesty and trust,
Executors of the Covenant of Christ.[23]

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Longing for acceptance was not only manifested in the worship of living "Christ," but also in carnal communion with the "Christs" and "Madonnas," in ecstatic trances and mass religious hallucinations, and apparently even in some cannibalistic practices.[23] Thus when in consequence of sacred rites a Bogorodica would bear a child, if a boy, he was known as *Khristosik* (the little Christ). According to some students of Russia's religious life the Khristosik was immolated on the eighth day after his birth. His heart and blood, mixed with flour and honey, were served to make the cakes for the Eucharist. This practice was called "Taking Communion in the blood of the Lamb."[24] At other times, according to the same sources, it was a young virgin, chosen as Mother of God who willingly gave her left breast to be cut out amidst ritual dancing and singing. The breast was then partaken of as the "true Eucharistic food."[25]

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Great emotional insecurity and extreme fear of rejection might explain why elements of power-seeking were present in all sects, even in those which professed complete repudiation of power in any form whatsoever. For instance, Popov, the founder of the Molokane sect which originally professed complete freedom of conscience and complete equality, eventually entirely suppressed liberty of discussion and interpretation. Unconditional submission to the authorities he declared to be the first duty, insubordination the greatest sin.[26] Andrey Selivanov, the founder of the Skoptsy sect, had himself designated in the prayers which were addressed to him in his lifetime, as "God of Gods and King of Kings," even though the Skoptsy sect professed complete freedom from any form of coercion.[27]

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Also early in the history of the Dukhobortsy we find that their communistic practices finally led to dictatorship and despotism.[28] The leaders of this sect knew how to take personal advantage of the longing of the sect members for protective dependence and acceptance. One of the leaders of this sect, Kapustin, in the beginning of the nineteenth century expounded

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the communistic tenets of the Dukhobortsy in such a way as to turn them to his own profit and advantage. Like other Dukhobortsy, Kapustin too believed that God was in every man, and therefore all men were equal. He said, however, that God first had revealed himself in Jesus and the soul of Jesus has then continually animated new bodies throughout many generations. And by virtue of its higher qualities, and the absolute command of God, the soul of Jesus as it passed from one man to another had invariably retained its identity, and the man in whom the soul of Jesus resided, unmistakenly knew he was Jesus:

> Thus Sylvan Kolisnikof at Nikisk whom many of older among you knew, was Jesus; but now, as truly as the heaven is above and the earth under my feet, I am the true Jesus Christ, your Lord! fall down therefore on your knees and worship me![28]

Kapustin introduced a complete community of goods among his followers. They worked the fields in common and divided the harvest among them. Storehouses were erected to provide against years of dearth or famine. Also various kinds of industries were introduced and the colony showed visible progress in the first few years of its existence. Kapustin had also assembled an advisory Council of thirty Elders about him, from among whom an inner circle of twelve was selected. These were known as "The Apostles." Before he died he endeavored to impose his son as his successor and claimed that when he died the soul of Jesus would enter the body of his son.

After Kapustin's death dissatisfactions grew stronger and manifested themselves in suspicion, mistrust, and denunciation. The Council of Elders developed into an inquisitional tribunal which ruled arbitrarily, interpreting justice according to their caprices. Those who submitted unconditionally were rewarded, those who were suspected of deviation were accused of treachery and of intention to go over to their "enemy" that is, the official Church, and were punished with torture and even with death. The house from which the Elders ruled became known as *Ray i muka*—paradise and torture.[29]

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19
PEASANT UPRISINGS

I

EVER since the establishment of serfdom, slaves and serfs would free themselves from oppressive bondage by joining the gangs of vagabonds, fugitives from justice, army deserters, malcontents and escapees of all kinds, many of whom lived by theft, robbery, and begging. These victims of oppression, as well as many adventurers, gathered along the frontiers of the empire in "no man's land" where they would organize themselves as bands of freebooters, guerillas, and mercenaries, ready to enter the service of rival powers.

In the regions of the lower Don and Dnieper these communities of fugitives of all social classes and occupations and of many races formed elective military governments, known as the Cossack republics. Once they were established, these free Cossack communes served as a place of attraction to all who longed for freedom from oppression or who sought adventure. In these free societies no one was asked any question about his passport, his identity, his domicile, his faith, or his belongings. Everyone willing to fight and loot was welcome, but none was forced to come or stay.[1]

However, by the middle of the seventeenth century in these Cossack commonwealths, there appeared a social differentiation between the old settlers and the newcomers. The older settlers formed a property-owning class known as the "house-owners," and the newcomers became known as the *golytba* (the naked). And it was these unsettled and restless Cossacks of the "naked class" that played an especially prominent part in the uprisings of the seventeenth century and later.[2]

The first part of the seventeenth century, known in the history of the Czardom as the "Period of Trouble," was characterized by the lack of an established authority. The old dynasty had

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could be achieved only if Russia was to change radically its economic structure. As a result of such a trend of events and of thought the government passed a decree in 1861 according to which the peasants were set legally free from their masters.

As a consequence of his legal emancipation, the peasant found himself in the possession of less arable land than before, and he was still bound to it. He was overburdened even more than before because he was obliged to pay high redemption dues in addition to the heavy taxes that were imposed on him. Moreover the peasants in land communes not only remained jointly responsible to the government for the payment of taxes, but they were also made jointly responsible for redemption payments. The commune's authority over the peasants was increased and the peasant found himself under an even more exacting and more despotic commune regimentation than the one that existed before the "Emancipation Act."

At the same time the peasant still did not have sufficient arable land. He also lacked pasture grounds and timber which were of special importance in his technologically backward and extensive agricultural economy; most of such land was left in the hands of his former masters. The acuteness of land shortage was especially felt because of lack of artificial fertilizers, need for draught animals, and primitiveness of farm equipment. Many peasants did not even possess a wooden plow.

But though the emancipation act of 1861 still kept the peasants bound to the land, and did not provide them with sufficient land, it did open up opportunities for their economic advance and political activation. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, the peasantry became generally recognized as a potentially very significant force, both politically and economically. It was this prospect of the peasant masses as the leading political power of the future in combination with the Slavophil idealization of the peasantry that gave rise to the ideology of *narodnichestvo* (populism). This ideology idealized the virtues and the creative potentialities of the peasantry, and just as the Slavophils, the narodniki claimed that the reconstruction of Russian society, even of the whole world, will come from Russian peasantry.

By the end of that century a faction of Russian radical intel-

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written or by customary rules of conduct and often exposed to the arbitrariness and mistreatment of their lords, the serfs on many manorial estates came to be completely dependent upon the will and capriciousness of their masters.

It is obvious that many landed gentry who were given such absolute rights over their serfs would tend to completely subjugate the mir also. In such circumstances the mir was likely to lose its character of a self-ruled and self-contained community and instead tended to become an instrument of landlord's power which made the landowner the absolute monarch of his estate. Under the overlordship of the estate owner the mir kept its watchful eye over every peasant, and made it easier for the landowner to manage his property, and for the government to rule the country. It was under such external pressures that the steppe traditions of an absolute, stern and distant patriarchal power were being strengthened among the peasantry.

II

The conditions of the peasants did not improve in these respects after the abolishment of serfdom in the second part of the nineteenth century.[5] The peasants were emancipated from the rule of the pomeshchiks and subjected again directly to the government. But now the government, pushed by pressing demands for increasing revenues, made the mir an instrument of state control and found in it one of the most exacting of tax collectors. In order to be assured of payment the state had to concede to the mir all of the most severe measures of authority. Now the mir was entitled to banish unsolvent peasants to Siberia. And when corporal punishment was abolished in urban criminal law practice, it was still left in use in the mir.[6]

After the abolishment of serfdom the mir came under the supervision of the district chief of police (*Ispravnik*). The law of 1874 gave the police the right to arrest and to fine the village elders, and even to demand from the governor of the province their discharge. The position of the elder became so undesirable that the mir sometimes had to exert force to obtain candidates for this office or to prevent those in office from resigning.[7]

There was another official in this system of rural administra-

[CONSTITUTION as of 1949]

Chapter VIII. The Local Organs of State Power

631 Art. 77. The organs of state power in territories, regions, autonomous regions, national areas, administrative areas, districts, cities, settlements and rural localities (stanitsas, villages, hamlets, auls) are the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 78. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of territories, regions, national and administrative areas, districts, cities, districts in big cities, settlements and rural localities (stanitsas, villages, hamlets and auls) are elected by the working people of the respective territories, regions, national areas, administrative areas, districts, cities, settlements and rural localities for a term of two years.

Art. 79. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of territories, regions, areas, districts, cities, settlements and villages direct cultural, political and economic affairs within their territory, draw up the local budgets, direct the work of the organs of administration subordinate to them, ensure the maintenance of public order, assist in strengthening the defensive capacity of the country and ensure the observance of the laws and the protection of the rights of citizens.

Art. 80. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies adopt decisions and issue orders within the limits of the powers vested in them by the laws of the USSR, of the Russian SFSR and of the Autonomous Republic.

Art. 81. The executive and administrative organ of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies of a territory, region, national and administrative area, district, city, settlement or village is the Executive Committee elected by it, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairmen, a Secretary and members.

● [623] Art. 82. The executive and administrative organ of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies (of stanitsas, hamlets and auls) in a small locality is the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and the Secretary elected by the Soviet of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 83. The Executive Committee of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies of a territory, region, area, district, city, settlement or village exercises guidance in cultural, political and economic affairs within its territory on the basis of decisions taken by the corresponding Soviet of Working People's Deputies and superior state organs.

Art. 84. Sessions of territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies are convened by their respective Executive Committees not less than four times a year.

Art. 85. Sessions of district Soviets of Working People's Deputies and of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of administrative areas are convened by their respective Executive Committees not less than six times a year.

[623] Art. 86. Sessions of city and village Soviets of Working People's Deputies are convened by their executive organs not less than once a month.

Art. 87. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of territories, regions, national and administrative areas, districts and cities, each elect a Chairman and a Secretary for the duration of their sessions to conduct the sittings of the sessions.

[623] Art. 88. The Chairman of a village Soviet convenes the Soviet and conducts its sittings.

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class the tendency was toward the concentration of power in the hands of the more mighty princes.[13]

This concentration of power in the hands of the city plutocracy found its expression in the principle of an unanimity vote in the city assembly (*Veche*). Data on the early political and social organization of the Russian urban communities show that the unanimity in decisions was the rule. The old documents about these gatherings tell us that "what has been established by the oldest city, is maintained by its boroughs," that "all thought and spoke as one man," that "all were unanimous in the desire," and that the decision was reached "by all the oldest and all the youngest men of the assembly."[14]

But we also learn that this unopposed group consensus was achieved by means of threat and terror against all those who might show an inclination to disagree or who disagreed after the assembly had been held and after a resolution had been passed. The dissenters were often beaten with rods, despoiled of their property, or murdered. Sometimes they might escape such fate if ready to pay a fine that varied according to the rank of the dissenter. In this manner a minority, backed by physical force was able to enforce its will on the rest under the guise of "unanimity."[15]

Pressure for the unanimous consent on the part of the people was applied also in the village assemblies, and later in the land commune (*mir*). In some other customs of the Great-Russian peasantry, even in our own times, the unanimous consent was considered necessary. In marriage ceremonies, for instance, custom demanded that the bride when leaving her parental home obtain blessing from all her neighbors. There was, however, a threat against neighbors who refused their blessing. Curses were invoked against them: "Those who do not bless her, may they never marry their sons and daughters" (*Kto ne blagoslovit tomu vek sinov ne zhenit a docheri za muzh ne vdavat*).[16]

The principle of unanimity was apparently the procedure in the local assemblies of the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators of the Dnieper river basin. Such an unanimity was also practiced until our times in the Zadruga society of Croatia.[17] But in those pacific and anarchic societies the principle of unanimity was real, not

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a fiction. Lacking means of physical enforcement because of the lack of a centralized political system, common action could take place only among those who voluntarily agreed. But when small bands of mounted warriors imposed their rule over the multitudes of non-warlike peasantry, the power-oriented conquerors made use of the Old-Slavonic system of unanimity for purposes of regimentation and governmentalization from above. That is, they imposed a dictated consensus by means of force else the opposition of the peasant majority would soon have deprived the ruling minority of its power.

In this manner a number of band chieftains of nomadic origin ruled groupings of small peasant communities, in the form of manorial principalities. Each one of these local potentates, even though Slavicized in speech or born in mixed families, still exhibited extreme self-seeking characteristics and cherished personal power and aggrandizement above everything else, a tenet that had characterized his nomadic predecessors. Each, therefore, following steppe traditions, had a scheme of his own; each was interested primarily in accumulating riches for himself and his immediate family. In consequence, these local princes and their war bands constantly intrigued and fought among themselves. They also transferred their personal and factional strifes to the neighboring towns of burghers. In these squabbles and struggle for power and expansion, the feuding princes and fighting factions did not hesitate to call on the common enemies in their neighborhoods, such as the steppe marauders or the Viking pirates to come in and help them defeat their opponents.

It was in the course of such an internecine strife (*vsta rod na rod*) in Novgorod region in the middle of the ninth century that a band of Scandinavian merchant-pirates was called on to come and help one clique of native princes against the other.[18] These "Varangians" not only came in but stayed, founding later the Russian state in the Dnieper river basin, at that time the most important merchant thoroughfare in that part of the world. These Norse conquerors and state builders were soon assimilated by the natives. In the course of time a series of new principalities was formed and old factional bickerings and fratricidal warfare was renewed.[19]

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There was another official in this system of rural administration, the *pisar*, who, though only a salaried clerk, with no executive authority, frequently exerted great influence. He was usually a stranger to the commune because of his urban manners and dress. He might be a former divinity student, an army veteran, or a city clerk dismissed for inefficiency. He was ill paid as a commune clerk and inclined to make up for his low salary by accepting bribes.[8] But the real power in the village was often vested in the hands of the *uryadnik*, the village constable, who had manifold duties and many prerogatives. He tended to consider himself as Czar of the village and was inclined to be arbitrary and insolent. He often terrorized the peasants and "the government protected him in his practices, even to the point of prohibiting the newspapers from printing accounts of outrages he perpetrated."[9]

In the meantime other structural changes were taking place in the Russian village. Since earlier the landlords and now the government relied on a few peasants who controlled the mir, these often took advantage of their privileged position and tended to beguile the commune out of its best lands. Some of these people also owned taverns (*kabak*) and were money lenders and usurers. They tended to ape their masters, kept at a certain distance from other peasants and looked down upon them. Because of their greediness, misuse of power, and contemptuous attitude toward the peasants, they became known among the peasants as *miroedy* (mir-eaters) and as *kulaki* (fists).[10]

According to the established custom the decisions in the village assembly were arrived at unanimously and by acclamation. If there was a minority opinion the minority was expected to expressly or tacitly accept the view of the majority. In the Old-Slavonic village community and in the mir before serfdom a genuine unanimity rule was possible because that community was on the whole undifferentiated economically or socially, and was governed to a large extent by public consensus. But as soon as this rural community became stratified, the unanimity principle was exploited to the advantage of the dominant cliques. When serfdom was established, the unanimity principle was often employed to support the decisions and the whims of the landlords. And after emancipation, the police or an oligarchy of

[i.e. after the abolition of serfdom -- Analyst]

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623 a few kulaks were often able to force the commune members into unanimous decision by means of threats or bribing. And there was no appeal against such decisions.

565 621 154 In such circumstances many land communes tended to lose their former equalitarian and protective aspects and the peasants came to fear the mir and to feel an awe before it as much as they had a fear and awe before God and the Czar or before a stern and distant father. They feared the overwhelming power of the mir, the finality of its decision, and the lack of redress against its will They tended to identify the mir's final power with that of Almighty God. "There is no court for the mir, one God is its judge," they would say. Feeling helpless in the front of such an [156] uncontrollable power, there seemed to be nothing else for the peasants to do but to submit to its will. "One cannot argue with the mir"; "Mir will stand for itself, you cannot go against it" they would say. And since there was no other way out for one but to be a part of such an overwhelming and capricious institution the most expedient way of behavior for him was to accept it and to do as the others do. "Although bad, you cannot do without it"; "If you have to live with wolves you might as well howl as they do."[11]

621 625 156 The mir and police were empowered to interfere not only in the system of planting, sowing, and harvesting, but in family and personal affairs as well. The problems of paternal authority and filial duties, the relations between husband and wife, and between in-laws, the questions of inheritance, military conscription, and general behavior, all were within the grasp of these village authorities.[12] Just as in his own family, the rank-and-file individual was completely lost in his village commune. A rank-and-file man had the right to participate in the debates and was expected to vote unanimously for the regulations which restricted his personal and his economic freedom. He who dared to object was unprotected against the despotism and arbitrariness either of the ruling minority or of an incited mob. Thus the feelings of complete dependence upon superior powers prevailed in the community.

241 In addition, poor quality of land, lack of sufficient moisture, long and hard winters, many years of military service, low

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[1] [i.e. after the abolition of serfdom --Analyst]

[Constitution as of 1949]

634 Art. 95. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of administrative districts and their Executive Committees set up Departments and conduct their work on the basis of laws and decrees of supreme organs of the Russian SFSR and the decisions of territorial and regional Working People's Deputies.

632 Art. 96. The district Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Roads
- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Agriculture
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance
- a Planning Commission
- a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committee and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the economy of the district, the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments, subject to confirmation by the respective regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies:

- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Local Industry.

629 Art. 97. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of State Security set up their Departments under the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies in accordance with the conditions of the district, on the basis of the laws of the USSR and the Russian SFSR and subject to confirmation by the corresponding regional Soviet of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 98. The Departments of the Executive Committees of district Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Departments of the territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

633 Art. 99. The city Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance
- a Planning Commission
- a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committee and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the city's industry and its municipal and suburban economy:

- a Department of Local Industry and
- a Department of Agriculture.

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subjects: coercion and dependency. One such method was to massacre a large part of the population, to loot the conquered territories, and to leave those that remained alive in abject misery. The plunder of the conquered peoples sometimes went to such extremes that they were exposed to prolonged famines and food had to be brought from Moscow to save the remaining populace from starving to death.

When a non-Russian territory had been brought to impotence by such means the Muscovite rulers would settle the Russian people among the natives, dividing the territory into a number of administrative units. The next step was to appoint persons who were strangers to those places to govern them. Following the Mongol pattern, these governors were changed often and never allowed to stay long enough to become friendly with the natives and to develop a genuine local power of their own. As a rule, in one and the same place two personages would be appointed, one of higher nobility to hold the office in name, and the other of lower nobility to control the former. Moreover, special overseers and watchdogs were periodically sent directly from Moscow to spy and check on both.[19]

This system of checking on persons who held high offices was practiced also in the army where large army units were headed by persons of the old high nobility, who were not trusted. To these nominal commanders, officers of lesser nobility would be appointed as deputy commanders. It was often these "political commissars" who had the real power.[20]

Just as in the tribes and states of the steppes the conquered people were kept in subjugation also by fomenting continual dissension between various classes and within each class of the population. The Czar at the same time relied on the numerical strength and loyalty of his personal guards and selected garrisons which were strategically distributed throughout the conquered country. The conquered people, brought thus by the conqueror to helplessness, fell to their knees and begged their overlords for mercy.

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not by means of a popular revolution as in the West. Accordingly the new bureaucratic rule was based on the *Ukaz*[3] and the knut as much as the old order. For the same reason, though the state was formally secularized, the traditions of an autocracy, divinely ordained and supported by God, were carried on by every official as the representative of the Czar.[4]

Therefore the new system of autocracy based on bureaucracy, the same as the old one based on service nobility, could not recognize any political or personal rights of the subjects. Nor could there have developed any *esprit de corps* among the new governing class. This new class of officials owned little or no land and had to live on meager salaries, but was eager to follow the traditions and the high standards established by the old landed nobility. The chinovnichestvo therefore became even more dependent upon the Czar than the dvorianstvo was earlier. There was even less *esprit de corps* and less solidarity in the new governing class than in the old. Each official was constantly in fear of jeopardizing his own social position if he stood up in defense of any of his colleagues. Besides, in this hierarchical system of power the ruin or falling into disfavor of one official often meant the ascendancy of the other. There was, therefore, a tendency to take advantage of such a situation, to resort to intrigues and calumnies, and to help to destroy rather than to rehabilitate a victim.

All the powers, the lawmaking, the application of law, and the justice were placed into the hands of these bureaucrats. At the same time the system of checks and controls was very deficient. Laws were enacted by special temporary commissions of high officials, and created *ad hoc*. The Council of State, a supreme policy-making body, composed of about seventy to eighty highest dignitaries, was appointed by the Czar to serve him only in advisory capacities. The final decision rested in the hands of the Czar, or with the camarilla clique which happened at the moment to be most influential. The Empire was administratively divided into provinces (*gubernia*) which were usually headed by army generals. The gubernias were divided into districts which were headed by chiefs of police. The governors, supported by the police, ruled autocratically in their domains. They were

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631 625 responsible only to the Czar; and the police, not being responsible to the public, but only to their immediate superiors, tended to be arbitrary.

647 What mattered in Russia's bureaucratic system was obedience to one's superiors. That was the primary criterion of judgment of the fitness of a civil servant, not his ability or personal integrity. Seldom was an employee dismissed because of corruption and injustice. A functionary could not be prosecuted for acts committed in the exercise of his functions except with the consent, or, on the initiative of his superiors. And the higher placed the offender, the less real was his responsibility. At the same time a subordinate employee, a soldier, or an inferior officer had no redress if wronged by his superior. A subordinate did have the right by law to lodge a complaint against mistreatment on the part of his chief, but according to the rules of Russian hierarchical discipline, no public servant, civil or military, could present a petition or complaint except through his own superior officer.[5] Few ever dared to do so.

647 871 This bureaucratic irresponsibility and impunity assumes an especial significance if one has in mind the low status of education and training of Russian officials. By the end of the nineteenth century in the provinces, according to an official investigation, out of a hundred employees, only one or two were found to have attended a university, five or six to have graduated from secondary schools, ten or twelve from primary schools. Eighty out of a hundred had had no formal schooling whatever and had passed no examination.[6] Many former soldiers and war veterans with little or no formal schooling crowded civil administration. At times the higher the education the less chances one had to enter state service.[7]

II

647 557 In such a system excess in zeal was often rewarded. On the other hand, initiative and originality, if not successful, were fraught with great personal risks. Therefore, shirking from work and responsibility, and struggling for office and rank became the rule. It was only by achieving higher position and by winning

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643 imagine himself threatened by "enemies," and live in fear.[14] As
157 a defense against such feelings the Czar might be inclined to follow the advice of those of his officials who favored concentration of power and who advised against giving up any of his prerogatives or against any yielding to the demands of the opposition. "Constitution" to such a Czar and his camarilla was as dangerous as "revolution."

But such policies, which are rooted in a sense of extreme insecurity themselves tend to strengthen such feelings. Mistrust of people, fear of the "enemies," suppression of all opposition and tendency to concentrate increasingly the power in one's hands, to dominate and to demand absolute submissiveness is therefore perpetuated. Hence, power-relations in Russia of the eighteenth and nineteenth century tended to follow the pattern of rule established earlier in Muscovite Czardom:

661 The emperor Nicholas I ruled his country like a gamekeeper. Under
643 his administration of the empire, based as it was upon a system
566 of flogging, imprisonment, and exile to Siberia, the great could indulge their caprices with impunity . . . But . . . in reality . . . the masters were also slaves. Every man, whoever he might be, was dependent on someone more powerful than himself who could with impunity make him wretched, and over him again there was someone still mightier. The lord, it is true, lived in comfort, and the serfs in squalor, but that was all. They were all slaves, one as much as the other . . . I have seen both oppressors and oppressed at close quarters, and I can aver that the inhuman regime of bondage corrupted and depraved one as much as the other.[15]

• 625 Just as in the political organization of steppe nomads and in the Muscovite Czardom such relations of insecurity, mistrust, self-seeking, abusive domineering and blind subordination demanded an efficient system of watchfulness, vigilance, checking and counterchecking. A special attention therefore had to be paid to the institution of secret political police. Since the days of Czar Nicholas I, the secret political police, known as the Third Section, was placed above all ministries, and was directly subject to the Emperor himself, just as in the days of Ivan the Terrible. Like the Oprichniki of Ivan the Terrible the Third Section was the main agency of vigilance, the chief watchdog of the state. It

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was invested with the most extensive powers and was given as its special mission the task of looking after the safety of the state and overseeing the doings of all departments, of all public functionaries, and of all people. The security police was an omnipotent and all-powerful body before whom all subjects were considered guilty unless they proved the contrary. This institution—developed in the course of centuries—became of paramount importance to its rulers. It became one of the most essential wheels of the government and one of the chief cares of the ruling class.[16]

III

Hierarchical relations of strict superordination and subordination in the military and bureaucratic ranks might foster feelings of identification with the mighty and the powerful. It is on such grounds that imperialistic nationalism and ideas of national superiority and grandeur thrive. And when state is fused with the Church in a system of theocratic militarism then nationalism might acquire also the aspects of religious fanaticism.

Expansion, greatness of the state, ideas of grandeur and Messianic ideas of world redemption or world domination might provide also compensation for humiliations, self-abasement, feelings of inferiority and unworthiness and other frustrations which are fostered in a system of abusive domineering-subservience relationships. As a result love of show, display of military might and need for conquests preoccupied the ruling strata of post-Petrine Russia as much as those of the Muscovite state. The Czar's court, the nobility, the military, the bureaucracy, the Church, the cities and the villages tended to display a grandeur that was in sharp contrast with the poverty of the country.[17]

This tendency toward exhibitionism and ideas of greatness was manifested also in the glorification of Russia, and the belief in the sacredness of its exalted mission in the world. Such attitudes and feelings which were rooted in the rigidly hierarchical military and bureaucratic structure were supported also by the Third Rome traditions of the Russian Church according to which Providence itself had bestowed upon Russia's rulers the role of the redeemers of mankind. According to these traditions and teachings Russia was a God-chosen country, the only country

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

revolutionary organizations was approved whenever such an act was considered necessary to strike terror into the hearts of the followers or to knit them more closely together.[23] Equally good was considered to be the method of deception, not only of the public, but also of the followers. Moreover, in order to achieve revolution and destroy the existing order, it was considered necessary to increase the existing evils. "The society will use all its resources to increase and intensify the evils and miseries of the people . . ."[24] so that the people would lose patience and be stimulated to a mass rising.

III

The extent to which Nihilist and Anarchist ideas had penetrated into various strata of Russian society by the middle of the second part of the nineteenth century may be indicated by the police records revealed during the many trials of Anarchists and Terrorists. Thus in a trial of a group known as the "Nechaevtsy," out of approximately 150 conspirators, about 30 of them or 20% were classified as nobles, about 50 or 33% of the accused were classified as students and former students. About 20 or 13% were sons of priests and divinity students. About 40 or 26% belonged to the class of bureaucrats and the military. About 15 or 10% belonged to the class of merchants and petty traders. There were five peasants, one artisan and one janitor in the group. There were also about ten women, married and single. The overwhelming majority of the conspirators were between 20 and 26 years of age, the median age being 22.[25]

As a result of Anarchist propaganda and agitation a number of secret revolutionary groups were organized and became known collectively as *podpolie* (underground).[26] One of them was *Zemlya i Volya* (land and freedom), organized in the early seventies. This society split a few years later into two factions, a moderate one, and an openly terroristic group known as the *Narodnaya Volya* (the people's will).[27] The *Narodovoltsy* initiated a series of terroristic acts and assassinations of high officials, including a number of attempts on the life of Czar Alexander II.[28]

The Czarist police fought back with the same weapons. The

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secret police had completely free hands in hunting down the members of the Terrorist movement, using the same cunning means as the terrorists did. Each party relied on terror, based on the principle that all means were justified. One of the principal victims in this struggle was Czar Alexander II whose ideas and policies were aimed at liberalizing the Russian society and raising it to the economic and educational level that had been achieved in the European West.

As a reaction against this event, Alexander's son and successor, Alexander III, instituted officially a regime of terror and declared a ruthless war of extermination of all terrorists and other subversive elements. The Russian public opinion, too, shocked by the assassination of Alexander II, was becoming alert to the dangers of terrorist practices.[29] Such circumstances had a disheartening effect on terrorist plans. A number of revolutionaries found it expedient to move the center of their activities to European capitals. Other young malcontents endeavored to "go among the people" (*iti v narod*) and start mass agitation and propaganda. These *Narodniki* wanted also to raise the educational and economic standards of the lower strata of the Russian society, particularly the peasants who were to play a significant role in the coming events.

16
THE STRUCTURE OF VILLAGE COMMUNITY

I

BEFORE serfdom, the land commune (*mir*) whose function was to distribute land periodically, to collect taxes and maintain order, was also an institution which protected its members from outside interference. It was an institution made up of peasants who were not differentiated economically and who knew their own needs and capacities. In such village communities the Old-Slavonic traditions of mutual aid and egalitarian

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566 written or by customary rules of conduct and often exposed to the arbitrariness and mistreatment of their lords, the serfs on many manorial estates came to be completely dependent upon the will and capriciousness of their masters.

566 621 It is obvious that many landed gentry who were given such absolute rights over their serfs would tend to completely subjugate the mir also. In such circumstances the mir was likely to lose its character of a self-ruled and self-contained community and instead tended to become an instrument of landlord's power which made the landowner the absolute monarch of his estate. Under the overlordship of the estate owner the mir kept its watchful eye over every peasant, and made it easier for the landowner to manage his property, and for the government to rule the country. It was under such external pressures that the steppe traditions of an absolute, stern and distant patriarchal power were being strengthened among the peasantry.

II

565 651 621 [566] The conditions of the peasants did not improve in these respects after the abolishment of serfdom in the second part of the nineteenth century.[6] The peasants were emancipated from the rule of the pomeshchiks and subjected again directly to the government. But now the government, pushed by pressing demands for increasing revenues, made the mir an instrument of state control and found in it one of the most exacting of tax collectors. In order to be assured of payment the state had to concede to the mir all of the most severe measures of authority. [681] Now the mir was entitled to banish unsolvent peasants to Siberia. And when corporal punishment was abolished in urban criminal law practice, it was still left in use in the mir.[6]

625 621 After the abolishment of serfdom the mir came under the supervision of the district chief of police (*Ispravnik*). The law of 1874 gave the police the right to arrest and to fine the village elders, and even to demand from the governor of the province their discharge. [622] The position of the elder became so undesirable that the mir sometimes had to exert force to obtain candidates for this office or to prevent those in office from resigning.[7]

000 There was another official in this system of rural administra-

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623 a few kulaks were often able to force the commune members into unanimous decision by means of threats or bribing. And there was no appeal against such decisions.

565 In such circumstances many land communes tended to lose
621 their former equalitarian and protective aspects and the peasants
154 came to fear the mir and to feel an awe before it as much as they had a fear and awe before God and the Czar or before a stern and distant father. They feared the overwhelming power of the mir, the finality of its decision, and the lack of redress against its will They tended to identify the mir's final power with that of Almighty God. "There is no court for the mir, one God is its judge," they would say. Feeling helpless in the front of such an
[156] uncontrollable power, there seemed to be nothing else for the peasants to do but to submit to its will. "One cannot argue with the mir"; "Mir will stand for itself, you cannot go against it" they would say. And since there was no other way out for one but to be a part of such an overwhelming and capricious institution the most expedient way of behavior for him was to accept it and to do as the others do. "Although bad, you cannot do without it"; "If you have to live with wolves you might as well howl as they do."[11]

621 The mir and police were empowered to interfere not only in
● 625 the system of planting, sowing, and harvesting, but in family
156 and personal affairs as well. The problems of paternal authority and filial duties, the relations between husband and wife, and between in-laws, the questions of inheritance, military conscription, and general behavior, all were within the grasp of these village authorities.[12] Just as in his own family, the rank-and-file individual was completely lost in his village commune. A rank-and-file man had the right to participate in the debates and was expected to vote unanimously for the regulations which restricted his personal and his economic freedom. He who dared to object was unprotected against the despotism and arbitrariness either of the ruling minority or of an incited mob. Thus the feelings of complete dependence upon superior powers prevailed in the community.

241 In addition, poor quality of land, lack of sufficient moisture, long and hard winters, many years of military service, low

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had to pay for religious services. In addition many village priests had an inferior training, were often semi-literate, and were sometimes publicly humiliated by their superiors. Abased by hard conditions of life, some of them tended to lose self-respect and sought comfort in habitual drunkenness.

In the meantime as a result of the conditions of serfdom the economic situation of the peasants was deteriorating while the village priests whose main revenues consisted of fees received for their services tended to squeeze out of the peasantry all they could. Hence in many parishes the relations between the priests and the peasants gradually developed into a state of perpetual bickering and struggle.[1] In such circumstances peasants were likely to develop a negative attitude toward the clergy. To "have a priest's eye" meant in peasant idiom to covet everything. Similar meaning was conveyed in the phrase "Am I a priest to eat two dinners?" The peasants compared the greediness of the priests to that of the judges. "A priest waits for a rich dead, and a judge for a rich litigant"; "A judge's pocket is the same as a priest's belly," they would say. It was considered a bad omen to meet a priest on the street. It must be pointed out, also, that in a situation in which any expression of opposition against the lay authorities was very risky and dangerous, the attack against the priests might have served as a convenient substitute target for destructive aggression directed against the landlords and the state.

In such conditions government ukases and police measures were sometimes necessary to force the peasants into churches; they were made to confess and to take communion by means of threat. As a result, confession and communion tended to be looked upon as a commercialized formality. It was a tedious obligation that had to be paid for in cash, the same as all other tributes and taxes to which the peasants were subjected. In such circumstances, confession and communion tended to lose their function of consolation, comfort, relief from guilt and identification with divinity. As a result a growing number of peasants ceased to look upon the priests as their friends and protectors; they tended to look upon them as government agents who conspired with the landlords and the police against the

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and consciousness of people. . . ."[20] The Soviet court is to accomplish this task "by destroying without pity all the foes of the people in whatsoever form they manifest their criminal encroachments upon socialism."[21]

One of the chief watchdogs in such use of the law and of the court is the Prosecutor General of the USSR. In this function as the main overseer in the application of Soviet law the office of the Prosecutor General is empowered "upon its own initiative" to interfere on all the levels of juridical procedure, including even the decisions of the Supreme Court. The Prosecutor's office is therefore defined as "Inseparably integrated with the court—an organ of state authority obligated to oversee that socialist legality is observed."[22] The Prosecutor's office initiates criminal proceedings and has also the right to initiate a civil court proceeding. It also supervises the fulfillment of court sentences.

In this manner the office of the Prosecutor General has become the main instrument in preventing any local opposition to or local deviation from the application of law. To best perform this role of strict legal uniformity the office of the Prosecutor General had to be highly centralized, made independent of local organs of authority, while in close contact and under the strict supervision of the highest organs of the Party's hierarchy.[23] In this way the Public Prosecutor has become a means of the "uniform conception of justice" (*edinocbraznoe ponimanie zakonnosti*), "an instrument of political power" (*orudie ukreplenia gosudarstva*), and an agent of "moral-political unity" (*moralno-politicheskoe edinstvo*).[24] By enforcing strict application of the letter of the law, the top Party leaders have been enabled to keep the republic, the regional and the local government agencies, the municipal bureaucracies, and the industrial and farm managements from any deviations in the application of law.[25]

Another significant instrument of political conformity in Soviet society is the institution of the political police. In accordance with its tradition this institution specializes in intelligence, vigilance and violence. It complements all other instruments of conformity and functions as an omnipresent and omniscient power which sleeplessly watches over the private and the public life of every Soviet citizen at home and abroad. The

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625 political police is under direct supervision of the supreme Party leader himself and is always headed only by one of his most trusted advisers. In a system of prison-like regimentation of all the subjects, a distrustful and fierce ruling faction of professional conspirators can never relax in their watchfulness and must act swiftly and without regard for legal formalities, or for personal or human considerations in stamping out and annihilating all signs of opposition to its rule.

Early in the history of the Bolshevik regime the secret Political Police came to be so indispensable that this institution was identified with the Party. "Every good Communist should be a good Chekist," said Lenin. By the end of 1918 the Cheka (*Chrezvychaynaya Komissiya*) had been reorganized from an organ of investigation into an organ that also resorted directly to "extra judicial measures of coercion, assuring swift and of necessity, cruel repression of the enemies of the Soviet state." In 1922 Cheka, whose terror became too odious, was abolished and supplanted by the G.P.U. which was characterized by Stalin as "the indefatigable guardian of the Revolution, the unsheathed sword of the proletariat."[26] To inform not only on non-Communists but on the members of his own Party and even on the members of his or her own family, became one of the first duties of every Party member.[27] Refusal to inform came to be considered as conspiracy against the Party and the state. A dense net of secret agents and informers became instrumental in preventing social intimacy and strengthening lack of trust.

625 672 Following age-long practices of Czarist rule and traditions of mutual responsibility of family members the Soviet political police uses the family members of political suspects as hostages.[28] Any person who had any dealings or connection with a political suspect, even in a most casual or incidental way, becomes *ipso facto* himself a suspect.[29] In Soviet police philosophy and practice every subject is a suspect as an offender or potential criminal unless he proves his innocence. A distrustful and violent ruling clique which is determined to perpetuate itself in power by all and any means must stamp out any opposition regardless of how many non-guilty ones might suffer. An important objective of the political police is therefore to instill fear and terror in the

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hearts of the Soviet subjects and to exert unremitting pressure on them, so that they never relax in their striving to conform to the Party's will. The secret police, in Lenin's words, is "our weapon of assault upon innumerable conspiracies . . . innumerable attempts against Soviet authority."[20]

625 672

23
CONTROL OF THOUGHT AND FEELING

MONOPOLIZATION of all social power by the Bolshevik rulers and their failure to satisfy the traditional demands for equality and acceptance has been breeding both apathy and latent rebellion in Soviet society. Realizing that such a development might eventually undermine their power, early in their rule the Bolsheviks proceeded to indoctrinate the thoughts and to control the feelings of their subjects. It became imperative to evoke identification of the masses with Bolshevik leadership and gain their faith, enthusiasm and willing self-sacrifice in support of the Soviet system.[1]

626 208

In order to justify this need for ideological and emotional conformity, it became necessary to monopolize the Truth. The Bolsheviks therefore stated that all problems, those of the past and of the present, as well as those of the future, have found their answer in Marxist-Leninist theory. They asserted, however, that since this theory "is not a dogma, but a guide to action,"[2] the Bolshevik leadership is "able to enrich this theory with the new propositions and conclusions, . . . to *develop it and advance* it" and "to replace such of its propositions and conclusions as have become antiquated by new ones corresponding to the new historical situation."[3] And just as earlier the Russian Orthodox Church had claimed to represent the "true Christianity" centered in Moscow, the Third Rome, so now the Bolshevik rulers have usurped for themselves the right to represent the "true Marxism," centered in the Kremlin:

[771] 829

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1
[Ivan the Terrible]

convict labor, indicate that the number of such children will not decrease in the foreseeable future.[26]

Such children are considered to have an ideal background for their training as future specialists in conspiracy, vigilance, and violence. Therefore the children who have been raised in a tense family atmosphere or who have been rejected and neglected by their families form a fertile ground from which the Bolshevik rulers recruit a significant part of their future followers and leaders. But what is the future of a society whose ruling classes are being formed out of persons who have been raised in the midst of harshness, brutality and lack of human warmth or whose desire for emotional attachment has been thwarted?

By the middle of the sixteenth century Ivan the Terrible, who himself was left motherless early in his childhood and was exposed to great instability in his emotional attachments, became a victim of ideas of persecution and of boundless and insatiable thirst for power and self aggrandizement. Driven by such compulsions he undertook to organize a body of fanatical devotees who were bound by oath to forswear association not only with "friends and brethren" but even with their own parents, and to serve the Czar blindly and unconditionally. These *Oprichniki* became renowned in history as a brotherhood of brigands who lived separated and isolated from the rest of society—"men vile and filled with every sort of cruelty."[27] Throughout the day they indulged in savage torturing and killing of suspects after they had attended the morning liturgy. In their wild outrages they terrorized peaceful citizens immediately after their brow-beating prostrations before the Altar.

In the same manner in the Ottoman Empire, the elite militia of the Sultans, known as the Janizaries, were recruited from among the children who were often early in their childhood or boyhood taken away from their parents to be raised and trained in loyalty to the Sultan only. Still earlier in the society of Eurasian steppe warriors want of bonds of human attachment brought about instability and explosiveness of Asiatic empires. Both the Asiatic conquerors and the Janizaries became renowned in history for their recklessness and barbarism. They also rebelled and excelled in insubordination to established

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There is also a deliberate policy on the part of the ruling class
177 626 609 to prevent personal contact and exchange of ideas between the Soviet subjects and the foreigners. In this way the Bolshevik Party is performing the same role in the social and psychological development of Russia as the Orthodox Church has done in the past. Xenophobia and a deliberate avoidance of strangers easily develops in such circumstances, traits which have been noticed by all the observers of Soviet society. Xenophobia is so outstanding in the Soviet world that it has been noticed even by the most casual and most friendly visitors. Soviet authorities have done their best to encourage this feeling. "We were completely cut off
●[625] from the great bulk of the Russian people by constant police surveillance, by propaganda and by the threat of punishment."[7] "The air itself was clothed with hate and suspicion . . . penetrated even to the child world. . . . Our next door neighbours, too, were grilled, and though we had known them for years, they took to avoiding us utterly."[8] As a rule, only police informers are assigned to foreigners as servants because everyone else is afraid to work for them.

517 647 In such conditions original ideas and independent intellectual pursuits are fraught with great risks and it is often the less original, the mediocre, the cynical, the shrewd and the unscrupulous that take the lead. Some independent and creative people in such circumstances tend to become apathetic, to withdraw, to sever social contacts and put an end to their creative activities.[9] Others tend to seek safety in bureaucratic routine and in avoidance of initiative and responsibility. For each decision they tend to cover themselves by presenting the matter to various committees, or by seeking the Party's advice, thus letting others shoulder the responsibility.

517 665 The social consequences of such a development are then manifested in a pronounced anti-intellectualism, bureaucratism and vigilantism. The ascendancy of anti-intellectualistic and watchdog trends in Soviet society is well expressed, for instance, in the change in the composition of the membership of the Politbure. In this topmost ruling body the more intellectual types of revolutionaries have been gradually purged and replaced by the activists, the semi-educated professional conspirators, Party organizers, agitators and former security officials.

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class the tendency was toward the concentration of power in the hands of the more mighty princes.[13]

This concentration of power in the hands of the city plutocracy found its expression in the principle of an unanimity vote in the city assembly (*Veche*). Data on the early political and social organization of the Russian urban communities show that the unanimity in decisions was the rule. The old documents about these gatherings tell us that "what has been established by the oldest city, is maintained by its boroughs," that "all thought and spoke as one man," that all were unanimous in the desire," and that the decision was reached "by all the oldest and all the youngest men of the assembly."[14]

But we also learn that this unopposed group consensus was achieved by means of threat and terror against all those who might show an inclination to disagree or who disagreed after the assembly had been held and after a resolution had been passed. The dissenters were often beaten with rods, despoiled of their property, or murdered. Sometimes they might escape such fate if ready to pay a fine that varied according to the rank of the dissenter. In this manner a minority, backed by physical force was able to enforce its will on the rest under the guise of "unanimity."[15]

Pressure for the unanimous consent on the part of the people was applied also in the village assemblies, and later in the land commune (*mir*). In some other customs of the Great-Russian peasantry, even in our own times, the unanimous consent was considered necessary. In marriage ceremonies, for instance, custom demanded that the bride when leaving her parental home obtain blessing from all her neighbors. There was, however, a threat against neighbors who refused their blessing. Curses were invoked against them: "Those who do not bless her, may they never marry their sons and daughters" (*Kto ne blagoslovit tomu vek sinov ne zhenit a docheri za muzh ne vdavat*).[16]

The principle of unanimity was apparently the procedure in the local assemblies of the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators of the Dnieper river basin. Such an unanimity was also practiced until our times in the Zadruga society of Croatia.[17] But in those pacific and anarchic societies the principle of unanimity was real, not

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a fiction. Lacking means of physical enforcement because of the lack of a centralized political system, common action could take place only among those who voluntarily agreed. But when small bands of mounted warriors imposed their rule over the multitudes of non-warlike peasantry, the power-oriented conquerors made use of the Old-Slavonic system of unanimity for purposes of regimentation and governmentalization from above. That is, they imposed a dictated consensus by means of force else the opposition of the peasant majority would soon have deprived the ruling minority of its power.

In this manner a number of band chieftains of nomadic origin ruled groupings of small peasant communities, in the form of manorial principalities. Each one of these local potentates, even though Slavicized in speech or born in mixed families, still exhibited extreme self-seeking characteristics and cherished personal power and aggrandizement above everything else, a tenet that had characterized his nomadic predecessors. Each, therefore, following steppe traditions, had a scheme of his own; each was interested primarily in accumulating riches for himself and his immediate family. In consequence, these local princes and their war bands constantly intrigued and fought among themselves. They also transferred their personal and factional strifes to the neighboring towns of burghers. In these squabbles and struggle for power and expansion, the feuding princes and fighting factions did not hesitate to call on the common enemies in their neighborhoods, such as the steppe marauders or the Viking pirates to come in and help them defeat their opponents.

It was in the course of such an internecine strife (*vsta rod na rod*) in Novgorod region in the middle of the ninth century that a band of Scandinavian merchant-pirates was called on to come and help one clique of native princes against the other.[18] These "Varangians" not only came in but stayed, founding later the Russian state in the Dnieper river basin, at that time the most important merchant thoroughfare in that part of the world. These Norse conquerors and state builders were soon assimilated by the natives. In the course of time a series of new principalities was formed and old factional bickerings and fratricidal warfare was renewed.[19]

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level violence was manifested in frequent beatings of wife and children, and on the rural community level in habitual drunkenness that often ended in brawls and even murder.[18] In conditions which foster human degradation and lack of trust, both self-seeking and vindictiveness flourish. Hence the Great-Russian peasant was inclined to commit atrocious acts of revenge against people whom he considered as his persecutors or who caused him any harm. When threatening with revenge the Great-Russian peasant was likely to say: "You will pay me with your own blood" (*Ty u menya kroviyu svoey umoeshsya*). Killing as a revenge, burning hay-ricks, barns and homes was a common occurrence. The peasants were likely to organize a collective hunt against real or fancied malefactors and mutilate them or put them to death by means of torture:

> For murder and robbery, death of the culprit—sometimes with mutilation by cutting and tearing off of various parts of his body. For horse-theft and grand larceny they practice sometimes hammering of iron nails into the head and forcing of wooden pins under the nails and also merciless beating even onto death; . . . in some instances the case ends by maiming the thief and letting him go.[19]

At the same time the frontiersmen and professional warriors, such as the Cossacks, became renowned and widely admired because of their deeds of vindictiveness and violence. War was a great opportunity for people with such inclinations. As Gogol has put it, the Cossacks found a great delight in "accumulating booty from raided towns, putting the villages and the fields on fire, and spreading their glories by far and wide throughout the steppe" in order "to revenge themselves for all evil and humiliation."[20] There were numerous robber and Cossack songs which told about such exploits, and expressed desire for vindictiveness and destructive aggression.

Destructive aggression was nursed on the patriarchal family level and reinforced by conditions in the local community. Thus as soon as the controls of the authorities would weaken, mass revolts would come into the open. Such a behavior in turn was used by the local authorities as a justification for their strictness in dealing with the peasants:

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461 labor tends to respond by a certain degree of apathy and by disinterest in the Soviet system, also by a robot-like attitude toward work. In such conditions neither the "habit of work" nor labor efficiency can be expected to thrive. Habits are developed and maintained only in circumstances which bring rewards. And as long as the political aims of Bolshevik industrial expansion and militarization have to be achieved by means of abusive regimentation, the working masses might respond by fatigue, disinterest, and withdrawal,[22] just as they did in the days of serfdom.

461 626 Such circumstances in their own turn dictate increasing Party vigilance and government interference at all levels of production. It is increasingly felt that the Party and the government must rely on over-seers and labor drivers who see to it that the Party wishes are executed according to the plan. In a thoroughly politicized society in which labor adopts an apathetic or robot-like attitude toward work and in which the ruling hierarchy tends to be composed of power-thirsty, mistrustful and ruthless professional conspirators, the need of constant Party and government exhorting and watching is always present. There is, therefore, a strong inclination to increase the watchdog, the supervisory and the controlling agencies at the expense of the productive ones. As Pravda itself admits, "On each two workers there is a superior, a supervisor, or a staff member" (*Na kazhdykh dvukh rabochikh odin vyshestoyashchy, rukovodyashchy ili obsluzhivayushchy*).[23]

466 626 The emphasis on controlling, supervising, checking and counter-checking agencies not only increases the cost of products but creates unsatisfactory labor-management relations. The tensions result primarily out of domineering pressures that are exerted on different levels both against labor and against management. The supervisory system and pressure methods of the slave-driver type tend to provoke feelings of humiliation and to create an atmosphere of anxiety, resentment and urges of destructive aggression. In such conditions of oppressive domineering and degrading submission it is very difficult to develop qualities of social and personal responsibiiity, initiative and self-reliance. In an atmosphere of vigilantism, denunciation, fear and loss of self-respect, work becomes irritating and frustrating; it does not offer

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much possibility for self-expression, creativeness and personal satisfaction.[24]

On the other hand an atmosphere of domineering and vigilantism offers a great opportunity for advance to the fanatic Party member as well as to the ambitious and unscrupulous careerist within the labor ranks, and the ranks of technicians and engineers. Even among those managers and foremen who might otherwise have different inclinations, the need to maintain their positions often forces them towards a policy of vigilantism, cynicism and oppressive labor driving.

22
INSTRUMENTS OF POLITICAL CONFORMITY

I

THE SYSTEM of dominance, based on economic dependence, social isolation and lack of trust, which has enabled the Bolsheviks to monopolize all social power, has helped them also to force the intellectual strata into unconditional submission to the will of the ruling minority. Just as the land has been collectivized and industrial production governmentalized to make the peasants and the industrial labor dependent upon the Party, so all sources of income in the intellectual fields have been monopolized by the Party-state to make the intellectuals completely dependent for their lives and livelihoods upon the ruling faction of the Bolsheviks. The office tenure of this new service nobility has been conditioned upon their blind submission to the rulers in the Kremlin, just like in the days of the old dvorianstyo.

The educated strata are of a special strategic importance from the point of view of self-perpetuation of the Bolsheviks in power, because it is these strata that provide ideological and political leadership and Party cadres. The party has endeavored therefore to make the intelligentsia even more socially split and dependent

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corresponding Party structure on the lower levels of the Party hierarchy where Party Secretariats hold the reins of power. In this system of political and social control it is the Party Secretariats on local, regional and republic levels that are of pivotal importance.[2] Through his control of the Central Party Secretariat, the supreme Party leader is enabled to select the most useful and the most trusted people for such offices.[3]

The top Party leadership is therefore in a position to direct the recruitment of Party membership. It is empowered to accept and to expel members. It directs the secretariats on the lower levels of Party hierarchy as to whom the Party shall "elect" as its officers and as its deputies to the higher Party bodies, or whom to delegate to the local or national Soviets, and other representative Party or non-Party institutions. It consults with the secretariats about the appointment of trusted Party members to responsible regional and republic government and managerial positions, and it checks on fulfillment of Party directives. This checking is done through the Committee of Party Control whose representatives function independently of local Party bodies.[4]

Stalin was well aware of the significance of the selection of leading Party personnel from the point of view of perpetuation of power when he said "Cadres decide everything." It was by his control of the top Party Secretariat that he himself was enabled to eliminate all his opponents in the hierarchy and to rise to undisputed and absolute leadership.

Since it is local, regional and republic Party secretaries who form the axis of this monolithic Party-state machine, the position of such potentates yields great power, and high material rewards. Such offices are therefore sought after by people of great ambition and lust for power, also by people of fighting, conspiratorial and domineering inclinations. Thus it is the zealous, the shrewd, the calculating and the career-minded people who are also efficient and hard-driving that tend to be picked out for these positions because it is such people on whom the Party can rely for a blind and unquestioning execution of all orders. The Party which has remained essentially a conspiratorial organization demands militancy and aggressiveness, a severe and exacting attitude toward subordinates, irreconcilability and lack of com-

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By choosing the "right" people to fill the key Party positions, by using Party aktivs as an instrument of vigilance and political manipulation, and by systematic periodical purges of Party members and of Party officials who do not come up to the standards set up by the Party hierarchy, the whole Party is regimented and kept in submission according to the will of one man and his innermost circle. By an efficient control of such a regimented Party the life of the whole society is manipulated since the Party members are the "leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state."[7] It is also upon the Party's recommendation that all the important appointments in the government, managerial and military hierarchy and in learned professions are made. Hence by controlling the Party, the Party leadership is enabled to regiment the whole society and to make it dependent upon its will.

Such a Party, however, in order to perpetuate its leadership and to maintain its undisputed dominance, must preserve ideological and organizational unity, rigid discipline and *esprit de corps*.[8] These qualities can be best achieved if the Party is limited to a small membership consisting partly of professional conspirators, agitators and political organizers, and partly of the members of government, military and managerial hierarchies. In such a Party the zealots and the careerists, specialists in conspiracy, vigilance and violence, tend to take the lead. As a result, the Party which had been originally conceived as the "vanguard of the working people," which effectively "guides" a devoted proletariat,[9] remained instead an essentially conspiratorial institution and was bound to lose its initial intimate contact with the broad strata of the population.

II

A small faction of professional conspirators, which rules in opposition to the traditionally rooted demands for egalitarian acceptance and full political and social participation, must rely on active help of experts in all fields of political organization and social control to maintain its monopoly of all power. The top hierarchies of these various strata of specialists are all trusted

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hearts of the Soviet subjects and to exert unremitting pressure on them, so that they never relax in their striving to conform to the Party's will. The secret police, in Lenin's words, is "our weapon of assault upon innumerable conspiracies . . . innumerable attempts against Soviet authority."[30]

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23
CONTROL OF THOUGHT AND FEELING

MONOPOLIZATION of all social power by the Bolshevik rulers and their failure to satisfy the traditional demands for equality and acceptance has been breeding both apathy and latent rebellion in Soviet society. Realizing that such a development might eventually undermine their power, early in their rule the Bolsheviks proceeded to indoctrinate the thoughts and to control the feelings of their subjects. It became imperative to evoke identification of the masses with Bolshevik leadership and gain their faith, enthusiasm and willing self-sacrifice in support of the Soviet system.[1]

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In order to justify this need for ideological and emotional conformity, it became necessary to monopolize the Truth. The Bolsheviks therefore stated that all problems, those of the past and of the present, as well as those of the future, have found their answer in Marxist-Leninist theory. They asserted, however, that since this theory "is not a dogma, but a guide to action,"[2] the Bolshevik leadership is "able to enrich this theory with the new propositions and conclusions, . . . to *develop it and advance* it" and "to replace such of its propositions and conclusions as have become antiquated by new ones corresponding to the new historical situation."[3] And just as earlier the Russian Orthodox Church had claimed to represent the "true Christianity" centered in Moscow, the Third Rome, so now the Bolshevik rulers have usurped for themselves the right to represent the "true Marxism," centered in the Kremlin:

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animal brain might lead to the knowledge of how to control the human brain.[10]

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Thus Marxian theory of dialectical materialism and determinism has been revised to allow the Bolshevik ruling hierarchy to control "matter" so as to affect events in a direction which seems to be most desirable from the point of view of the perpetuation of their regime. In the same manner the Marxian theory of "ideological superstructure" has been revised to suit Bolshevik needs. Morals and ethics, esthetics, character, thought and feelings are now to be planned in advance by an appropriate control of social surroundings and environmental influences in accordance with the decrees of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow. The Bolsheviks now say that "the best qualities in man are those that are planned beforehand and are inculcated into him."[11]

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Contrary to earlier Marxian doctrines the Bolsheviks now state that even when social roots of certain habits or ideas are eliminated "men's minds lay behind social actuality."[12] They claim now that "Subjective factors play a decisive role in turning possibility into reality." It is therefore necessary to influence human minds and eradicate "tenacious survivals of the past,"[13] by a planned and deliberate action even in a Socialistic society which is already transforming itself into a Communistic society.

The basic principle in this planned shaping of human thought and feeling is that human personality should be molded in a way which best suits the political needs of the Bolshevik hierarchy. Hence morals and ethics, literature and art, economic activities as well as private lives must be politicized. Just as earlier the Anarchists had subordinated ethics and morals to the need of the revolution, so now, according to Bolshevik philosophy, "that is moral which causes the Communist system to triumph."[14] Morals and ethics depend upon the question of "our political needs"; they stem "from our requirements in the building of socialism."[15] In the same manner the fundamental task of art and literature is said to consist in propagating "supreme devotion to the Soviet regime":

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626 517 They believe that politics is the business of the government, the business of the Central Committee, and as for the writers that their business is not to interest themselves in politics. They believe that if a man wrote well, artistically, and beautifully, one should let it go, in spite of the rotten passages which disorientate our youth and poison it. We demand that our comrades, both the supervisors of literature and the writers themselves must be guided by something without which the Soviet regime cannot exist, and that is politics. Lenin wrote: "Literature must become Party-minded . . . Against bourgeois literary careerism and individualism . . . socialist proletariat must put forward the principle of party literature . . ." Comrade Stalin described our literati as the engineers of human souls. It is necessary therefore that our literature, our literary magazines, . . . should help the Party and the people to educate the youth in the spirit of supreme devotion to the Soviet regime . . .[16]

536 626 Special attention is paid in this respect to dramatic art because of its popularity and effect. It is stated therefore that "a playwright must be a politician" and that the producer and actor must be "politicians" of the same stature. Appointment of a group of actors for a Soviet play "is a political question for the producer . . . and how the hero must be played in a Soviet play is a political question for the actor."[17] In the same manner in painting, sculpture and music the Party demands "Soviet realism" which means that the artists and the musicians must have recourse to "topical themes and images of contemporary Soviet reality" and must discard "formalistic trickery and subjectivist insularity."[18]

177 186 Accordingly any alien, especially Western, influence on Soviet thinking must be completely eliminated. Western philosophy of liberalism and free individual expression could undermine Bolshevik endeavors to create a completely regimented and submissive "new man." Hence a crusade against "cosmopolitanism, objectivism and other manifestations of bourgeois ideology"[19] has been initiated together with the severance of all closer contacts of Soviet intellectuals with the Western world.[20]

656 Such policies of complete subordination of one's thoughts, feelings and behavior to the needs of the Party demand not only strict censorship of all published matter[21] but dictate even the use of statistics to suit the objectives of the ruling class. A ruling

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is "perfected until there are no shortcomings." Then on members of such a group one can make great demands.[33] They will be disciplined, enduring, courageous and faithful. Work will become "second nature" to them; they will not abhor hard effort, nor be afraid of "healthy sweat."[34] They will be industrious and efficient and will develop the "best and most worthy feelings of man," that is, devotion to labor, heroism in the struggle against the forces of reaction, untiring, ruthless and unwavering vigilance against the survivals of capitalism, and an irreconcilable attitude toward the slightest manifestations of deviationism.[35]

III

In the days of Czardom the system of economic and political regimentation found its support in religious sanction and in nationalism. In a like manner the Bolsheviks had early realized that great privations which their regime demands could be best elicited from their subjects with the help of an identification with the great, the absolute, the sublime. It is by such means that traditional cravings for attachment and acceptance could be satisfied. In such a manner also a sense of guilt and urge for self-sacrifice could be reinforced and employed for political purposes.

It is along such efforts that the Bolsheviks have revived and strengthened the traditional Russian images of God, Czar, Father and Mother and have projected these images to the Leader and to the Party. The likeness to God and religion is manifested in the Bolshevik claim of infallibility of their leaders, universality, eternity, and sanctity of their doctrines. Lenin's teachings, for instance, are extolled by the Bolsheviks as being "superior" to any other ideology, as embracing the whole of humanity, and as living forever:

> Lenin's thoughts represent a superior achievement of the Russian and of the world culture; an eternally living and eternally developing science of society—a fighting banner of the working class—living soul of the Bolshevik Party which led our Fatherland to the avant-garde of the whole human kind.
>
> The books of the vozhd and teacher are immortal. They live and

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viks say.[57] The bourgeois countries are therefore inescapably crippled and inevitably doomed beyond any hope of recovery whatsoever.[58] The only way out of such an unbearable situation for the capitalists is to "turn the whole planet into a police station, under American supervision."[59] Hence the capitalists prepare for war and imperialistic expansion as the only way to maintain their power. They tend to encircle the Soviet Union and attack it. Therefore, sooner or later "a series of the most frightful collisions between the Soviet republic and bourgeois states is inevitable."[60]

Propaganda concerning the inevitable doom of capitalism is aimed at discouraging hopes for change in the Soviet system. Such propaganda supports the myth of the infallibility and invincibility of the Soviet system; the inevitability of the coming economic crises in the capitalist world, especially in the United States, will lead to the final breakdown of the capitalist system, the victory of the Soviets, and the establishment of a World Soviet Republic.[61] At the same time the claim that the capitalistic powers will resort to aggression as a last hope to save their dwindling system functions as a justification for aggressive diplomacy and strategic expansion; it strengthens the demands for greater sacrifices and deprivations in favor of police measures and war preparedness. The emphasis on the inevitability of war justifies also the increasing centralization of power and "iron discipline" within the Party ranks.

VI

Following Turco-Mongol and Czarist traditions, Bolshevik leaders believe that training in unconditional submission to superiors, identification with the powerful and faith in victory can be best achieved if the whole society is militarized. Militarization is looked upon as the best morale builder. When militarily organized, people are more amenable to control. Also a powerful army under the Party's control strengthens the confidence of uneasy and mistrustful rulers in their ability to check internal opposition and withstand external pressures or attacks. A powerful army is also a necessary instrument for aggressive diplomacy and territorial expansion; it becomes an instrument

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chooses to consider that the interests of the children have not been safeguarded.[5] In such cases parental rights might be lost for up to five years.[6] According to the Soviet educational philosophy it is expected that the parents will *rear* the children, but that the public organizations under the Party's supervision will instruct and supervise parents in the ways of *Communist upbringing* of children.[7]

The Party considers it to be its duty to arouse antagonism of children against parents when such action is necessary in the interest of the survival of the Soviet regime. As mentioned earlier, planned rift between fathers and sons was, for instance, employed to speed up the process of collectivization. Commissar of Agriculture Jakovlev, speaking before a Party congress on the struggle against the kulaks, stated that "In a number of cases, the children of the kulaks are made to revolt against their parents, and thus the kulak families are divided and the kulaks still more isolated." The Party has also been known to take advantage of family conflicts to encourage the children to spy on their parents and to denounce them to the political police:

> Russian parents had to be very careful of what they said in the presence of their own children, and even of how they disciplined their children. One boy, Pavlik Morosov, was built up as a hero among youth because he had denounced his father who was organizing resistance against the kolhoz. Great propaganda was made about this boy. A book was written about him. Actually he became a hero to most children.[8]

In times of political "purges" there were frequent notices in the Soviet papers in which the children of the parents who were politically persecuted publicly renounced their parents.[9] That was the only way they could escape the vengeance of a regime which had revived the tradition of family hostages and used it as an instrument of political conformity.

The Bolsheviks consider that since "one's way of life is a social matter . . . a matter of national policy,"[10] the Party has the right to interfere even in pre-marital and extra-marital sex relations, as well as in the relations between the spouses. "Young Communist organizations cannot remain neutral when the con-

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There is also a deliberate policy on the part of the ruling class
to prevent personal contact and exchange of ideas between the Soviet subjects and the foreigners. In this way the Bolshevik Party is performing the same role in the social and psychological development of Russia as the Orthodox Church has done in the past. Xenophobia and a deliberate avoidance of strangers easily develops in such circumstances, traits which have been noticed by all the observers of Soviet society. Xenophobia is so outstanding in the Soviet world that it has been noticed even by the most casual and most friendly visitors. Soviet authorities have done their best to encourage this feeling. "We were completely cut off from the great bulk of the Russian people by constant police surveillance, by propaganda and by the threat of punishment."[7] "The air itself was clothed with hate and suspicion . . . penetrated even to the child world. . . . Our next door neighbours, too, were grilled, and though we had known them for years, they took to avoiding us utterly."[8] As a rule, only police informers are assigned to foreigners as servants because everyone else is afraid to work for them.

In such conditions original ideas and independent intellectual pursuits are fraught with great risks and it is often the less original, the mediocre, the cynical, the shrewd and the unscrupulous that take the lead. Some independent and creative people in such circumstances tend to become apathetic, to withdraw, to sever social contacts and put an end to their creative activities.[9] Others tend to seek safety in bureaucratic routine and in avoidance of initiative and responsibility. For each decision they tend to cover themselves by presenting the matter to various committees, or by seeking the Party's advice, thus letting others shoulder the responsibility.

The social consequences of such a development are then manifested in a pronounced anti-intellectualism, bureaucratism and vigilantism. The ascendancy of anti-intellectualistic and watchdog trends in Soviet society is well expressed, for instance, in the change in the composition of the membership of the Politbure. In this topmost ruling body the more intellectual types of revolutionaries have been gradually purged and replaced by the activists, the semi-educated professional conspirators, Party organizers, agitators and former security officials.

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The trend toward pauperization of the intellect which develops in such a society will be emphasized the more when that society is bent upon increasing war preparedness. In such a case, particularly when faced with low labor productivity, the ruling faction will need to mobilize all available intellectual resources for its political and for its military objectives; basic research and many fields of knowledge not directly related to such objectives will have to be neglected and might even be completely paralyzed.

But dogmatism and lack of free criticism, anti-intellectualism and vigilantism lead to stagnation not only in the fields of theory, basic research, and art, but also in the fields of applied science, including political and military affairs. Even if industry, state administration and military science could conceivably make substantial advance on the basis of regimented, conscripted, and convict labor, they must be constantly fed with new ideas and inventions both in the field of technology, and in the field of organization to keep pace with the industrial and military development in the free enterprise countries which are looked upon as potential enemies.

The Bolshevik rulers are well aware of this problem. In Soviet publications it is often pointed out that various scientific institutes established to develop applied science in the field of industry and agriculture do not fulfill their plans, fail to assure proper cooperation, work on "secondary problems" and neglect questions of "vital importance." High cash prizes known as Stalin Premiums have been offered each year to stimulate the work on such problems of "vital importance." Nevertheless the Bolsheviks had to a great extent to rely on acquiring essential blueprints from abroad either by purchase or by intelligence.

In Czarist Russia a certain degree of criticism in civil and military matters was allowed while a considerable degree of criticism existed in philosophical, literary, and historical fields. The all-powerful Czarist bureaucracy was often very anxious to accept the ideas put forward by the opposition. Many reforms in the Czarist administration in the direction of liberalism and democratization originated in the leading minds of the opposition. The opposition was often able to express their views in

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newspapers, books, and pamphlets, some of which were printed abroad and circulated freely though often clandestinely among the leading circles of the Empire.

The ruling circles of the Bolshevik Party themselves were always aware that without criticism intellectual stagnation, lack of creative initiative, and bureaucratism would set in. But they could not afford to allow complete freedom of thought and of expression which might eventually undermine their own power. As a result the Bolsheviks introduced a system of "criticism and self-criticism," known as *samokritika*.

According to this practice it is the duty of every Soviet subject to criticize his own work and the work of others in his shop or office as a means of stimulating alertness, initiative, and hard work, and as a way to correct errors. But among the officials who closely watch each other's activities, each hoping to rise on the cadaver of the other, samokritika is often used as a means of intrigue and ruin in jockeying and struggling for ranks, positions, and power. Samokritika therefore has developed into a weapon employed to detect the ideological deviations and diversions and to criticize any lack of sufficiently positive attitude toward the "Party line." In this manner "self-criticism" in the Soviet Union has become another instrument of regimentation and means to increase conformity.

Samokritika is also employed by the ruling circles to manipulate hostilities generated by the Soviet system and to direct them away from themselves and against the managers and bureaucrats located mostly on the lower levels of the Soviet social pyramid. These people conveniently function as scapegoats. It is such people who, together with a sprinkling from the higher echelons, are periodically offered as sacrifice and "purged" or "liquidated." Samokritika is therefore employed also as a check against abuses of power, though mostly on the local level.

In an atmosphere of complete dependence upon and subordination to an overwhelming and infallible power which instils fear and awe, the slightest deviation from the line of thought and emotions as laid down by that distant and inscrutable force might easily provoke anxieties, and a strong sense of guilt. In circumstances in which one feels isolated and without support,

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one's helplessness, feeling of rejection, and dependence upon the controlling power is especially keenly felt. In such conditions even a slight deviation might provoke a feeling of guilt, need for self-punishment and suffering; it might call for public self-humiliation, confession of errors and pledges to repent and to correct the wrong done, especially when such practices are supported by the inherited traditions. There is therefore a certain degree of truth in the assertion of the Bolsheviks, that "Criticism and self-criticism is a great driving force in the development of Soviet society."[10]

II

In a "prison and barracks" society privileges of power and ideas of grandeur do not sufficiently compensate for lack of acceptance, isolation, humiliations, feelings of insecurity, and sense of inferiority and rejection. In an atmosphere of suspicion, intrigue, degradation, and lack of intimate personal and intellectual contact and of social support, anxieties, fears, extreme self-concern, and deep antagonisms easily flourish. Such a situation tends to magnify feelings of destructive aggression developed on the family level and is therefore likely to become overcharged with extreme hostilities and hatreds; it is likely to become full of potential explosiveness which may be directed against the ruling class itself unless convenient channels for discharge of aggressiveness are found.

In a society in which overt expressions of emotional behavior are under the control of a ruling clique, accumulating aggressions are readily directed against internal and external "enemies" of the regime, be they real or invented for the occasion. In this manner the feeling of hostility against the regime might be redirected against its opponents. It is therefore in the interest of survival of the ruling faction in such a society to cultivate hatred and destruction of the "enemy" by all means of public pressure, propaganda, agitation, education, as well as lawmaking.

These are the reasons why attitudes of extreme animosity against the "enemies of the Soviet Motherland" are propagated in the Soviet daily press and in the school textbooks. Stirring hatreds is one of the main tasks of Party agitators.[11] Accordingly

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people the road to democratic development. Coming to power after severe struggles with the lords and defenders of the old order, the Hungarian working class, in union with the working peasants, rebuilt our war-destroyed country with the unselfish support of the Soviet Union. Under the guidance of the working class hardened in decade long struggles, benefiting by the experience of the 1919 social revolution, depending on the Soviet Union, our people began laying the foundations of socialism.[40]

To emphasize the superiority of the Soviet Union, its undisputed leadership and dependence of the satellites upon it in the struggle for world revolution, an important distinction has been made in regard to the social and political structure of the dependencies in comparison with that of the Soviet state. Though both are said to be the "dictatorships of the proletariat,"[41] the Soviet state is said to be carrying out the transition from Socialism to Communism; the "people's democracies," on the other hand, are said to be carrying out only the transition from capitalism to Socialism.[42]

Complete political and economic dependence of the satellites upon the Soviet Union is ideologically justified by the claim that the general objectives of world revolution presuppose an industrially as well as a militarily powerful Soviet Union as a base. To this primary objective of all Communists local interests of the satellites must be subordinated. Therefore, any opposition to such plans or any hints that the "fraternal assistance" offered by the Soviet Union in the interest of the revolution might not be completely unselfish is immediately castigated as "nationalism," as "opportunism," and as "treason":

> The essential task, that of laying the foundation of Socialism in Poland, can be carried only in close alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union . . . Any tendency to weaken cooperation with the Soviet Union is directed against the very foundation of the People's Democracy . . . Anyone who imagines that the people's democratic state can be formed merely as a self-sufficient body, on a national scale, isolated from the class struggle on an international scale . . . will inevitably sink into the slough of nationalism and treachery.[43]

This system of political, military and economic dominance of the dependencies implies an elaborate system of watching, super-

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vising, checking and controlling. Accordingly just as in the Soviet Union in each satellite country primary attention is paid to the personnel policies. "Department of Cadres" and "Personnel Bureaus," headed by people who are trusted friends of the Soviet Union and advised by Soviet experts, supervise the political reliability and the labor efficiency of all. Observers of these agencies and Soviet experts are at work in every Party organization, every office and every factory shop. The hiring, releasing, and transferring of personnel rests with these bureaus.

In all these considerations political reliability and not professional competence is of foremost importance, a situation that favors the rise of professionally incompetent zealots and careerists ahead of people who are professionally able but more cautious and moderate, or more independent.[44] In consequence, just as in the Soviet Union, there is a keen struggle for positions and ranks and there is a premium on specialists in political organization and violence, a great demand for watchdogs, agitators, overseers and labor-drivers. Unconditional faith in and devotion to Russia is considered, however, to be the first and primary prerequisite for advance in satellite political, military and managerial hierarchies.[45] Hence periodical purges or "verifications" of Party members are undertaken to insure that only sufficiently Russified people remain in the Party.

The need of total control of dependencies dictates also a divide and rule policy among the satellites. In accordance with such policies the Kremlin instigates and encourages local nationalisms, regionalisms and separatisms and external aggressiveness of the satellites while at the same time it must prevent pan-movements and excessive territorial ambitions which might challenge the dominance of Moscow. Thus while instigating Asiatic nationalism the Soviet Union must prevent the championship of the Pan-Mongolian idea by Mongolia or Communist China. While encouraging various Balkan nationalisms it had to prevent the formation of a South Slav Federation.

Another means of promoting effective control of and dominance of the satellites is isolating these vassal countries from the West and therefore preventing any Western influence to undermine Bolshevik rule. This aim is achieved by deliberately pro-

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level violence was manifested in frequent beatings of wife and children, and on the rural community level in habitual drunkenness that often ended in brawls and even murder.[18] In conditions which foster human degradation and lack of trust, both self-seeking and vindictiveness flourish. Hence the Great-Russian peasant was inclined to commit atrocious acts of revenge against people whom he considered as his persecutors or who caused him any harm. When threatening with revenge the Great-Russian peasant was likely to say: "You will pay me with your own blood" (*Ty u menya kroviyu svoey umoeshsya*). Killing as a revenge, burning hay-ricks, barns and homes was a common occurrence. The peasants were likely to organize a collective hunt against real or fancied malefactors and mutilate them or put them to death by means of torture:

> For murder and robbery, death of the culprit—sometimes with mutilation by cutting and tearing off of various parts of his body. For horse-theft and grand larceny they practice sometimes hammering of iron nails into the head and forcing of wooden pins under the nails and also merciless beating even onto death; . . . in some instances the case ends by maiming the thief and letting him go.[19]

At the same time the frontiersmen and professional warriors, such as the Cossacks, became renowned and widely admired because of their deeds of vindictiveness and violence. War was a great opportunity for people with such inclinations. As Gogol has put it, the Cossacks found a great delight in "accumulating booty from raided towns, putting the villages and the fields on fire, and spreading their glories by far and wide throughout the steppe" in order "to revenge themselves for all evil and humiliation."[20] There were numerous robber and Cossack songs which told about such exploits, and expressed desire for vindictiveness and destructive aggression.

Destructive aggression was nursed on the patriarchal family level and reinforced by conditions in the local community. Thus as soon as the controls of the authorities would weaken, mass revolts would come into the open. Such a behavior in turn was used by the local authorities as a justification for their strictness in dealing with the peasants:

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565 The speeches of the peasants' deputies
423 in the second Duma unmistakably show that the peasants con-
[646] sidered that the land belonged to them and to nobody else and that the times of degrading oppression were over. They declared themselves in favor of the free distribution of all the land that was in the possession of the nobility, the Church, and the state:

> We are talking of land these days as of nothing else. We are told it is a sacred, inviolate possession. I think if the people want it, there can be no inviolateness about it. Gentlemen of the nobility! You think we have forgotten the time when you used us as stakes in playing at cards and exchanged us for dogs! We know we were your sacred inviolate property. But the land has been stolen from us. The peasants who have sent me here have said that the land is ours! We have come here not to buy but to take it.[14]

169 Because of such beliefs and ideas which were intensified by
565 systematic revolutionary propaganda of professional conspirators
425 and agitators, any rumors concerning the land always found a
627 ready response among the peasantry. It is for the same reason that often only a vague rumor about a government land decree was sufficient to convince the peasants that the land was given back to them by the Czar, but that it was the lesser government officials, bribed by the landlords, who kept the land out of their hands. Such land-hungry peasants, already inclined to rebel against age-long and humiliating dependency, were ready to take the law into their own hands, to seize the manorial lands, to loot the estates and to kill the landlords whenever they felt that the power of the existing authorities was crumbling.

178 The professional conspirators among the Russian revolution-
565 ary intelligentsia took full advantage of such inclinations. Their revolutionary plans were especially favored by the growing differentiation in the Russian villages. In the first decade of the twentieth century economic and social differentiation in the Great-Russian village was already well advanced. It was favored by a series of government measures (Stolypin reforms)[15] which were aimed at developing a stratum of independent and prosperous peasantry and destroying the system of communal landholding. As a result of such measures the Great-Russian village became by the first decade of this century composed of a number

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a fiction. Lacking means of physical enforcement because of the lack of a centralized political system, common action could take place only among those who voluntarily agreed. But when small bands of mounted warriors imposed their rule over the multitudes of non-warlike peasantry, the power-oriented conquerors made use of the Old-Slavonic system of unanimity for purposes of regimentation and governmentalization from above. That is, they imposed a dictated consensus by means of force else the opposition of the peasant majority would soon have deprived the ruling minority of its power.

In this manner a number of band chieftains of nomadic origin ruled groupings of small peasant communities, in the form of manorial principalities. Each one of these local potentates, even though Slavicized in speech or born in mixed families, still exhibited extreme self-seeking characteristics and cherished personal power and aggrandizement above everything else, a tenet that had characterized his nomadic predecessors. Each, therefore, following steppe traditions, had a scheme of his own; each was interested primarily in accumulating riches for himself and his immediate family. In consequence, these local princes and their war bands constantly intrigued and fought among themselves. They also transferred their personal and factional strifes to the neighboring towns of burghers. In these squabbles and struggle for power and expansion, the feuding princes and fighting factions did not hesitate to call on the common enemies in their neighborhoods, such as the steppe marauders or the Viking pirates to come in and help them defeat their opponents.

It was in the course of such an internecine strife (*vsta rod na rod*) in Novgorod region in the middle of the ninth century that a band of Scandinavian merchant-pirates was called on to come and help one clique of native princes against the other.[18] These "Varangians" not only came in but stayed, founding later the Russian state in the Dnieper river basin, at that time the most important merchant thoroughfare in that part of the world. These Norse conquerors and state builders were soon assimilated by the natives. In the course of time a series of new principalities was formed and old factional bickerings and fratricidal warfare was renewed.[19]

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These feuds did not affect only the relations between local lords; intense strifes and vendettas were flourishing within the family of each one of the princes. Struggle for power and expansion often caused fratricidal warfare among the brothers after the death of their father. The old chronicles and other historical documents are full of examples of such family feuds. Murder, torture and blinding among the brothers and even between fathers and sons apparently were frequent.[20] The life of each one of these local potentates was spent in perpetual warfare, in feuding, and in plundering adventures.[21]

Power-thirstiness, factionalism, and rule of crude force prevailed among these petty rulers in no lesser way than among their nomadic predecessors and overlords. The internal system of rule on the domains of each prince was not more advanced. As the Russian written laws of that period testify, the killing of prince's representatives on the part of the peasants must have been frequent. City populace often rose in riots and revolutionary outbursts against the oppressive conditions imposed by these lords.[22] It was such conditions of physical, social and emotional insecurity that favored perpetuation of the institutions, practices, and other behavior traits which were introduced by the nomadic invaders and conquerors.

III

The changes that in the course of several centuries were taking place in social and psychological structure of the Old-Slavonic world as a result of the imposition of the rule of the nomadic warriors seem to have been well reflected in the Great-Russian folklore, especially in its epic legends. The military, the peasants, the burghers, their conflicts and their character traits are personified in these narratives by a number of popular heroes.[23]

The general picture which these folk documents present shows that the social stability which existed in the Old-Slavonic society was completely shattered as a result of nomadic invasions and conquests. The invading warriors not only caused great havoc but they provoked rapid and fundamental changes in the structure of the old society. Moreover the social disorganization and the political and economic instability that resulted out of these

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[CONSTITUTION as of 1949]

185 471 Art. 11. The economic life of the Russian SFSR is determined and directed by the State National-Economic Plan with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily improving the material and cultural level of the working people and of consolidating the socialist independence of the country and strengthening its defensive capacity.

461 Art. 12. In the Russian SFSR work is a duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The principle applied in the Russian SFSR is that of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Chapter II. The State Structure

643 Art. 13. For the purpose of mutual assistance among the Union Republics along economic and political lines, as well as along the line of defence, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic voluntarily united with the other equal Soviet Socialist Republics, namely:

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kirghis Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic and
The Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic

in a federal state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Proceeding from the aforesaid, the Russian SFSR ensures to the USSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, the rights defined in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR.

Outside of the spheres set forth in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Russian SFSR exercises state authority independently, retaining its sovereign rights in full.

● 631 Art. 14. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic consists of the Altai, Krasnodar, Krasnoiarsk, Maritime, Stavropol and Khabarovsk Territories; the Archangel, Astrakhan, Briansk, Velikie Luki, Vladimir, Vologda, Voronezh, Gorky, Grozny, Ivanovo, Irkutsk, Kaliningrad, Kalinin, Kaluga, Kemerovo, Kirov, Kostroma, Crimean, Kuibyshev, Kurgan, Kursk, Leningrad, Molotov, Moscow, Murmansk, Novgorod, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Orel, Penza, Pskov, Rostov, Riazan, Saratov, Sakhalin, Sverdlovsk, Smolensk, Stalingrad, Tambov, Tomsk, Tula, Tiumen, Ulianovsk, Chelia-binsk, Chita, Chkalov, Yaroslav and Amur Regions; the Tatar, Bashkir, Dagestan, Buriat-Mongolian, Kabardinian, Komi, Mari, Mordovian, North Ossetian, Udmurt, Chuvash and Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics; and the Adygei, Jewish, Oirot, Tuvinian, Khakass and Cherkess Autonomous Regions.

[Constitution as of 1949]

Chapter VIII. The Local Organs of State Power

● 631 Art. 77. The organs of state power in territories, regions, autonomous regions, national areas, administrative areas, districts, cities, settlements and rural localities (stanitsas, villages, hamlets, and auls) are the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 78. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of territories, regions, national and administrative areas, districts, cities, districts in big cities, settlements and rural localities (stanitsas, villages, hamlets and auls) are elected by the working people of the respective territories, regions, national areas, administrative areas, districts, cities, settlements and rural localities for a term of two years.

Art. 79. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of territories, regions, areas, districts, cities, settlements and villages direct cultural, political and economic affairs within their territory, draw up the local budgets, direct the work of the organs of administration subordinate to them, ensure the maintenance of public order, assist in strengthening the defensive capacity of the country and ensure the observance of the laws and the protection of the rights of citizens.

Art. 80. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies adopt decisions and issue orders within the limits of the powers vested in them by the laws of the USSR, of the Russian SFSR and of the Autonomous Republic.

Art. 81. The executive and administrative organ of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies of a territory, region, national and administrative area, district, city, settlement or village is the Executive Committee elected by it, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, a Secretary and members.

[623] Art. 82. The executive and administrative organ of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies (of stanitsas, hamlets and auls) in a small locality is the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and the Secretary elected by the Soviet of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 83. The Executive Committee of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies of a territory, region, area, district, city, settlement or village exercises guidance in cultural, political and economic affairs within its territory on the basis of decisions taken by the corresponding Soviet of Working People's Deputies and superior state organs.

Art. 84. Sessions of territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies are convened by their respective Executive Committees not less than four times a year.

Art. 85. Sessions of district Soviets of Working People's Deputies and of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of administrative areas are convened by their respective Executive Committees not less than six times a year.

[623] Art. 86. Sessions of city and village Soviets of Working People's Deputies are convened by their executive organs not less than once a month.

Art. 87. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of territories, regions, national and administrative areas, districts and cities, each elect a Chairman and a Secretary for the duration of their sessions to conduct the sittings of the sessions.

[623] Art. 88. The Chairman of a village Soviet convenes the Soviet and conducts its sittings.

5: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[Constitution as of 1949]

631 Art. 89. The executive organs of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies are directly accountable both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies which elected them and to the executive organs of the respective superior Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 90. The superior Executive Committees of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies have the right to annul decisions and orders of inferior Executive Committees and to suspend decisions and orders of inferior Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 91. The superior Soviets of Working People's Deputies have the right to annul decisions and orders of inferior Soviets of Working People's Deputies and of their Executive Committees.

634 Art. 92. The territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments and Administrations of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Roads
- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Local Industry
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Arts
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance

and the following Administrations:

- a Motor Transport Administration
- a Cinematographic Administration
- the Local Fuel Industry Administration
- the Building Materials Industry Administration
- an Agricultural Administration
- a Planning Commission;
- a Cadres Sector under the Chairman of the Executive Committee and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the economy of the territory, and region, the/regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments or Administrations subject to confirmation by the Union-Republican Ministries of Light Industry, Forestry, the Timber and Paper Industry, the Meat and Dairy Industry, the Food Industry and the Fish Industry:

- a Department of Light Industry
- a Department of Forestry
- a Department of the Timber and Paper Industry
- a Department of the Meat and Dairy Industry
- a Department of the Food Industry
- a Department of the Fish Industry.

Art. 93. The all-Union Ministries, The Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of State Security and the Ministry of Justice of the Union set up their own Administrations under the regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies, in accordance with the conditions of the territory and region and on the basis of the laws of the USSR and the Russian SFSR.

Art. 94. The Departments and Administrations of the Executive Committees of territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the corresponding territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Ministries of the Russian SFSR.

[Constitution as of 1949]

633 Art. 100. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the city Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the respective city Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Departments of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies or directly to the corresponding Departments of the territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 101. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the city Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Moscow and Leningrad are subordinate in their activities both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Moscow and Leningrad and their Executive Committees as well as to the corresponding Ministry of the Russian SFSR directly.

634 Art. 102. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of National Areas and their Executive Committees exercise in the territory of their Areas the rights and duties conferred on them by the "Statute of National Areas" and likewise by the decisions of the corresponding territorial or regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

"The Statute of National Areas" is established by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter IX. The Budget of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

652 646 Art. 103. The state budget of the Russian SFSR is drawn up by the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR and submitted by it to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for its approval.

Upon its approval by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR the state budget of the Russian SFSR is published for general information.

Art. 104. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects a Budget Commission, which reports its conclusions on the state budget of the Russian SFSR to the Supreme Soviet.

Art. 105. The report on the fulfilment of the state budget of the Russian SFSR is approved by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR and published for general information.

652 631 Art. 106. The budgets of Autonomous Republics, and the local budgets of territories, regions, Autonomous Regions, National and Administrative Areas, district, city and village Soviets include the revenues from the local economy, deductions from the state revenues collected within their territories and likewise receipts from local taxes and imposts in amounts fixed by the laws of the USSR and of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter X. The Courts and the Procurator's Office.

692 Art. 107. In the Russian SFSR justice is administered by the Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR, the Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics, Territorial and Regional Courts, the Courts of the Autonomous Regions, the Courts of National Areas, the Courts of Administrative Areas, the Special Courts of the USSR established by decision of the Supreme Court of the USSR and the People's Courts.

693 Art. 108. In all Courts cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors, except in cases specially provided for by law.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

174 to maintain a system of economic self-sufficiency which was restricted to small villages or groups of such villages.[1]

175 In early documents these Old-Slavonic plowmen are described
181 as peaceful, moderate, mild, and humane, patient and sober, disinterested in power, hard working, living in social and political democracy. They are pictured as being opposed to subjection, but unable to offer much resistance to a foreign aggressor since they were not skilled in warfare. Procopius (6th century), for instance, said that "these people are not ruled by one man, but they have lived from of old under a democracy, and consequently everything which involves their welfare, whether for good or for ill, is referred to the people."[2] And Emperor Leo (9th century) stated the following:

> . . . jealous of their liberty they have always refused to submit themselves to the Empire. . . . even those who have accepted Christianity keep as much as they can the forms of their ancient freedom. . . . This is a numerous nation, patient in difficult times, and very industrious. Heat, cold, hunger, and want of all things do not beat down these people. . . . They used to be very hospitable and still maintain with great care this virtue. They are affable people and receive travellers with much kindness, show them the way, and protect them against insult. If a traveller would not be well treated by his host because of host's fault all the people would attack the host. They behave with much gentleness also toward their slaves; they do not condemn them to perpetual slavery, but fix a time of service . . . after which time . . . they free them. The women are well-behaved, and attached to their husbands. . . . These people are very frugal . . . they prefer to live with much freedom. . . . They like to take refuge in the woods or in inaccessible places.[3]

175 The people of Polesie seem to have been politically organized
● 631 in a system of smaller groupings of self-governing villages or even in single autonomous villages connected among themselves, not in the form of a central authority or state, but rather as a
[565] loose confederation of independent units. Apparently, there were no marked social distinctions or differences in class and rank in this society. There was no aristocracy, no separate class of priests or warriors, no cities, no temples. There was, therefore, no class or clique which sought power and expansion over others,

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1
[XII Century]

and hence, no group support could be found if a leader had attempted to form a centralized political authority or an imperial system over the whole area. The old Russian Chronicle of Kiev (12th century) describing a tribe with such a culture (the Polians) states that among them each kindred group (*rod*) lived in its own separate locality and had its own government.[4]

In a like manner, principles of dignity and moderation, as well as personal autonomy and lack of coerciveness, prevailed in family relations of these people. The Chronicle, for instance, states:

> The Polians had customs of their fathers, customs mild and peaceful (*krotok i tikh*); they showed a kind of reserve (*stydenie*) towards their daughters-in-law (*snokha*) and their sisters, towards their mothers and their parents, towards their fathers-in-law and their brothers-in-law; to all of the persons named they showed great reserve. They had marriage cusoms: the bridegroom did not go to seek his bride; she was taken to him in the evening, and the following morning they brought what belonged to her (*chto vdaduche*).[5]

It appears that the family organization of the Polians rested on mutual respect of all family members; that the bride brought the dowry which remained her personal property; that she might have had the initiative in wooing. This contention is supported by other evidence. Cosmas Pragensis, for instance, speaking of the old Bohemian Slavs, states: "It is not the men who choose the maids, but the maids themselves who take the husbands they like, and when they like."[6] A French writer who visited Ukraine in the seventeenth century wrote: "In Ukraine, contrary to the customs of all other nations, the husbands do not choose their wives, but are themselves chosen by their future consorts."[7]

There is also other evidence concerning some matriarchal traits of the early Slavs.[8] Throughout ages, women of the plains betwen the Dnieper and the Volga maintained property rights over their dowries and also over income from vegetables, poultry, dairy products and yarn that they produced and sold, though such rights were not recognized to men.[9] Although a woman in Russia did not have any claim to the property of her father or her brother, and only a limited right to that of her husband, she had the privilege, denied to a man, of saving and building up a

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

ple, in the plains between the Drava and Sava rivers, showed cultural and personality traits similar to those of the Old-Slavonic plowmen.[30]

In their migration, these early Slav soil cultivators were often able to Slavicize the natives among whom they had settled and even to absorb the numerically small bands of steppe raiders who had conquered them. These assimilated invaders were then often employed to fight against new nomadic incursions.[31] It was in the course of such acculturations, due to migrations and conquests, that in the regions between the Volga and the Dnieper a peculiar fusion of contrasting cultural patterns of the steppe horsemen and of the tillers of the soil had developed. Structural relations, personality traits and the religious, social and political ideologies that resulted out of this blend of the two conflicting worlds formed the basis of Russian society and have been at the root of its political instability throughout centuries.[32]

4
TURCO-MONGOL INVASIONS AND FORMATION OF RUSSIAN SOCIETY

I

THE MOUNTED warriors of the steppes were accustomed to covering great distances on their raids and migrations. After they had devastated and annihilated much that was in their way, they would impose their rule with ease over whatever was left. Then they would proceed to organize nomadic federations, principalities and empires.[1] The political systems which thus arose in the area between the Ural mountains and the Carpathians apparently followed the pattern that had been originally established by the Scythians and Huns in the same territory.[2]

Being extremely self-centered and insecure, a strong driving

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Eurasian steppes. As it had been a long-established practice among these predatory marauders, the war leader who showed himself competent in organizing a successful war expedition or in controlling a certain area would soon collect a considerable retinue of warriors. When Slavicized, the chieftain of such a band of raiders was known as *voyvoda* (warleader) or *knyaz* (prince). His retinue became known as the *druzhina* (band). The most outstanding members among these *druzhiniki* (band-men) and *muzhi* (men) formed an inner advisory body (*veche*) to the warleader or prince and became known as the "leading men" (*muzhi perednie*), or *boyari*. The voyvoda would reward his druzhina or boyars for their services by granting them land and dividing war booty with them.

It is important to note, however, that the boyars at this time received the granted lands as perpetual hereditary homesteads, and that they were free to leave one prince and enter the service of another at any time.[11] Before the formation of the Muscovite Empire, the plains between the Volga and Dnieper rivers were controlled by numerous such petty potentates, each surrounded by a retinue of boyars and other servicemen. Under those conditions there was no possibility of preventing these professional warriors from leaving one warleader and entering into the service of another. The only way for a local prince to retain his druzhina was by being successful in warfare, collecting large war booty, and offering land and villages together with the peasants in hereditary possession to his comrades in arms.[12]

In the meantime another stratum of the population was being formed in the centers of trade, that of the city people or burghers. The nomadic conquerors were not only looters and pirates, but traders as well. They traded in what they looted. When their authority was well established, they endeavored to promote centers and routes of commerce as a means of increasing their wealth. It was in these centers of trade and market places that cities developed. Soon city people became stratified into the well-to-do (*zhitie lyudi*) and the lower urban classes (*molodshie lyudi*). In these urban centers where the warriors became traders the trend was toward concentration of power in the hands of the economically powerful, just as among the professional military

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

6
WESTERN TECHNOLOGY AND RUSSIA'S BUREAUCRATIC AUTOCRACY

I

THE STRUCTURE of Muscovite power had some advantages in comparison with the Turco-Mongol system of rule. The steppe warriors had not developed an efficient system of administration. They depended upon their vassals for the collection of taxes. This practice gave an opportunity to the vassals to enrich themselves, which strengthened their feelings of independence and of revolt. In the same manner the principle of religious tolerance and the practice of granting Church autonomies helped to perpetuate religious, linguistic and cultural differences among the subjects, a situation that did not favor ideological unification and centralization of power. In Russia, on the other hand, a system of centralized administration which followed the Byzantine pattern took care of revenues and of military manpower. The enserfed agricultural population was a source of steady income. Furthermore, state dominated Church tended to Slavicize linguistically and to unify ideologically all subjects under the Czar.

However, this system of Muscovite military theocracy that was efficient in dealings with the Mongols, proved inadequate in Russia's relations with its adversaries in the West. Since the end of the middle ages Western countries went through a series of ideological and economic changes which had fundamentally affected the structure of the Western world. Humanism and Renaissance, Reformation and Counter-reformation, the industrial and political revolutions had brought about considerable intellectual and technological advance and radical structural changes. Compared to the West, Russia had many drawbacks in her economic system. Its power-centered and militarized social struc-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

not by means of a popular revolution as in the West. Accordingly the new bureaucratic rule was based on the *Ukaz*[3] and the knut as much as the old order. For the same reason, though the state was formally secularized, the traditions of an autocracy, divinely ordained and supported by God, were carried on by every official as the representative of the Czar.[4]

Therefore the new system of autocracy based on bureaucracy, the same as the old one based on service nobility, could not recognize any political or personal rights of the subjects. Nor could there have developed any *esprit de corps* among the new governing class. This new class of officials owned little or no land and had to live on meager salaries, but was eager to follow the traditions and the high standards established by the old landed nobility. The chinovnichestvo therefore became even more dependent upon the Czar than the dvorianstvo was earlier. There was even less *esprit de corps* and less solidarity in the new governing class than in the old. Each official was constantly in fear of jeopardizing his own social position if he stood up in defense of any of his colleagues. Besides, in this hierarchical system of power the ruin or falling into disfavor of one official often meant the ascendancy of the other. There was, therefore, a tendency to take advantage of such a situation, to resort to intrigues and calumnies, and to help to destroy rather than to rehabilitate a victim.

All the powers, the lawmaking, the application of law, and the justice were placed into the hands of these bureaucrats. At the same time the system of checks and controls was very deficient. Laws were enacted by special temporary commissions of high officials, and created *ad hoc*. The Council of State, a supreme policy-making body, composed of about seventy to eighty highest dignitaries, was appointed by the Czar to serve him only in advisory capacities. The final decision rested in the hands of the Czar, or with the camarilla clique which happened at the moment to be most influential. The Empire was administratively divided into provinces (*gubernia*) which were usually headed by army generals. The gubernias were divided into districts which were headed by chiefs of police. The governors, supported by the police, ruled autocratically in their domains. They were

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

631 625 responsible only to the Czar; and the police, not being responsible to the public, but only to their immediate superiors, tended to be arbitrary.

647 What mattered in Russia's bureaucratic system was obedience to one's superiors. That was the primary criterion of judgment of the fitness of a civil servant, not his ability or personal integrity. Seldom was an employee dismissed because of corruption and injustice. A functionary could not be prosecuted for acts committed in the exercise of his functions except with the consent, or, on the initiative of his superiors. And the higher placed the offender, the less real was his responsibility. At the same time a subordinate employee, a soldier, or an inferior officer had no redress if wronged by his superior. A subordinate did have the right by law to lodge a complaint against mistreatment on the part of his chief, but according to the rules of Russian hierarchical discipline, no public servant, civil or military, could present a petition or complaint except through his own superior officer.[5] Few ever dared to do so.

647 871 This bureaucratic irresponsibility and impunity assumes an especial significance if one has in mind the low status of education and training of Russian officials. By the end of the nineteenth century in the provinces, according to an official investigation, out of a hundred employees, only one or two were found to have attended a university, five or six to have graduated from secondary schools, ten or twelve from primary schools. Eighty out of a hundred had had no formal schooling whatever and had passed no examination.[6] Many former soldiers and war veterans with little or no formal schooling crowded civil administration. At times the higher the education the less chances one had to enter state service.[7]

II

647 557 In such a system excess in zeal was often rewarded. On the other hand, initiative and originality, if not successful, were fraught with great personal risks. Therefore, shirking from work and responsibility, and struggling for office and rank became the rule. It was only by achieving higher position and by winning

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
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and its many branches and spurs. The large rivers handle the north-south traffic during their ice-free season. The Ob', the Irtysh, the Yenisey, and the Amur intersect the Trans-Siberian Railroad, while the Lena is connected with it by a series of good highways. The Northern Sea Route is the basic route serving the Arctic coast of Siberia. This route through the seas of the Arctic Ocean was developed as a permanent transportation route as late as the third Five-Year Plan, after a large number of polar stations reporting on weather and ice conditions had been set up along the route. Its principal ports are Novyy Port, at the mouth of the Ob' River, Igarka, Dudinka, and Ust'-Port, in the lower reaches of the Yenisey, Nordvik, at the mouth of the Khatanga River, Tiksi, near the Lena delta, Ambarchik, near the mouth of the Kolyma River, and Anadyr', at the mouth of the Anadyr' River. The principal ports along the Pacific coast of the Far East are Vladivostok, Sovetskaya Gavan', Magadan, and Petropavlovsk on Kamchatka. The highway network is especially well developed in the European section of the Russian SFSR. The roads generally run parallel to rail lines and converge at Moscow. In Siberia, highways serve to open up newly developed areas not reached by the rail network; this is particularly true of the extensive gold-mining areas of Eastern Siberia and the Far East.

SU 489 CR 489 SU [487] CR [487]

The Russian SFSR exports to the other union republics: machines, steel, petroleum, lumber, paper, textiles, and grain, and imports from them pig-iron, grain, sugar, cotton, livestock, and fruits.

SU 438* CR 438

Due to the large number of non-Russian ethnic groups within the Russian SFSR, the union republic has been organized into a Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, in contrast to the other union republics which have a more homogeneous national composition. The Russian SFSR was organized in 1917 and became one of the original four republics which united to form the USSR in 1922. The present territorial-administrative scheme was inaugurated with the creation of the Ural Oblast in 1923. Thereafter the newly created oblasts and krays rapidly replaced the former *guberniyas*. The more advanced non-Russian ethnic groups, such as Tatars, Bashkirs, Buryat-Mongols, Yakuts, and others, were constituted into the autonomous republics which, together with the basic Russian group (73 percent of the total population), form the so-called Russian Federation, or Russian SFSR. The territory with a predominant Russian population has been divided into oblasts and krays, which are purely administrative divisions. National minorities within these divisions have their own autonomous or national units. The most

SU 631 CR 631

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 R1 Soviet Union R1
Great Russia RFI

important minorities form autonomous oblasts within the krays, while lesser ethnic groups form national okrugs or even national rayons within oblasts or krays. At present the Russian SFSR includes 12 autonomous republics, 6 krays, and 50 oblasts.

In order to facilitate the study of the geography of the Russian SFSR, the republic has been divided into the following geographical regions on the basis of common physico-economic characteristics.

Central Industrial Region
- Moscow (Moskva) Oblast
- Vladimir Oblast
- Ivanovo Oblast
- Yaroslavl' Oblast
- Kostroma Oblast
- Ryazan' Oblast
- Tula Oblast

Central Black-Earth Region
- Orel Oblast
- Tambov Oblast
- Voronezh Oblast
- Kursk Oblast

European West
- Bryansk Oblast
- Kaluga Oblast
- Smolensk Oblast
- Velikiye Luki Oblast
- Kalinin Oblast

European Northwest
- Novgorod Oblast
- Pskov Oblast
- Leningrad Oblast

European North
- Murmansk Oblast
- Arkhangel'sk Oblast
- Komi Autonomous SSR
- Vologda Oblast

Volga Region

Forest section
- Gor'kiy Oblast
- Kirov Oblast
- Mari Autonomous SSR

Wooded-steppe section
- Tatar Autonomous SSR
- Chuvash Autonomous SSR
- Mordvinian Autonomous SSR
- Penza Oblast
- Ul'yanovsk Oblast
- Kuybyshev Oblast

Steppe section
- Saratov Oblast
- Stalingrad Oblast
- Astrakhan' Oblast

Crimean Oblast

Lower Don and Northern Caucasus
- Rostov Oblast
- Krasnodar Kray
- Stavropol' Kray
- Kabardinian Autonomous SSR
- North Ossetian Autonomous SSR
- Groznyy Oblast
- Dagestan Autonomous SSR

Urals
- Molotov Oblast
- Udmurt Autonomous SSR
- Bashkir Autonomous SSR
- Chkalov Oblast
- Chelyabinsk Oblast
- Sverdlovsk Oblast

Western Siberia
- Kurgan Oblast
- Tyumen' Oblast
- Omsk Oblast
- Novosibirsk Oblast
- Tomsk Oblast
- Kemerovo Oblast
- Altay Kray

[Constitution as of 1949]

634 Art. 95. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of administrative districts and their Executive Committees set up Departments and conduct their work on the basis of laws and decrees of supreme organs of the Russian SFSR and the decisions of territorial and regional Working People's Deputies.

632 Art. 96. The district Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Roads
- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Agriculture
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance
- a Planning Commission
- a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committee and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the economy of the district, the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments, subject to confirmation by the respective regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies:

- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Local Industry.

637 Art. 97. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of State Security set up their Departments under the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies in accordance with the conditions of the district, on the basis of the laws of the USSR and the Russian SFSR and subject to confirmation by the corresponding regional Soviet of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 98. The Departments of the Executive Committees of district Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Departments of the territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

633 Art. 99. The city Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance
- a Planning Commission
- a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committee and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the city's industry and its municipal and suburban economy:

- a Department of Local Industry and
- a Department of Agriculture.

[Constitution as of 1949]

634 Art. 95. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of administrative districts and their Executive Committees set up Departments and conduct their work on the basis of laws and decrees of supreme organs of the Russian SFSR and the decisions of territorial and regional Working People's Deputies.

632 Art. 96. The district Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments of their Executive Committees:

a Department of Roads
a Department of Public Health
a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
a Department of Public Education
a General Department
a Department of Agriculture
a Department of Social Maintenance
a Department of Trade
a Department of Finance
a Planning Commission
a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committees and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the economy of the district, the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments, subject to confirmation by the respective regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies:

a Department of the Municipal Economy
a Department of Local Industry.

629 Art. 97. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of State Security set up their Departments under the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies in accordance with the conditions of the district, on the basis of the laws of the USSR and the Russian SFSR and subject to confirmation by the corresponding regional Soviet of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 98. The Departments of the Executive Committees of district Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Departments of the territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

● 633 Art. 99. The city Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments of their Executive Committees:

a Department of Public Health
a Department of the Municipal Economy
a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
a Department of Public Education
a General Department
a Department of Social Maintenance
a Department of Trade
a Department of Finance
a Planning Commission
a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committee and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the city's industry and its municipal and suburban economy:

a Department of Local Industry and
a Department of Agriculture.

[Constitution as of 1949]

633 Art. 100. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the city Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the respective city Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Departments of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies or directly to the corresponding Departments of the territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 101. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the city Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Moscow and Leningrad are subordinate in their activities both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Moscow and Leningrad and their Executive Committees as well as to the corresponding Ministry of the Russian SFSR directly.

634 Art. 102. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of National Areas and their Executive Committees exercise in the territory of their Areas the rights and duties conferred on them by the "Statute of National Areas" and likewise by the decisions of the corresponding territorial or regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

"The Statute of National Areas" is established by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter IX. The Budget of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

652 Art. 103. The state budget of the Russian SFSR is drawn up by the Council
646 of Ministers of the Russian SFSR and submitted by it to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for its approval.

Upon its approval by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR the state budget of the Russian SFSR is published for general information.

Art. 104. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects a Budget Commission, which reports its conclusions on the state budget of the Russian SFSR to the Supreme Soviet.

Art. 105. The report on the fulfilment of the state budget of the Russian SFSR is approved by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR and published for general information.

652 Art. 106. The budgets of Autonomous Republics, and the local budgets of
631 territories, regions, Autonomous Regions, National and Administrative Areas, district, city and village Soviets include the revenues from the local economy, deductions from the state revenues collected within their territories and likewise receipts from local taxes and imposts in amounts fixed by the laws of the USSR and of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter X. The Courts and the Procuratur's Office.

692 Art. 107. In the Russian SFSR justice is administered by the Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR, the Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics, Territorial and Regional Courts, the Courts of the Autonomous Regions, the Courts of National Areas, the Courts of Administrative Areas, the Special Courts of the USSR established by decision of the Supreme Court of the USSR and the People's Courts.

693 Art. 108. In all Courts cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors, except in cases specially provided for by law.

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class the tendency was toward the concentration of power in the hands of the more mighty princes.[13]

This concentration of power in the hands of the city plutocracy found its expression in the principle of an unanimity vote in the city assembly (*Veche*). Data on the early political and social organization of the Russian urban communities show that the unanimity in decisions was the rule. The old documents about these gatherings tell us that "what has been established by the oldest city, is maintained by its boroughs," that "all thought and spoke as one man," that "all were unanimous in the desire," and that the decision was reached "by all the oldest and all the youngest men of the assembly."[14]

But we also learn that this unopposed group consensus was achieved by means of threat and terror against all those who might show an inclination to disagree or who disagreed after the assembly had been held and after a resolution had been passed. The dissenters were often beaten with rods, despoiled of their property, or murdered. Sometimes they might escape such fate if ready to pay a fine that varied according to the rank of the dissenter. In this manner a minority, backed by physical force was able to enforce its will on the rest under the guise of "unanimity."[15]

Pressure for the unanimous consent on the part of the people was applied also in the village assemblies, and later in the land commune (*mir*). In some other customs of the Great-Russian peasantry, even in our own times, the unanimous consent was considered necessary. In marriage ceremonies, for instance, custom demanded that the bride when leaving her parental home obtain blessing from all her neighbors. There was, however, a threat against neighbors who refused their blessing. Curses were invoked against them: "Those who do not bless her, may they never marry their sons and daughters" (*Kto ne blagoslovit tomu vek sinov ne zhenit a docheri za muzh ne vdavat*).[16]

The principle of unanimity was apparently the procedure in the local assemblies of the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators of the Dnieper river basin. Such an unanimity was also practiced until our times in the Zadruga society of Croatia.[17] But in those pacific and anarchic societies the principle of unanimity was real, not

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appeared to be unable to solve these revolutionary outbursts, perhaps because the seeds of these revolts of the peasant masses had been sown by the revolutionary and terroristic propaganda of this same Party now in power. Moreover, this Party, though in power, was split into four factions which bitterly fought one another. Some of these factions allied themselves with the Bolsheviks to strengthen themselves in their internal Party fight. The ranks of the Bolsheviks therefore grew steadily from all sides. They had clearly defined aims and were well organized under the undisputed leadership of one man, whose unchallenged authority all Bolsheviks recognized. Their aim was to seize power at any cost and by any and all means.

In the face of an internally split and undecisive government which lacked authority, and in the midst of general chaotic conditions, the power of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the revolutionary bodies which were established throughout the country, steadily grew. The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in Petrograd was increasingly competing with the government for the control of the state. Because of their extremism, the influence of the Bolsheviks in these powerful revolutionary bodies soon became dominant. Thus, supported by bolshevised soldiers and proletariat and promising to bring peace, bread and equalitarian brotherhood to all, the Bolsheviks were enabled to seize power.[15]

In the civil war that followed between the Bolsheviks and anti-Bolsheviks, the dissatisfied military ranks, the lower urban classes, the national and religious minorities, and a large part of the peasantry took the side of the Bolsheviks, who promised an anarchic and egalitarian Utopia for each and everyone, just as many religious sects, leaders of peasant uprisings, Anarchists and Terrorists have done before them. All those who yearned for equality and acceptance at all levels of Russian society either actively helped the Bolsheviks against the White armies, or, fearing the return of the old regime, were unwilling to fight with the Whites against Reds. The attitudes of these people, combined with the ruthlessness and resoluteness of Bolshevik political and military leadership, were decisive factors in this final victory of Bolshevism.[16]

[Constitution as of 1949]

631 Art. 89. The executive organs of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies are directly accountable both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies which elected them and to the executive organs of the respective superior Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 90. The superior Executive Committees of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies have the right to annul decisions and orders of inferior Executive Committees and to suspend decisions and orders of inferior Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 91. The superior Soviets of Working People's Deputies have the right to annul decisions and orders of inferior Soviets of Working People's Deputies and of their Executive Committees.

● 634 Art. 92. The territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments and Administrations of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Roads
- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Local Industry
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Arts
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance

and the following Administrations:

- a Motor Transport Administration
- a Cinematographic Administration
- the Local Fuel Industry Administration
- the Building Materials Industry Administration
- an Agricultural Administration
- a Planning Commission;
- a Cadres Sector under the Chairman of the Executive Committee and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the economy of the territory, and region, the/regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments or Administrations subject to confirmation by the Union-Republican Ministries of Light Industry, Forestry, the Timber and Paper Industry, the Meat and Dairy Industry, the Food Industry and the Fish Industry:

- a Department of Light Industry
- a Department of Forestry
- a Department of the Timber and Paper Industry
- a Department of the Meat and Dairy Industry
- a Department of the Food Industry
- a Department of the Fish Industry.

Art. 93. The all-Union Ministries, The Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of State Security and the Ministry of Justice of the Union set up their own Administrations under the regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies, in accordance with the conditions of the territory and region and on the basis of the laws of the USSR and the Russian SFSR.

Art. 94. The Departments and Administrations of the Executive Committees of territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the corresponding territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Ministries of the Russian SFSR.

[Constitution as of 1949]

631 Art. 95. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of administrative districts and their Executive Committees set up Departments and conduct their work on the basis of laws and decrees of supreme organs of the Russian SFSR and the decisions of territorial and regional Working People's Deputies.

632 Art. 96. The district Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Roads
- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Agriculture
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance
- a Planning Commission
- a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committee and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the economy of the district, the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments, subject to confirmation by the respective regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies:

- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Local Industry.

633 Art. 97. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of State Security set up their Departments under the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies in accordance with the conditions of the district, on the basis of the laws of the USSR and the Russian SFSR and subject to confirmation by the corresponding regional Soviet of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 98. The Departments of the Executive Committees of district Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Departments of the territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

633 Art. 99. The city Soviets of Working People's Deputies set up the following Departments of their Executive Committees:

- a Department of Public Health
- a Department of the Municipal Economy
- a Department of Cultural and Educational Work
- a Department of Public Education
- a General Department
- a Department of Social Maintenance
- a Department of Trade
- a Department of Finance
- a Planning Commission
- a Cadres Sector

under the Chairman of the Executive Committee and, in addition, in accordance with the specific features of the city's industry and its municipal and suburban economy:

- a Department of Local Industry and
- a Department of Agriculture.

[Constitution as of 1949]

633 Art. 100. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the city Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the respective city Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Departments of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies or directly to the corresponding Departments of the territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

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634 Art. 102. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of National Areas and their Executive Committees exercise in the territory of their Areas the rights and duties conferred on them by the "Statute of National Areas" and likewise by the decisions of the corresponding territorial or regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

"The Statute of National Areas" is established by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter IX. The Budget of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

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652 Art. 106. The budgets of Autonomous Republics, and the local budgets of
631 territories, regions, Autonomous Regions, National and Administrative Areas, district, city and village Soviets include the revenues from the local economy, deductions from the state revenues collected within their territories and likewise receipts from local taxes and imposts in amounts fixed by the laws of the USSR and of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter X. The Courts and the Procurator's Office.

692 Art. 107. In the Russian SFSR justice is administered by the Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR, the Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics, Territorial and Regional Courts, the Courts of the Autonomous Regions, the Courts of National Areas, the Courts of Administrative Areas, the Special Courts of the USSR established by decision of the Supreme Court of the USSR and the People's Courts.

693 Art. 108. In all Courts cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors, except in cases specially provided for by law.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

a fiction. Lacking means of physical enforcement because of the lack of a centralized political system, common action could take place only among those who voluntarily agreed. But when small bands of mounted warriors imposed their rule over the multitudes of non-warlike peasantry, the power-oriented conquerors made use of the Old-Slavonic system of unanimity for purposes of regimentation and governmentalization from above. That is, they imposed a dictated consensus by means of force else the opposition of the peasant majority would soon have deprived the ruling minority of its power.

In this manner a number of band chieftains of nomadic origin ruled groupings of small peasant communities, in the form of manorial principalities. Each one of these local potentates, even though Slavicized in speech or born in mixed families, still exhibited extreme self-seeking characteristics and cherished personal power and aggrandizement above everything else, a tenet that had characterized his nomadic predecessors. Each, therefore, following steppe traditions, had a scheme of his own; each was interested primarily in accumulating riches for himself and his immediate family. In consequence, these local princes and their war bands constantly intrigued and fought among themselves. They also transferred their personal and factional strifes to the neighboring towns of burghers. In these squabbles and struggle for power and expansion, the feuding princes and fighting factions did not hesitate to call on the common enemies in their neighborhoods, such as the steppe marauders or the Viking pirates to come in and help them defeat their opponents.

It was in the course of such an internecine strife (*vsta rod na rod*) in Novgorod region in the middle of the ninth century that a band of Scandinavian merchant-pirates was called on to come and help one clique of native princes against the other.[18] These "Varangians" not only came in but stayed, founding later the Russian state in the Dnieper river basin, at that time the most important merchant thoroughfare in that part of the world. These Norse conquerors and state builders were soon assimilated by the natives. In the course of time a series of new principalities was formed and old factional bickerings and fratricidal warfare was renewed.[19]

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These feuds did not affect only the relations between local lords; intense strifes and vendettas were flourishing within the family of each one of the princes. Struggle for power and expansion often caused fratricidal warfare among the brothers after the death of their father. The old chronicles and other historical documents are full of examples of such family feuds. Murder, torture and blinding among the brothers and even between fathers and sons apparently were frequent.[20] The life of each one of these local potentates was spent in perpetual warfare, in feuding, and in plundering adventures.[21]

Power-thirstiness, factionalism, and rule of crude force prevailed among these petty rulers in no lesser way than among their nomadic predecessors and overlords. The internal system of rule on the domains of each prince was not more advanced. As the Russian written laws of that period testify, the killing of prince's representatives on the part of the peasants must have been frequent. City populace often rose in riots and revolutionary outbursts against the oppressive conditions imposed by these lords.[22] It was such conditions of physical, social and emotional insecurity that favored perpetuation of the institutions, practices, and other behavior traits which were introduced by the nomadic invaders and conquerors.

III

The changes that in the course of several centuries were taking place in social and psychological structure of the Old-Slavonic world as a result of the imposition of the rule of the nomadic warriors seem to have been well reflected in the Great-Russian folklore, especially in its epic legends. The military, the peasants, the burghers, their conflicts and their character traits are personified in these narratives by a number of popular heroes.[23]

The general picture which these folk documents present shows that the social stability which existed in the Old-Slavonic society was completely shattered as a result of nomadic invasions and conquests. The invading warriors not only caused great havoc but they provoked rapid and fundamental changes in the structure of the old society. Moreover the social disorganization and the political and economic instability that resulted out of these

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q) labour legislation;
r) Legislation concerning marriage and the family;
s) Direction of public health;
t) Direction of social maintenance;
u) Direction of elementary, secondary and higher education;
v) Direction of the cultural, educational and scientific organisations and institutions of the Russian SFSR, and administration of the cultural, educational and scientific organisations and institutions of all-Republican importance;
w) Direction and organization of physical culture and sports;
x) Organization of the judicial organs of the Russian SFSR;
y) Granting the rights of citizenship of the Russian SFSR;
z) Amnesty and pardon of citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Russian SFSR;
aa) Establishment of the representation of the Russian SFSR in international relations;
bb) Organization of the military formations of the Russian SFSR.

635 Art. 20. Every Autonomous Republic has its Constitution which takes into account its peculiar features and is constructed in full agreement with the Constitutions of the Russian SFSR and of the USSR.

Art. 21. The laws of the Russian SFSR have the same force within the territory of every Autonomous Republic. In the event of discrepancy between the law of the Autonomous Republic and a law of the Russian SFSR, the law of the Russian SFSR prevails.

Chapter III. The Higher Organs of State Power of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

646 Art. 22. The highest organ of state power in the Russian SFSR is the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

[642] Art. 23. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR exercises all rights vested in the Russian SFSR in accordance with Articles 13 and 18 of the Constitution of the Russian SFSR, insofar as they do not, by virtue of the Constitution, come within the jurisdiction of organs of the Russian SFSR that are accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, that is, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR, and the Ministries of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 24. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is the sole legislative organ of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 25. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is elected for a term of four years by the citizens of the Russian SFSR voting by election districts on the basis of one deputy for every 150,000 of the population.

Art. 26. A law is considered adopted if passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR by a simple majority vote.

Art. 27. Laws passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR are published over the signatures of the President and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 28. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects a Chairman of the Supreme Soviet and eight Vice-Chairmen.

1 [Cf. pp. 2, 3-4 -- Analyst]

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[45] Art. 53. Each Republican Ministry of the Russian SFSR directs the branch of state administration entrusted to it and is directly subordinate to the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

[642] Art. 54. The following Ministries of the Russian SFSR are Union-Republican Ministries of the Russian SFSR:

The Ministry of Internal Affairs
The Ministry of State Control
The Ministry of State Security
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs
The Ministry of the Armed Forces
The Ministry of Cinematography
The Ministry of Light Industry
The Ministry of Forestry
The Ministry of the Timber and Paper Industry
The Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry
The Ministry of the Building Materials Industry
The Ministry of Public Health
The Ministry of the Fish Industry
The Ministry of the Food Industry
The Ministry of State Farms
The Ministry of Agriculture
The Ministry of Trade
The Ministry of Finance
The Ministry of Justice.

Art. 55. The following Ministries of the Russian SFSR are Republican Ministries:

The Ministry of the Housing Construction Industry
The Ministry of Motor Transport
The Ministry of the Municipal Economy
The Ministry of Local Industry
The Ministry of the Local Fuel Industry
The Ministry of Education
The Ministry of Social Maintenance.

Chapter V. The Higher Organs of State Power of Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics

635 Art. 56. The highest organ of state power in an Autonomous Republic is the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Art. 57. The Supreme Soviet of an Autonomous Republic is elected for a term of four years by the citizens of the Republic on the basis prescribed by the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic.

Art. 58. The Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic is the sole legislative organ of the Autonomous SSR.

Art. 59. The Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic:

a) adopts the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic and proposes it to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for confirmation;

b) determines the division of the Autonomous Republic into districts and the boundaries of districts and towns and proposes them to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for confirmation;

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●635 c) approves the national-economic plan and the budget of the Autonomous Republic.

d) Confers titles of honour of the Autonomous Republic.

Art. 60. The Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous SSR consisting of a President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous SSR, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary of the Presidium and members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous SSR.

Art. 61. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous SSR.

Art. 62. The powers of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic are determined by the Constitution of the Autonomous SSR.

Art. 63. The Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic elects a Chairman and Vice-Chairman to conduct its sessions.

Art. 64. The Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic appoints the Government of the Autonomous Republic, namely the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous SSR.

Chapter VI. The Organs of State Administration of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic

Art. 65. The highest executive and administrative organ of state power of the Autonomous SSR is the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous SSR.

Art. 66. The Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic is responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous SSR, or, in the intervals between the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic.

Art. 67. The Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws of the USSR, the Russian SFSR and the Autonomous Republic, and of the decisions and orders of the Councils of Ministers of the USSR and the Russian SFSR, and verifies their execution.

Art. 68. The Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic has the right to annul orders and instructions of Ministers of the Autonomous SSR, decisions and orders of Executive Committees of area, city and district Soviets of Working People's Deputies within the territory of the Autonomous SSR and likewise to suspend the decisions and orders of area, city and district Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 69. The Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic and consists of:

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic;
The Vice-Chairmen of the Council of Ministers;
The Chairman of the State Planning Commission;
The Ministers ~~employed~~
The Minister of Internal Affairs
The Minister of State Security
The Minister of Public Health
The Minister of The Municipal Economy

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The Minister of Local Industry
The Minister of the Food Industry
The Minister of Education
The Minister of Agriculture
The Minister of Trade
The Minister of Finance
The Minister of Justice;

The Heads of:
The Motor Transport Administration
The Roads Administration
The Cinematography Administration
The Local Fuel Industry Administration
The Building Materials Industry Administration
The Arts Administration
The Cultural and Educational Institutions Administration

and, also, in accordance with the peculiar features of the economy of the Republic and subject to confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR the following Ministers:

The Minister of Light Industry
The Minister of Forestry
The Minister of the Timber and Paper Industry
The Minister of the Meat and Dairy Industry
The Minister of the Fish Industry.

Art. 70. The Ministers of the Autonomous Republic direct the branches of state administration which come within the jurisdiction of the Autonomous Republic, in accordance with the Constitution of the Russian SFSR and the Constitution of the Autonomous SSR.

Art. 71. The Ministers of the Autonomous Republic within the limits of the jurisdiction of their respective Ministries, issue orders and instructions on the basis and in pursuance of the laws of the USSR, the Russian SFSR and the Autonomous SSR, decisions and orders of the Councils of Ministers of the USSR, the Russian SFSR and the Autonomous SSR, and orders and instructions of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 72. The Ministries of the Autonomous Republic direct the branches of state administration entrusted to them and are subordinate to the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous SSR and to the corresponding Ministries of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter VII. The Organs of State Power of Autonomous Regions

Art. 73. The Soviet of Working People's Deputies of the Autonomous Region is the organ of state power of the Autonomous Region.

Art. 74. The Soviet of Working People's Deputies of the Autonomous Region is elected by the citizens of the Autonomous Region for a term of two years on the basis determined by the Constitution of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 75. The executive and administrative organ of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies of the Autonomous Region is the Executive Committee elected by it.

Art. 76. The Soviet of Working People's Deputies of each Autonomous Region presents to the Supreme Soviet, for confirmation, a "Statute of the Autonomous Region", which takes into account the national peculiarities of the Autonomous Region.

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From its very inception the Russian state was a military Soci-
ety. The military campaigns and territorial expansion were needed in this society to provide land to pay for the services of a class of military nobility whose chief occupation was state service and warfare, not land cultivation. War gave the Czar an opportunity to distribute land grants, to bestow ranks and offices and to win the support of the nobility. At the same time warfare offered an opportunity for the nobles to exert more personal power, to release their destructive urges, and to compensate for indignities and humiliations to which they were constantly exposed on the part of superiors in rank and office. Thus, by engaging these people in constant warfare the Czars directed their aggressive impulses against the enemy instead of against the ruler. The wars were not only a means of occupying a potentially restless and turbulent military class, but they were necessary to enhance the Czar's prestige, to solidify his rule, and to impress his subjects with the idea of his might and invincibility.

In such circumstances, prolonged and costly wars were to be avoided. The military nobility, whose loyalty to the Czar was conditioned upon his power and favors, could not be completely depended upon to remain loyal to the Czar under adverse conditions or in defeat. Therefore, in military campaigns the emphasis had to be put on numerical superiority over the enemy. Another way of fighting the enemies was to frighten them into retreat by sudden and unexpected attacks from ambush combined with wild sounds of the drums, trumpets and shouting, in Mongol fashion. Soldiers and officers were ready to flee if the enemy showed considerable resistance. Their preference was fighting from a distance, or from a place of advantage from where they could annoy the enemy, but hurt themselves least.[16] Hence their most common way of taking cities and fortresses was by a siege, in the course of which they would force the population to surrender by means of mass starvation, or by provoking internal dissensions and treachery.[17] Small, weak and unprotected adversaries would be threatened into submission by "psychological warfare" methods without even resorting to an open war.[18]

In earlier days, the means employed to keep conquered people in submission were the same as those practiced toward Russian

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subjects: coercion and dependency. One such method was to massacre a large part of the population, to loot the conquered territories, and to leave those that remained alive in abject misery. The plunder of the conquered peoples sometimes went to such extremes that they were exposed to prolonged famines and food had to be brought from Moscow to save the remaining populace from starving to death.

When a non-Russian territory had been brought to impotence by such means the Muscovite rulers would settle the Russian people among the natives, dividing the territory into a number of administrative units. The next step was to appoint persons who were strangers to those places to govern them. Following the Mongol pattern, these governors were changed often and never allowed to stay long enough to become friendly with the natives and to develop a genuine local power of their own. As a rule, in one and the same place two personages would be appointed, one of higher nobility to hold the office in name, and the other of lower nobility to control the former. Moreover, special overseers and watchdogs were periodically sent directly from Moscow to spy and check on both.[19]

This system of checking on persons who held high offices was practiced also in the army where large army units were headed by persons of the old high nobility, who were not trusted. To these nominal commanders, officers of lesser nobility would be appointed as deputy commanders. It was often these "political commissars" who had the real power.[20]

Just as in the tribes and states of the steppes the conquered people were kept in subjugation also by fomenting continual dissension between various classes and within each class of the population. The Czar at the same time relied on the numerical strength and loyalty of his personal guards and selected garrisons which were strategically distributed throughout the conquered country. The conquered people, brought thus by the conqueror to helplessness, fell to their knees and begged their overlords for mercy.

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642 Art. 15. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic reserves the right freely to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Art. 16. The territory of the Russian SFSR may not be altered without its consent.

[701] Art. 16a. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic has its own Republican military formations.

[649] Art. 16b. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them.

[670] Art. 17. The laws of the USSR are binding within the territory of the Russian SFSR.

[641] Art. 18. Every citizen of the Russian SFSR is a citizen of the USSR.

Citizens of all other Union Republics enjoy on the territory of the Russian SFSR equal rights with citizens of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 19. The jurisdiction of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, embraces:

a) Adoption of the Constitution of the Russian SFSR and control over its observance;

b) Confirmation of the Constitutions of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics;

c) Submission of the formation of new territories and regions and also of new Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for confirmation.

d) Establishment of boundaries, and of the division into districts, of Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics and of Autonomous Regions;

e) Establishment of the boundaries, and of the division into districts, of regions and territories;

f) Legislation of the Russian SFSR;

g) Maintenance of public order and safeguarding the rights of citizens;

h) Approval of the national-economic plan of the Russian SFSR;

i) Approval of the state budget of the Russian SFSR and of the report on its fulfilment;

j) Determination of state and local taxes, imposts and non-tax revenues in conformity with the laws of the USSR;

k) Direction of the fulfilment of budgets of Autonomous Republics and of local budgets of territories and regions;

l) Direction of insurance and savings;

m) Administration of the banks, industrial, agricultural and trading enterprises and organisations subordinate to the Republic, as well as direction of local industry;

n) Control and superintendence of the condition and administration of enterprises subordinate to the Union;

o) Establishment of the procedure governing the use of land, mineral wealth, forests and waters;

p) Direction of dwelling houses and the municipal economy, dwelling house construction and the modernisation of cities and other inhabited places; road building; direction of local transport and communications;

[Constitution as of 1949]

Chapter XI. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

● 641 Art. 122. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to work, that is, are guaranteed the right to employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment.

Art. 123. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to rest and leisure.

[646] The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the fixing of the working day for factory and office workers at eight hours and the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in workshops where conditions of work are exceptionally arduous; by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers; and by the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest-homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

[857] Art. 124. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at State expense, free medical service for the working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

[871] Art. 125. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal compulsory elementary education; by free education up to and including the seventh grade; by a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who excel in their studies; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language; and by the organization in the factories, State farms and machine and tractor stations and collective farms of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

[862] Art. 126. Women in the Russian SFSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured to women by granting them an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education and by State protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

[863] Art. 127. Equality of rights of citizens of the Russian SFSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality and also any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness, hatred and contempt - are punishable by law.

[Constitution as of 1949]

641 Art. 128. In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the Russian SFSR is separated from the state and the school from the church.
[659] Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens.

Art. 129. In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the Russian SFSR are guaranteed by law:

(a) Freedom of speech;
(b) Freedom of the press;
(c) Freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings;
(d) Freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

These civil rights are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

[575] Art. 130. In conformity with the interests of the working people and in order to develop the organizational initiative and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the Russian SFSR are ensured the right to unite in public organizations -- trade unions, co-operative associations, youth organizations, sport and defence organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies; and the most active and politically conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people unite in the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and State.

[694] Art. 131. Citizens of the Russian SFSR are guaranteed inviolability of the person. No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of a court or with the sanction of a procurator.

Art. 132. The inviolability of the homes of citizens and privacy of correspondence are protected by law.

Art. 133. The Russian SFSR affords the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the working people, or for their scientific activities, or for their struggle for national liberation.

Art. 134. It is the duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR to abide by the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, to observe the laws, to maintain labour discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of socialist intercourse.

[685] Art. 135. It is the duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR to safeguard and strengthen public socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation
421 of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the country, as the source of the prosperity and culture of all the working people.

Persons committing offences against public socialist property are enemies of the people.

Art. 136. Universal military service is law.

Military service in the ranks of the armed forces of the USSR is an honourable duty of the citizens of the Russian SFSR.

[Constitution as of 1949]

Art. 137. To defend the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR. Treason to the country — violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the State, espionage — is punishable with all the severity of the law and is the most heinous of crime.

Chapter XII. The Electoral System

Art. 138. Elections of deputies to all Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies, Supreme Soviets of Autonomous Republics, Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions, Soviets of Working People's Deputies of National and administrative Areas, districts, cities and rural localities (stanitsas, villages, hamlets and auls) are chosen by the electors on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Art. 139. Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the Russian SFSR who have reached the age of 18, irrespective of race, or nationality, sex, religion, educational or residential qualifications, social origin, property status or past activities, have the right to vote in the election of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of insane persons and persons who have been convicted by a court of law and whose sentences include deprivation of electoral rights.

Every citizen of the Russian SFSR who has reached the age of 21, irrespective of race, or nationality, sex, religion, educational or residential qualifications, social origin, property status or past activities may be elected as a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 140. Elections of deputies are equal: each citizen has one vote; all citizens participate in elections on an equal footing.

Art. 141. Women have the right to elect and to be elected on equal terms with men.

Art. 142. Citizens serving in the ranks of the Armed Forces of the USSR have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

Art. 143. Elections of deputies are direct: all Soviets of Working People's Deputies from the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of villages and cities to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, inclusive, are elected by the citizens by direct vote.

Art. 144. Voting at elections of deputies is secret.

Art. 145. Elections to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Russian SFSR are held by election districts on the following basis:

in elections to territorial and regional Soviets - one deputy for every 1,500 to 60,000 of its population, depending upon the size of the territory or region;

in elections to the regional Soviets of Autonomous Regions - one deputy for every 1,500 to 3,500 of its population, depending upon the size of the Autonomous Region;

in elections to Area Soviets of National Areas - one deputy for every 300 to 5,000 of its population, depending upon the size of the National Area;

in elections to area Soviets of administrative areas - one deputy for every 500 to 10,000 of its population, depending upon the size of the administrative area;

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Soviet social and political structure. The ruling Party which has to remain as an organization of militant conspirators in order to perpetuate itself in power, must also rely for the recruitment of its cadres to a large extent on calculating "careerists" and other self-seekers, who identify themselves not with their group and their society but with the holders of power. The main concern of these people is to rise in the Party and State hierarchy. In their jockeying and struggle for positions and favors, these power-oriented people introduce into the Party and into the government an atmosphere of subservience and ruthlessness, rivalry and intrigue, each seeking to rise on the cadavers of his associates.

Just as in the society of steppe warriors, such a ruling group of power-seekers who are not bound by deep moral bonds or ties of ideological loyalty can be kept together as long as the opportunities for self-aggrandizement exist, or as long as there is a common threat to their positions. Hence a cult of hatred of internal and external "enemies," political expansion, conspiracy on a world scale and planned international tension—short of all-out warfare—have become conditions of survival of Bolshevik power.

This situation forces the Bolsheviks to preoccupy themselves with the problems of security, of defense, and of extension of their political power; it prompts them to subordinate the economic production and the intellectual endeavors to these primary needs of their political survival. Such conditions, in turn, make it difficult to satisfy the demands of the masses for acceptance and for a better and more secure life—a situation that tends to deter the subjects from identifying themselves with the rulers and with the State. And it is this aggravating antithesis between the longings of the multitudes and the power-drive of a ruling clique that breeds social upheaval and intensifies urges for destructive aggression.

It is therefore imminent that we think in terms of planned external pressures which might be brought to bear upon the resolution of this gigantic internal struggle before it reaches the proportions of a global war.

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565 423 701 dependency of the land recipients upon the Czar, because the Czar could at any time withdraw the grant.

642 565 423 By means of the pomestie system of land tenure which prevailed in the second part of the sixteenth century the Muscovite rulers obtained both of their objectives: unlimited power and permanent war preparedness. Once the owners of the estates became dependent upon the Czar for the possession of their lands, any opposition on their part could be crushed easily, especially if the caste solidarity and the development of an *esprit de corps* among these people could be prevented. By the end of the seventeenth century the hereditary land tenure and the conditional land tenure were equalized. As a result all nobility became service nobility (*dvorianstro*), dependent upon the Czar for their lands. All therefore became *holopy,* the slaves of the supreme *gosudar* (master). Neither type of land holder could alienate his land either by sale, exchange, or any other process. The principle was that "He who owned land should serve the Czar."

178 642 565 Thus, by the end of the seventeenth century, by making the nobility economically dependent and having the support of the Church, the Muscovite Czars were enabled to eliminate all potential opposition to their rule and to perpetuate their despotic power. After the nobility was subdued and regimented, the other classes, including the clergy, followed suit. By the end of the seventeenth century the slaves and free land tenants were equalized and bound to the land and burghers were bound to their [486] *posads*. It was prohibited for any person to move from one town or borough to another without special permit. There could be a penalty of death for such flight or desertion.

By this time, therefore, all persons were bound to their status. A rigid caste system was established for the purpose of securing for the Czar permanent and controllable bodies of people whose function was either to pay cess or to render military and state service. The whole state was regimented and militarized for the [641] purpose of the Czar's aggrandizement, defense of the realm and military campaigns; each person had one duty only—to serve the Czar and the country. The whole society was geared to increase the revenues and the military might of the Czardom.

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of the Czar, they became increasingly rank-conscious, domineering and abusive toward all lower in rank or under their power.[12]

Such a ruling class, with its open misrule and arbitrariness, could not inspire the subjected classes with confidence and respect. The lack of social and political security was manifested in want of initiative, in disinterest in productive activities, in loose morals, in hazard games, in a low value of human life, and in a general lack of trust.[13]

On the other hand, perhaps as a reaction to these conditions of insecurity and of social disorganization, there was an urge of complete renunciation of the world and its strife, an urge to detach oneself from the group, a tendency to isolate oneself completely from human society and seek personal consolation and personal salvation in religion. This trend of social withdrawal and self-oriented feelings brought about a great development of hermitism and of monastic life. Many of these people, completely detached from human society and preoccupied exclusively with their own self, sought peace and communion with God in lonely, remote depths of forests, in the solitude of the wilds and deserts. Here "far removed from men" they spent their lives in prayer, fasting and self-maceration.

At the same time the masses of the people who lived in great misery and who were exposed to arbitrariness, exploitation, and other forms of oppression on the part of the mighty, sought consolation and hope in supernatural forces. Beliefs in miraculous powers of wonder-working icons and in life-giving properties of the Cross were taking deep roots. On all sides sprang up prophecies and apparitions. Saint men and prophets, often mentally unbalanced, would appear in the streets and openly voice their protest against the Czar and his government.[14]

These were the only signs of an open opposition to the existing system that was becoming increasingly unbearable. Such "idiots" were considered saintly by the people not only because of their strange behavior and their ability to endure extremes of hardship, but also for their unheard of courage to speak openly against the Czar:

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was invested with the most extensive powers and was given as its special mission the task of looking after the safety of the state and overseeing the doings of all departments, of all public functionaries, and of all people. The security police was an omnipotent and all-powerful body before whom all subjects were considered guilty unless they proved the contrary. This institution—developed in the course of centuries—became of paramount importance to its rulers. It became one of the most essential wheels of the government and one of the chief cares of the ruling class.[16]

III

Hierarchical relations of strict superordination and subordination in the military and bureaucratic ranks might foster feelings of identification with the mighty and the powerful. It is on such grounds that imperialistic nationalism and ideas of national superiority and grandeur thrive. And when state is fused with the Church in a system of theocratic militarism then nationalism might acquire also the aspects of religious fanaticism.

Expansion, greatness of the state, ideas of grandeur and Messianic ideas of world redemption or world domination might provide also compensation for humiliations, self-abasement, feelings of inferiority and unworthiness and other frustrations which are fostered in a system of abusive domineering-subservience relationships. As a result love of show, display of military might and need for conquests preoccupied the ruling strata of post-Petrine Russia as much as those of the Muscovite state. The Czar's court, the nobility, the military, the bureaucracy, the Church, the cities and the villages tended to display a grandeur that was in sharp contrast with the poverty of the country.[17]

This tendency toward exhibitionism and ideas of greatness was manifested also in the glorification of Russia, and the belief in the sacredness of its exalted mission in the world. Such attitudes and feelings which were rooted in the rigidly hierarchical military and bureaucratic structure were supported also by the Third Rome traditions of the Russian Church according to which Providence itself had bestowed upon Russia's rulers the role of the redeemers of mankind. According to these traditions and teachings Russia was a God-chosen country, the only country

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sible for the whole amount of the tributes and taxes assessed. It was, therefore, in the interest of this land tax commune to favor concentration of power in the hands of the household head and to support his strictness in rule so that each household might contribute at the end of the fiscal year its share of the common tax assessment. With the lack of such a system of control, the taxes of the defaulters might fall on other members of the village community.

To meet the obligations to the tax commune it was necessary for each household to have sufficient manpower and all the farm equipment it needed. Household partition, which implied dispersal of manpower, need for new equipment, and increased taxation, was therefore frowned upon. Loitering or prolonged absence from the community also had to be discouraged. Early marriages, joint households, and rigid supervision by the elders were fostered. In addition, internal household conflicts provoked by forced regimentation and intensified because of lack of privacy, crowded quarters, insufficient food and clothing increased the need for autocratic rule:

> All in the household well know and have learned by experience that in the interest of the well-being of the household it is absolutely necessary that all obey one elder, who has knowledge and experience about the household and upon whom would depend all matters of husbandry.[4]

The landed nobility and the land-owning Church also supported the absolute power of the bolshak and disapproved of household partitions on their estates. The estate owners were bound to furnish the timber and other materials for the construction of new izbas in case of the division of an old household. They also had to provide the new households with farm equipment, all of which was a burden because it implied additional expense for the landlords. At the same time the government, which was constantly engaged in warfare and was increasingly in need of new recruits, found it more expedient to get these from large households so that the tilling of the soil would not suffer and the tax-paying powers would not decrease while military campaigns were taking place. Therefore, all the authori-

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ties—the state, the Church, the landlords, and the village tax commune—joined hands in backing the collective household system and the power of its head elder.

II

In this manner, under the pressure of circumstances, the *bolshaya* system of jointly ruled community household was gradually giving way to the *otsovskaya* system, that is, the patriarchal family in which the power-oriented steppe traditions tended to take precedence over the Old-Slavonic egalitarianism. Patriarchal traits prevailed especially in the urban strata. The father became absolute master as well as the exclusive owner of the family property in the otsovskaya system. As a result of this change in household structure all family members became economically and personally dependent upon the father; and as long as his power was supported by the state and the Church, they were expected to submit unconditionally to his will; there was no appeal against his arbitrariness, favoritism, and even misbehavior.

As a result of such a development the steppe traditions of life and death power of the father over his wife and children, the relationship of absolute dominance and complete subordination tended to be reinforced and perpetuated. The Church was particularly instrumental in this matter. Under the influence of the Church the father was likened, in the popular mind, to the Almighty. "As God is to the people, so is a father to his children" (*Kak Bog do lyudey, tak otets do detey*),[5] the people would say.

The father had at his disposal a number of ways to impose his will. Owing to the Church teachings, one of the main paternal sanctions consisted of invoking God's wrath This was done by means of malediction or withdrawal of blessing. Parental curse, as well as lack of parental blessing, was certain to bring great misfortune to the disobedient child (*Lisheniem otsovskogo blagoslovenia shchitaetsa chelovekom propashchim.*)[6] The emphasis on need of parental blessing and fear of disastrous consequences of parental curse is stressed in many Great-Russian folk customs and in their folk sayings, folk songs, and folk tales.[7]

Another instrument at the disposal of the father in imposing

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lead the others. Russia was therefore predestined to fulfill this world mission. Hence the Pan-Slavs looked to Moscow, the ancient Russian capital, not the Westernized "City of Peter" (Petersburg) as the heart of Russia[17] and of mankind of the future—the Third Rome.

15
REVOLT OF THE RAZNOCHINTSY INTELLIGENTSIA (NIHILISM AND ANARCHISM)

I

BY THE second part of the nineteenth century, new changes were taking place in the economic relations as well as in the political and class structure of the Czardom. First of all, the process of disintegration of the old order under the impact of the industrialization and bureaucratization was rapidly coming to an end. Serfdom was abolished and with it there came the disastrous ruin of manorial estates which were not prepared to cope with the difficulties of a money and market economy. The result was that the number of impoverished and pauperized gentry was greatly increased.

At the same time the new laws tended to place emphasis on property. Thus, for instance, in the local assemblies of the noblemen the elective franchise was granted only to noblemen possessing a certain amount of land or a certain value of industrial establishment. This difference in civil rights according to the amount of property introduced a sharp cleavage into the gentry class. Earlier all dvorianstvo and all chinovnichestvo were considered equal in rights and had at least theoretically an equal chance to rise in power or to win the favor of the Czar. But now the new laws disfranchised and declassed a large part of the gentry. Similar laws favored the richer class among the merchants which meant that even in municipal affairs birth and education decreased in value in comparison with wealth.[1]

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668 647 701 554 In a similar manner revolt was brewing in the bureaucracy and the armed forces. In a system which was founded on the principles of absolute dominance, subservience and unconditional submission, it is to be expected that the civil service employees as well as many officers would be often exposed to caprice, arbitrariness and wrong doings on the part of their superiors. These, too, were left without possibility of redress as were the clergymen. Strong sense of rank and social distance were as marked in these strata as among the clergy.

871 565 The lay schools[1] were not much different in strictness and discipline from the priests' seminaries, and students in these schools were often as ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and as exposed to the rod and other degrading treatment. The student's parents, who were often impoverished gentry, petty chinovniks, or small traders with meager incomes and big families, were not always able to support their children throughout long years of schooling. At the same time in an economically and technologically [555] undeveloped society with strong traditions of service nobility, there was nothing that young people from such families could do but to enroll at a university or a military academy in order to obtain government office, or to engage in free learned professions. In Russian society of those days these were the only possibilities of obtaining positions of some prestige. Many of these students from impoverished strata had therefore to depend upon public or private munificence to finish their studies. Some of them became police informers to secure a meager income and to finish schooling. Many had to drop out of school because of lack of financial resources.

871 668 All Russian schools, therefore, on the middle as well as on the university level, became centers of revolt against an order which exposed them to humiliating treatment, but did not offer them opportunities in accordance with the established traditions of higher classes. Hence the higher the school, the more it was imbued with the revolutionary spirit. And the words "student" and "revolutionary" became synonymous.

517 647 641 When new laws were introduced and these ambitious and rebellious young men and women finally entered state service they found that in addition to being ill-treated and ill-paid, a

[1] [i.e. in the second half of the XIX th century -- Analyst]

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large part of them were disfranchised as well, because in municipal self-government and in district and provincial assemblies even persons holding university degrees, if they did not own a sufficient amount of property, were devoid of the right of suffrage.[4] And it was this underprivileged group of declassee nobility, of priests' sons, of former clerics, of sons and daughters of lower government employees, of unemployed professionals, of students and of former students who never had a chance to finish their studies, that became known as the *raznochintsy*.

The raznochintsy intelligentsia tended to lead a bohemian life and to engage in literary activities and journalism. But these vocations were greatly limited because of strict censorship laws. When the bar was established some raznochintsy practiced law as barristers, though they were very restricted in their activities because of traditional extra legal practices of the police. When under local self-administration (*Zemstvo*), a health, educational, and economic program for the improvement of rural areas was developed, a number of raznochintsy were employed by the Zemstvo as physicians, veterinarians, agronomists, teachers and bookkeepers. At the same time, their traditions and training, and especially their ambitions and expectations had conditioned the raznochintsy for intellectual pursuits and political leadership, not for routine administrative work or for business promotion and enterprise.

In such a situation the deeply rooted feeling of rejection which had been developed on the family level was greatly magnified.[5] Accordingly, self-centeredness, power-seeking, lack of trust, destructive aggression, as well as identification with suffering which were developed on the family level were heightened in these circumstances and found expression in ideologies which manifested extreme hostility and an urge for universal destruction. Many of these young rebels, for instance, denied all existing social institutions, conventions and restrictions, and demanded their total obliteration.

This ideology of extreme negation and destruction ("Nihilism") manifested, perhaps, the feelings of utter despair of the ambitious and self-seeking raznochintsy who felt impotent before the God-like power of the Czar and his omnipotent police.

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• • •

Why then in deeds of faith
Measures of compulsion
And all kinds of constraint?

• • •

Why then is this?[5]

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Protest against the existing conditions of abusive dominance and subservient submission and longing for acceptance on terms of anarchic equality seems to have been the driving power behind the ideologies of a number of Great-Russian religious sects, such as the *Dukhobortsy* (the spirit-wrestlers), and the *Molokane* (the milk-drinkers). Not unlike the Nihilists and the Anarchists (whose reaction was also rooted in feelings of rejection), all these sects showed a strong resentment against abusive and distant authorities. At first the religious dissenters attacked the Church authorities but then this anti-authority attitude was generalized and extended to all the authorities, including the family, the landlords, the state and the Czar.

As a result all the authorities were blamed for the existing social ills and their removal was considered necessary in order to achieve a better life. There was no need for official clergy, courts, churches, sacraments, fasts, confession, communion, or any Church rituals except simple hymn singing, these sects said. There was no need for the Czar either, they claimed. Anything that smacked of authority and power was rejected. "We behold what a spirit of impiety works and shall work to the end of the world in all holders of power," they stated.[6] In 1868, a sect decreed that anyone who prays for the existing authorities shall be excommunicated. Now all the authorities, not just the priests, were identified with the beasts! "How will you ever find grace at the hands of the Beast?" A number of these sects identified the Czar with the Anti-Christ.

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In their reaction against the suppression of the individual in the interest of those who hold power and in their strongly felt need for acceptance on terms of complete equality, the Dukhobortsy—not unlike the Nihilists—proclaimed the supremacy and the sanctity of the individual. Their demand for an anarchic acceptance was manifested in the emphasis of the

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is therefore said to be necessary as a means to completely eliminate "exploitation of man by man" and to bring about stateless and equalitarian society in the future.

In this manner any signs of opposition to the Party policies have been construed as "class struggle" and "counter-revolution" which made it possible for the self-seeking and mistrustful ruling faction of the Bolsheviks to eliminate all opposition to its rule, including the opposition within the Bolshevik Party itself. These means and justifications of self-perpetuation in power have been supported also by the contention that the counter-revolutionary schemes of the overthrown and dying classes are encouraged and fostered by foreign capitalist powers.

These imperialist states are said to tend to encircle the "only Socialist country" seeking to destroy it.[2] Contrary to the early Socialist promises that the state will tend to "wither away" after the proletariat had seized power, the Bolsheviks asserted that, after the proletarian revolution the state must become even more powerful because it must be used as a "special machine of suppresion."[3] Thus, instead of satisfying the traditional demands for acceptance in an all-human and stateless brotherhood, the Bolsheviks established relationships of absolute rule and unconditional obedience by monopolizing all social power in their hands. Each and every subject was made dependent for his life and livelihood upon the ruling faction. In this manner, planned economic regimentation, strict political conformity, control of thought and feeling, as well as police rule became intrinsic to the Soviet system of power.

In their compulsive drive to concentrate all power and all social control in their hands, the Bolsheviks dispossessed not only financial capitalists and large land owners, but even small farmers, fearing that these might eventually oppose and challenge their rule. "The medium peasantry is a self-sufficient class; the only one which, after the obliteration and expulsion of squires and capitalists, remains capable of opposing the proletariat," said Lenin.[4]

The need to regiment the peasantry, to break their group solidarity and make them completely dependent upon the government was supported also by other considerations. Owing to lack

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in that family, the new circumstances call for more leniency and more intimacy on his part toward his wife and his children. The mother at the same time, because now closer to her husband, is in no need to become over-attached to her children. Such well-balanced family relations come to closely resemble those in the Old-Slavonic family.

It is the children with such close family ties in an emotionally balanced family atmosphere that develop traits of moderation, self-control, responsibility, group orientation and humane feelings. It is in such families that patriotism, idealization of the past and longing for a more humane and more equalitarian political system are nursed.[28] In such families skepticism concerning Bolshevik mythology and opposition to Soviet system may be safely expressed. In such families also religion is cultivated or secretly practiced.[29] In such families apparently numerous anecdotes which ridicule Soviet regime circulate and are spread throughout the Soviet Union.[30] It is to break such family intimacy and solidarity which breed opposition to their regime that the Bolsheviks have shown increasing concern for the control of family relations.

But if the opposition to the Bolshevik regime centers in such families of patriots and humanists, the fate of the Soviet system might rest upon them, in the final analysis. These people might be reluctant to support a Soviet war of aggression led by careerists and fanatics, but ready to defend their Mother Country in the event of hostile aggression from the outside. However, in a war against the Soviet Union which the patriots and the humanists would interpret as a war of liberation from the oppressive, inhuman and destructive policies of Soviet rulers, they might be inclined to take the side of the invading liberators. Inasmuch as such people already find themselves at the fringes of Soviet power structure as specialists and experts in economic management and government administration, in times of crisis the shift of power to these people could easily take place.

Such a trend of development will be even more emphasized among the oppressed, but nationally-conscious minorities, than among the dominant Great-Russians. Millions of Soviet subjects who willingly gave themselves up to the German invaders and

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welcomed them as liberators in World War II, indicate such possibilities.

III

In studying personality growth in the Soviet society, one should take into account also the differences between the urban and the rural environments and the influences of those environments on interpersonal relations within the family circle. Owing to the very rapid pace of urbanization and low rate of production of consumption goods, most of the families located in the urban areas are exposed to the housing shortage and lack of home privacy. Many of these families live in community apartments in which there is only one room per family and in which a number of unrelated families share a common kitchen and toilet facilities. Family conflicts and tensions tend to be intensified in such circumstances. Lack of privacy, noisiness, and lack of sleep in crowded quarters, together with the lack of sufficient food, long hours of work and unsatisfactory conditions of work increase dissatisfactions and magnify existing family conflicts. An outlet for dissatisfactions is found then in trivial scandals and bickering, in petty squabbles, but also in violent emotional outbursts.[31]

Conditions in rural areas are somewhat different. Though virtually all peasant families live in one or at most two-room cottages, which they often share with a few heads of livestock, yet the rural family does have its own privacy. Most peasant families possess a small lot of land around the cottage, on which they raise some poultry or a pig; some might even own a cow. Though this is all very modest, yet with some labor, after the work for the kolhoz has been done, the peasant family has been able to raise some food on its own property and perhaps to sell it on the open market and then buy some clothing and other bare necessities.[32]

Compared to the situation of the city worker, the peasant, though receiving lower wages for his work, and often going in rags, perhaps does feel relatively more independent. If he is an adult with a family he is much less likely to be pushed around, though he is constantly exhorted by kolhoz officials to work more

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and harder and to produce more for Socialist Motherland. Not infrequently the brigade leaders have to use physical force to make him get up early enough to work on collective property.

Yet in spite of such unfavorable circumstances, compared to city workers, the peasant might still be in a somewhat better position in regard to security and stability, attachment to his family, to his cottage, to his small plot of land, and to his village. For this reason he has been able to put up resistance against the Party and the government.[35] It is against these scanty remnants of emotional and economic security, of personal independence, of group solidarity and resistance that the Bolshevik rulers are campaigning; it is to eradicate this psychology of group intimacy and opposition that the Party had recently attempted to resettle the farmers and move them into concentrated and urbanized surroundings; the Bolsheviks are exerting all efforts to eradicate these "residues of kulak psychology" root and branch and to make the peasants as completely helpless, insecure and subdued to the Party will as they have done with the industrial and intellectual workers.

There is a considerable disproportion in sex ratio in Soviet rural areas. Owing to great casualties in wars it is estimated that at present there are about fifteen million more women than men in the Soviet Union. And due to the increasing need of manpower to maintain huge military forces and to feed the inefficient city industries, the Soviet leaders are constantly draining both male youths and adult men from the villages in the form of military and labor drafts. They are therefore increasingly relying for agricultural work on peasant women. Hence peasant villages and peasant families tend to be composed predominantly of women.

Here too a family structure with semi-matriarchal traits, similar to the Old-Slavonic family, is being formed. Though in such circumstances the number of illegitimate children is increasing, it is quite possible that the women, especially those who are traditionally strongly attached to their family, are exerting a moderating and softening influence on the personality of the peasant child. An indication of such possible differences in the psychological atmosphere of the city and the country is given in

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

594 369 those accounts of Soviet life in which the gloomy appearance of the city populace is contrasted to the more optimistic outlook of the country folk.[34]

25
DESTRUCTIVE AGGRESSION

I

PROMPTED by extreme power-seeking and by deeply 642 rooted mistrust of their own subjects, the Bolsheviks have built a monolithic Party-state system which differs in the degree of its rigidity and power concentration from all other systems of despotism, theocracy, military dictatorship, totalitarian and police state. In those autocratic political systems not all aspects of life are regimented. A certain limited degree of freedom is left at least in some spheres of personal and of group behavior. But the main difference between these systems and the Bolshevik regime is that while the former prohibits only those activities which have a direct negative bearing upon perpetuation of the system, the latter allows only such behavior as has a direct positive bearing upon the perpetuation of the ruling faction in power.

● 641 557 In the Soviet society the ruling class is not content with mere passive acceptance of the Bolshevik rule. It demands of each subject a "positive attitude" toward the regime. In such a society there is necessarily a premium in terms of privileges and power for the activities in the fields of political organization and agitation, of vigilance and violence, as well as in the fields of labor-driving, economic management, and military preparedness, since it is in the main upon such activities that perpetuation of Bolshevism depends. In such a "prison and barracks society", it is the calculating and ambitious careerists and zealous devotees and watchdogs, specialists in conspiracy and violence who climb toward the top levels of the Soviet political and social pyramid where blind obedience, crouching servility, jockeying for positions and power, and advancing on the cadavers of one's associates become a matter of survival.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

dissenters, in the civil wars as well as in the struggle between the Czarist police and the revolutionary intelligentsia; it was even formulated as an ideology and became a credo of Anarchism.

In the Bolshevik ideology this anti-humanism is justified by representing the "enemies" as not being human beings. Just as in the folk attitudes toward enemy aliens, the oppositionists and the adversaries, actual and potential, real and imaginary, are identified in Bolshevik writings with "gnats," "insects," "reptiles," "dogs," "wild beasts," and "beasts of prey." It is by such ways of reasoning that the Soviet pedagogists have come to the assertion that indoctrination of the people with "burning hatred" of the enemy does not contradict the ideas of humanism, because, they claim, the ideas of humanism and humane feelings do not apply to beasts. In this manner even acts of cruelty toward the "enemies" are condoned and encouraged:

> Hatred of the enemies of the socialist Motherland by no means contradicts the principles of humanism, since it is devoted to the protection of the rights and liberty of the worker from the designs of beasts of prey.[26]

The need for such an appeal to extreme animosities against the adversaries is in itself an indication of instability of the Bolshevik system. The ruling faction had to resort to such a means in order to promote complete identification with and fanatical devotion to the Cause and to the Leader. Here, however, we see a noticeable difference between the Czardom and the Soviet Russia. Though the Czarist system often exhibited aspects of extreme ruthlessness, the whole ideological and intellectual development of the Czarist Russia, especially in the last century of its existence, was in the direction of increasing Westernization and humanization. This trend coincided with certain gains in the field of personal, economic, and cultural freedoms in the Czardom.

As a result terrorism and acts of violence, though widely practiced, were not openly advocated as official Czarist policy. Many moderate and conservative factions of the intelligentsia strongly denounced all acts of terror performed either by the government or under the auspices of the revolutionary intelligentsia. One

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

or death" (*povinovenie ili smert*) in their rule; thus terror has become one of the main instruments of their power.

But once self-seeking careerists and fanatical devotees, specialists in violence, conspiracy and vigilance take into their hands the reins of a society which they indoctrinate with hatred and ruthlessness, the value of human life tends to be greatly lowered. In their constant struggle for survival, fear-ridden and extremely insecure, these people are forced to adopt an attitude of expendability toward all their subjects, just as earlier the Anarchists and Terrorists considered that all their members were only capital to be freely spent in the interest of the revolution.

In such conditions the disregard for individual rights and needs, and lack of consideration and of human feeling become generalized and are applied not only in dealings with enemies, but also in relations with associates, relatives, friends, allies and subjects in general whenever the vested interests of the ruling clique are threatened. The orders and the plans must be fulfilled; the victories must be made no matter what the cost in personal freedom and dignity, human suffering and human lives, because it is these orders, plans, and victories upon which the survival and the perpetuation of the ruling faction depends. All those who are in the way must be unconditionally sacrificed. Said Stalin:

> . . . it [is] easy to be a hero or a great leader if one had to do with the people such as the Russians . . . even persons of medium courage and even cowards became heroes in Russia. Those who do not . . . are killed.[26]

This attitude of disregard and contempt for human life when the survival of the ruling class and its vested interests are in question was expressed by Stalin also in his known interview with G. B. Wells. The magnitude of convict labor establishments, the police practices, and the extent of economic and other deprivations to which the Soviet subjects are exposed are all manifestations of this frame of mind.

The low value which is placed on human life in Bolshevik ideology is especially well demonstrated in war times. The Soviet armed forces command does not assess the cost of war in terms

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

of human lives. Soviet military policies are little concerned about systematic rotation of units, facilities for recreation, short leaves and furloughs, regular correspondence with home folks, or with the development of techniques to avoid exposure of men to unnecessary risks.[27] As a result of such attitudes the toll of a Soviet division in war time might come up to 90 percent of its men.[28] Even more indifference is shown toward men who were made prisoners, since "they had surrendered and could not fight any more."[29]

IV

Destructive aggressiveness might become self-destructive unless turned outward. Hence constant internal pressure, intrinsic to Soviet power structure, for aggression against the outside world. A policy of external aggressiveness is likely to provoke external threats against which the accumulating hostilities of the subjects can be mobilized. Successful external aggression is also a convenient way to bolster the prestige of the ruling class and to solidify its rule. The policy of aggression against the outside world implies also the urgency to enhance external security should the policy of expansion provoke international complications.

Early in the development of Bolshevik rule the Communist International and the Communist parties throughout the world have been regimented and employed as instruments of this policy of external expansion, as well as a means of defense against external pressures. It was in accordance with such a trend of events that the Program of the Communist International of 1928, as well as the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International of 1935,[30] emphasized complete identification of the world proletariat with the Soviet power:

> Our road is the road of revolution of the peoples against the oppressors and exploiters. Our will is the will of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Our goal is socialism for the whole of humanity. Our main slogan is the establishment of Soviet power.[31]

In accordance with such need for outward aggression as a relief of internal destructive tensions an ideological distinction

5: American Russian Institute RF1 Great Russia RF1

642

[For the complete text of the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic of January 21, 1937, as amended through May 27, 1949, see category 116, entire source.]

113, 642 Great Russia RF1

[For a comparison of the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic of January 21, 1937, as amended through May 27, 1949, with other Constitutions of the USSR, see 70: American Russian Institute, R1 Soviet Union, category 116.]

5: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RF1 Great Russia RF1

C O N S T I T U T I O N

(Fundamental Law)

of the

RUSSIAN

SOVIET FEDERATED

SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

of January 21, 1937

As amended through May 27, 1949

Chapter I. The Social Structure

642 Art. 1. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic is a socialist State of workers and peasants.

Art. 2. The political foundation of the Russian SFSR is the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, which grew and became strong as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists and the conquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Art. 3. In the Russian SFSR all power belongs to the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

471 Art. 4. The economic foundation of the Russian SFSR is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production established as the result of the liquidation of the capitalist system of economy, the abolition of private ownership of the means and instruments of production and the elimination of the exploitation of man by man.

421 Art. 5. Socialist property in the Russian SFSR exists either in the form of State property (the possession of the whole people), or in the form of co-operative and collective farm property (the possession of collective farms or co-operative associations).

[173] Art. 6. The land, its natural deposits, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, rail, water and air transport, banks, communications, large state-organized agricultural enterprises (State farms, machine and tractor stations and the like), as well as municipal enterprises and the bulk of dwelling houses in the cities and industrial localities, are state property, that is belong to the whole people.

421 474 Art. 7. The common enterprises of collective farms and co-operative organizations with their livestock and implements, and the products of the collective farms and co-operative organizations, as well as their common buildings, constitute the common socialist property of collective farms and co-operative organizations.

In addition to its basic income from the common collective farm enterprise, [172] every household in a collective farm has for its personal use a small plot of household land and, as its personal property, a subsidiary husbandry on the plot, a dwelling house, livestock, poultry and minor agricultural implements — in accordance with the regulations of the agricultural artel.

[423] Art. 8. The land occupied by collective farms is secured to them free of charge and for an unlimited time, that is, in perpetuity.

473 Art. 9. Alongside the socialist system of economy in the Russian SFSR the law permits the private economy of individual peasants and artisans based on their own work and precluding the exploitation of the labour of others.

421 Art. 10. The right of citizens to personal ownership of their incomes from work and of their savings, of their dwelling houses and subsidiary household economy, their household furniture and utensils, articles of personal use and convenience, as well as the right of inheritance of personal property of citizens, is protected by law.

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185 471 Art. 11. The economic life of the Russian SFSR is determined and directed by the State National-Economic Plan with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily improving the material and cultural level of the working people and of consolidating the socialist independence of the country and strengthening its defensive capacity.

461 Art. 12. In the Russian SFSR work is a duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The principle applied in the Russian SFSR is that of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Chapter II. The State Structure

642 Art. 13. For the purpose of mutual assistance among the Union Republics along economic and political lines, as well as along the line of defence, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic voluntarily united with the other equal Soviet Socialist Republics, namely:

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic and
The Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic

in a federal state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Proceeding from the aforesaid, the Russian SFSR ensures to the USSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, the rights defined in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR.

Outside of the spheres set forth in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Russian SFSR exercises state authority independently, retaining its sovereign rights in full.

631 Art. 14. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic consists of the Altai, Krasnodar, Krasnoiarsk, Maritime, Stavropol and Khabarovsk Territories; the Archangel, Astrakhan, Briansk, Velikie Luki, Vladimir, Vologda, Voronezh, Gorky, Grozny, Ivanovo, Irkutsk, Kaliningrad, Kalinin, Kaluga, Kemerovo, Kirov, Kostroma, Crimean, Kuibyshev, Kurgan, Kursk, Leningrad, Molotov, Moscow, Murmansk, Novgorod, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Orel, Penza, Pskov, Rostov, Riazan, Saratov, Sakhalin, Sverdlovsk, Smolensk, Stalingrad, Tambov, Tomsk, Tula, Tiumen, Ulianovsk, Chelia-binsk, Chita, Chkalov, Yaroslav and Amur Regions; the Tatar, Bashkir, Dagestan, Buriat-Mongolian, Kabardinian, Komi, Mari, Mordovian, North Ossetian, Udmurt, Chuvash and Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics; and the Adygei, Jewish, Oirot, Tuvinian, Khakass and Cherkess Autonomous Regions.

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642 Art. 15. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic reserves the right freely to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Art. 16. The territory of the Russian SFSR may not be altered without its consent.

[701] Art. 16a. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic has its own Republican military formations.

[649] Art. 16b. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them.

[670] Art. 17. The laws of the USSR are binding within the territory of the Russian SFSR.

[641] Art. 18. Every citizen of the Russian SFSR is a citizen of the USSR.

Citizens of all other Union Republics enjoy on the territory of the Russian SFSR equal rights with citizens of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 19. The jurisdiction of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, embraces:

a) Adoption of the Constitution of the Russian SFSR and control over its observance;

b) Confirmation of the Constitutions of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics;

c) Submission of the formation of new territories and regions and also of new Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for confirmation.

d) Establishment of boundaries, and of the division into districts, of Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics and of Autonomous Regions;

e) Establishment of the boundaries, and of the division into districts, of regions and territories;

f) Legislation of the Russian SFSR;

g) Maintenance of public order and safeguarding the rights of citizens;

h) Approval of the national-economic plan of the Russian SFSR;

i) Approval of the state budget of the Russian SFSR and of the report on its fulfilment;

j) Determination of state and local taxes, imposts and non-tax revenues in conformity with the laws of the USSR;

k) Direction of the fulfilment of budgets of Autonomous Republics and of local budgets of territories and regions;

l) Direction of insurance and savings;

m) Administration of the banks, industrial, agricultural and trading enterprises and organizations subordinate to the Republic, as well as direction of local industry;

n) Control and superintendence of the condition and administration of enterprises subordinate to the Union;

o) Establishment of the procedure governing the use of land, mineral wealth, forests and waters;

p) Direction of dwelling houses and the municipal economy, dwelling house construction and the modernization of cities and other inhabited places; road building; direction of local transport and communications;

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q) Labour legislation;
r) Legislation concerning marriage and the family;
s) Direction of public health;
t) Direction of social maintenance;
u) Direction of elementary, secondary and higher education;
v) Direction of the cultural, educational and scientific organizations and institutions of the Russian SFSR, and administration of the cultural, educational and scientific organizations and institutions of all-Republican importance;
w) Direction and organization of physical culture and sports;
x) Organization of the judicial organs of the Russian SFSR;
y) Granting the rights of citizenship of the Russian SFSR;
z) Amnesty and pardon of citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Russian SFSR;
aa) Establishment of the representation of the Russian SFSR in international relations;
bb) Organization of the military formations of the Russian SFSR.

635 Art. 20. Every Autonomous Republic has its Constitution which takes into account its peculiar features and is constructed in full agreement with the Constitutions of the Russian SFSR and of the USSR.

Art. 21. The laws of the Russian SFSR have the same force within the territory of every Autonomous Republic. In the event of discrepancy between the law of the Autonomous Republic and a law of the Russian SFSR, the law of the Russian SFSR prevails.

Chapter III. The Higher Organs of State Power of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

646 Art. 22. The highest organ of state power in the Russian SFSR is the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

[642] Art. 23. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR exercises all rights vested in the Russian SFSR in accordance with Articles 13 and 19[1] of the Constitution of the Russian SFSR, insofar as they do not, by virtue of the Constitution, come within the jurisdiction of organs of the Russian SFSR that are accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, that is, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR, and the Ministries of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 24. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is the sole legislative organ of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 25. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is elected for a term of four years by the citizens of the Russian SFSR voting by election districts on the basis of one deputy for every 150,000 of the population.

Art. 26. A law is considered adopted if passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR by a simple majority vote.

Art. 27. Laws passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR are published over the signatures of the President and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 28. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects a Chairman of the Supreme Soviet and eight Vice-Chairmen.

1 [Cf. p.p. 2, 3-4--Analyst]

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645 Art. 53. Each Republican Ministry of the Russian SFSR directs the branch of state administration entrusted to it and is directly subordinate to the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

[642] Art. 54. The following Ministries of the Russian SFSR are Union-Republican Ministries of the Russian SFSR:

The Ministry of Internal Affairs
The Ministry of State Control
The Ministry of State Security
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs
The Ministry of the Armed Forces
The Ministry of Cinematography
The Ministry of Light Industry
The Ministry of Forestry
The Ministry of the Timber and Paper Industry
The Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry
The Ministry of the Building Materials Industry
The Ministry of Public Health
The Ministry of the Fish Industry
The Ministry of the Food Industry
The Ministry of State Farms
The Ministry of Agriculture
The Ministry of Trade
The Ministry of Finance
The Ministry of Justice.

Art. 55. The following Ministries of the Russian SFSR are Republican Ministries:

The Ministry of the Housing Construction Industry
The Ministry of Motor Transport
The Ministry of the Municipal Economy
The Ministry of Local Industry
The Ministry of the Local Fuel Industry
The Ministry of Education
The Ministry of Social Maintenance.

Chapter V. The Higher Organs of State Power of Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics

635 Art. 56. The highest organ of state power in an Autonomous Republic is the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Art. 57. The Supreme Soviet of an Autonomous Republic is elected for a term of four years by the citizens of the Republic on the basis prescribed by the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic.

Art. 58. The Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic is the sole legislative organ of the Autonomous SSR.

Art. 59. The Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic:

a) adopts the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic and proposes it to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for confirmation;

b) determines the division of the Autonomous Republic into districts and the boundaries of districts and towns and proposes them to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for confirmation;

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666 in elections to district Soviets - one deputy for every 1,000 of its population; a district with a population below 25,000 elects 25 deputies; a district with a population above 60,000 elects no more than 60 deputies;

In elections to city Soviets or city district Soviets - one deputy for every 350 to 1,000 of the population depending upon the size of the city; in a city or city district whose population does not exceed 12,000 35 deputies are elected;

In elections to the city Soviets of Moscow and Leningrad - one deputy for every 3,000 of their population;

elections to village and settlement Soviets - one deputy for every 100 of the population; rural localities (stanitsas, hamlets, auls) and settlements with a population below 1,000 elect 9 deputies; those whose population exceeds 2,500 - no more than 25 deputies.

The basis of representation for each Soviet of Working People's Deputies of territory, region, Autonomous Region, National and administrative Area, district, city, village and settlement is fixed in the Ordinance concerning Elections to Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Territories, Regions, Areas, Districts, Cities, Villages and Settlements of the Russian SFSR within the range of the bases of representation indicated in the present article.

Art. 146. Candidates for elections are nominated according to electoral districts.

The right to nominate candidates is secured to public organizations and societies of the working people: Communist Party organizations, trade unions, co-operatives, youth organizations and cultural societies.

Art. 147. It is the duty of every deputy to report to his electors on his work and on the work of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies, and he is liable to be recalled at any time upon decision of the majority of the electors in the manner established by law.

Chapter XIII. Arms, Flag, Capital

196 Art. 148. The arms of the Russian SFSR are a sickle and hammer of gold placed crosswise, handles down, against a red background in the rays of the sun and surrounded by ears of grain, with the inscriptions "RSFSR" and "Workers of All Countries, Unite!"

Art. 149. The state flag of the Russian SFSR is of red cloth with a gold sickle and hammer and the gold letters "RSFSR" placed in the upper corner near the staff.

Art. 150. The capital of the Russian SFSR is the city of Moscow.

Chapter XIV. Procedure for Amending the Constitution

642 Art. 151. The Constitution of the Russian SFSR may be amended only by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the Supreme Soviet.

000 This translation was made from a Russian text, with amendments through March 13, 1948, published by the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR in 1948. Additional amendments were incorporated from texts published in Izvestia through May 27, 1949.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

tion has provided moral and ideological foundations for the formation and the expansion of a globally oriented empire, while at the same time, it has also reinforced some of the elements in the structure of the Russian State which have been responsible for its explosiveness and instability.

In the Byzantine politico-religious system, the Church was not only a religious institution but also a political organization, and an arm of the political power. Byzantium therefore undertook to Christianize the Russian lands as a means of political penetration. Following Byzantine Church traditions and practices, the dominant native speech was adopted for Church services. Christianization therefore fostered also Slavization of these regions. Moreover, the Church of Byzantium carried with it the Byzantine concept of unity of Church and State, as well as that of a god-like monarchial power, with the mission to create a Universal Christian Empire.

The Eastern Church also sanctioned unlimited paternal authority and promoted protection-dependency relationships both on politico-administrative and on family levels. This Church sponsored unconditional obedience, attitudes of reverence and gratitude, and feelings of humility and self-effacement, fear and awe in the relations of man to his God, his Prince and his Father. According to the precepts of this Church-State philosophy, the authorities were held responsible for the well-being as well as for the failures and sins of their dependents. Thus the Byzantine Church was preparing psychological and ideological grounds for a politico-religious integration of Russian lands in a system of military theocracy, which became characterized by its Messianic ideology of world redemption and by its dominance-submission and protection-dependency relationships. But such a political system was in sharp conflict with the anarchic view of life and the equalitarian philosophy of family and community relations held by large sections of the population in that area.

This basic internal clash of ideologies in Russian society was intensified in the course of the following centuries when the pressure of the steppe nomads and of the expanding Western empires favored increased militarization, economic regimentation and centralization of total power in the hands of an auto-

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175 642 cratic Czar. By the time of Ivan the Terrible, the power of the independent landed aristocracy was suppressed, and the autocratic power rested now on a service nobility who were given lands in conditional possession depending upon their service and their loyalty to the Czar. These people therefore found themselves in a slave-like dependency upon the ruler who was likened to God, a situation that promoted political and social regimentation and fostered domineering-subservience relationships, thus intensifying the existing incompatibilities between the upper and lower strata of the Czardom.

[157] Domineering-subservience relationships are likely to breed humiliating experiences of self-abasement and feelings of wounded self-esteem which in turn might foster intense hostilities as well as compensatory ideas of grandeur. Thus in new circumstances, both self-seeking and power-orientation were reinforced in the upper strata, and manifested themselves in the oppressive rule of the nobility, in their extreme factionalism, and in their ruthless struggle for personal power and for the favors of the Czar.

[566] This trend of events, by the second part of the sixteenth century, led to establishment of serfdom and to direct interference of the service nobility and of the government in the communal and family relations of the peasantry. From this time on, the Church, the State and the landlords joined hands in strengthening the power of the Father and of the village elders and sponsoring in the peasant family and in the village community, dominance-submission relationships, absolute power and dependence, blind obedience and self-abnegation.

181 [579] The inevitable clash of this new power-oriented social philosophy with the old stateless and equalitarian values, was reflected in intense family and community tensions and in mass restlessness. Thus a weakening of power and of controls on any level—family, local, or national—opened the way to urges of destructive aggression and revolt against all the holders of power: the fathers, the village elders, the landlords, the Church and the Czar. Outbreaks of such extreme enmity were manifested in frequent communal riots, in mass vagrancy, in bloody revolutionary uprisings, and in widespread dissent from the official

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517 668 to bring about an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men on a global scale. Seeking to realize these bi-polar objectives, the Bolsheviks have inherited and reinforced the basic contradictions and conflicts between the aspirations of the rulers and those of the subjects which have throughout centuries undermined the stability of Czardom.

668 661 In their effort to perpetuate themselves in power, the Bolsheviks had to remain organized as a ruling elite of professional conspirators and to reinforce dominance-submission relationships in a system of total power concentrated in their hands. To maintain such a political rule, the Bolsheviks had to introduce a system of total dependence of all upon the holders of power and thus to reinforce the attitudes of self-effacement. They also established a planned system of social differentiation and isolation to prevent social intimacy and group solidarity and hence the potentiality of organized opposition to their rule.

668 771 In such conditions, feelings of rejection and traditional longings for an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men have been greatly strengthened among the subjects. It is this situation that points out the fundamental weakness of the Soviet system. To counteract the effects of this basic vulnerability of their regime, the Bolsheviks have endeavored to deify the Soviet rulers, have resorted to the damnation and anathema of the Western world, and have embarked on a propaganda campaign for a Messianic redemption of all suffering and exploited humanity. In this manner, the Bolsheviks have been able to appeal to supra-ethnical and supra-personal loyalties and to all-human longings, not unlike a universal church.

[208] The Bolsheviks have also endeavored to build up the morale of their subjects by means of prestige projects, by mythical undertakings, by mass pageantry, mass unanimous voting and large scale militarization. All these devices are conceived as ways to provoke emotional identification of the masses with the Soviet State and to find in this identification a substitute for their yearnings for a community of free and equal men.

642 665 Total dominance and total submission relationships which have to be maintained to perpetuate this conspiratorial system of power have introduced other basic strains and stresses in the

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Soviet social and political structure. The ruling Party which has to remain as an organization of militant conspirators in order to perpetuate itself in power, must also rely for the recruitment of its cadres to a large extent on calculating "careerists" and other self-seekers, who identify themselves not with their group and their society but with the holders of power. The main concern of these people is to rise in the Party and State hierarchy. In their jockeying and struggle for positions and favors, these power-oriented people introduce into the Party and into the government an atmosphere of subservience and ruthlessness, rivalry and intrigue, each seeking to rise on the cadavers of his associates.

Just as in the society of steppe warriors, such a ruling group of power-seekers who are not bound by deep moral bonds or ties of ideological loyalty can be kept together as long as the opportunities for self-aggrandizement exist, or as long as there is a common threat to their positions. Hence a cult of hatred of internal and external "enemies," political expansion, conspiracy on a world scale and planned international tension—short of all-out warfare—have become conditions of survival of Bolshevik power.

This situation forces the Bolsheviks to preoccupy themselves with the problems of security, of defense, and of extension of their political power; it prompts them to subordinate the economic production and the intellectual endeavors to these primary needs of their political survival. Such conditions, in turn, make it difficult to satisfy the demands of the masses for acceptance and for a better and more secure life—a situation that tends to deter the subjects from identifying themselves with the rulers and with the State. And it is this aggravating antithesis between the longings of the multitudes and the power-drive of a ruling clique that breeds social upheaval and intensifies urges for destructive aggression.

It is therefore imminent that we think in terms of planned external pressures which might be brought to bear upon the resolution of this gigantic internal struggle before it reaches the proportions of a global war.

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II

Following Byzantine traditions and being entirely dependent upon and identified with the dominant political power, the Russian Orthodox clergy supported the autocratic reign of Muscovite rulers by means of an apotheosis of the Czar. According to this theocratic ideology the role of the Church was to be the loyal ally and helper of the Czar who derived his authority directly from God. The Czar's judgment could be overruled by no prelate. In his effort, common with that of the Church to establish a divine order on the whole earth, the Czar had to be unconditionally supported.[6]

Native Russian, Byzantine and Turco-Mongol institutions and concepts were blended in this system of Russian imperial theocracy. According to the Mongol idea of imperial power the emperor was the owner of the body and of the property of each one of his subjects. He was, however, disinterested in their souls and conscience. Thus, as far as religious beliefs were concerned, the Mongol rulers showed a great deal of tolerance; being interested mainly in collecting the tributes and not in governing they did not look at religion and clergy as allies in ruling. The shamans among the Ural-Altaic peoples were not organized as a priestly class and the Mongol emperor, even after he had accepted Islam, did not see any potential threat to his imperial power in any religion. In that system of power there was a complete separation of religion and politics.

In Byzantium, on the other hand, the Church was a powerful and well-organized force with imperial ambitions. But the Church was subdued to the imperial and personal interests of the lay ruler. The Church often succeeded, however, in using the imperial power for its own ends. At the same time the Byzantine Emperor in legal theory did not rule in his own right, but derived his authority from the people. In legal theory, he was an elected monarch and was subjected to the supreme rule of law, even if the law emanated from him. There was thus in Byzantium a well established set of laws which bound equally the Emperor and his subjects and guaranteed also certain rights to the subjects.

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177 642 The ideology of Moscow imperial theocracy was rooted in the power-centered traditions of Russian princes, reinforced by a fusion of Mongol and Byzantine political ideas and practices. As among the Mongols, the Czar was considered to be the supreme owner of the body and of the property of his subjects, but as among the Byzantines he was also concerned with their souls. At the same time, according to the Muscovite political philosophy, the Czar as owner of his subjects derived his authority not from the people, as in Byzantium, but directly and exclusively from God.[7] Therefore, the Czar alone possessed rights, his subjects only duties.

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In the Muscovite system of theocratical power not only was the Czar's freedom unlimited by any laws, but his personal will was not limited by any recognized human rights either. The Czar was considered to be limited only by his duty to God and by Divine law. The Czar, however, was himself the sole judge of his duty to God. He himself was the sole interpreter of Divine Law in regard to temporal affairs. Even the head of the Church could only supplicate but not advise him in these matters. The Czar was therefore at liberty to use the law capriciously as an instrument of his personal power, or to break the law at his convenience. And so he often did.[8]

643 565 Supported by the imperial ambitions of the Church, Muscovite rulers had two main objectives. One was the solidification of the unlimited personal power of the Czar to which all institutions of law and order were subjected; the other consisted of territorial expansion at the expense of the neighboring countries. The hereditary magnates—the local princes and the boyars —were obstacles in the path of both of these objectives. This landed aristocracy, following the traditions of early Russian princes, insisted on their personal and manorial privileges and resented any interference of the Muscovite Czar. They were therefore in favor of limitation of the Czar's power.

565 643 At the same time, however, these magnates were members of an advisory council to the Czar (*Boyarskaya Duma*); in this council some of them were closer to the Czar and formed an inner circle which exerted more power and influence on the affairs of the state. The boyars were therefore not unified and did not

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565 423 701 dependency of the land recipients upon the Czar, because the Czar could at any time withdraw the grant.

642 565 423 By means of the pomestie system of land tenure which prevailed in the second part of the sixteenth century the Muscovite rulers obtained both of their objectives: unlimited power and permanent war preparedness. Once the owners of the estates became dependent upon the Czar for the possession of their lands, any opposition on their part could be crushed easily, especially if the caste solidarity and the development of an *esprit de corps* among these people could be prevented. By the end of the seventeenth century the hereditary land tenure and the conditional land tenure were equalized. As a result all nobility became service nobility (*dvorianstro*), dependent upon the Czar for their lands. All therefore became *holopy*, the slaves of the supreme *gosudar* (master). Neither type of land holder could alienate his land either by sale, exchange, or any other process. The principle was that "He who owned land should serve the Czar."

178 642 565 Thus, by the end of the seventeenth century, by making the nobility economically dependent and having the support of the Church, the Muscovite Czars were enabled to eliminate all potential opposition to their rule and to perpetuate their despotic power. After the nobility was subdued and regimented, the other classes, including the clergy, followed suit. By the end of the seventeenth century the slaves and free land tenants were equalized and bound to the land and burghers were bound to their [486] *posads*. It was prohibited for any person to move from one town or borough to another without special permit. There could be a penalty of death for such flight or desertion.

By this time, therefore, all persons were bound to their status. A rigid caste system was established for the purpose of securing for the Czar permanent and controllable bodies of people whose function was either to pay cess or to render military and state service. The whole state was regimented and militarized for the [641] purpose of the Czar's aggrandizement, defense of the realm and military campaigns; each person had one duty only—to serve the Czar and the country. The whole society was geared to increase the revenues and the military might of the Czardom.

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III

The atmosphere of despotism, servility, fear and awe which developed under this system of total regimentation and dependency left an imprint on the habits and the attitudes of the people and had some influence on the shaping of their values and of their views of life. In conditions of complete dependency and domineering-subservience relationships, self-concern, destructive aggressiveness, as well as fatalistic resignation, are likely to thrive, not personal and social responsibility, moral obligations or group solidarity.

This trend of events meant also increasing social restlessness and political instability which in turn favored the rise to leadership of ruthless power-seekers and psychopaths. Lack of limitation on the personal power of the Czar, dissensions among the nobility and want of responsibility and of emotional balance in the person of the Czar led often to extreme excesses in Czar's rule.[11] All the attempts of the boyars to transform the Boyarskaya Duma into a legislative body were unsuccessful. Since the end of the seventeenth century even the *Zemski Sabor*, the consultative body of representatives of all classes, ceased to be convoked.

Only when the throne became vacant and the omnipotent Czar was gone did this nobility sometimes attempt to squeeze out promises and pledges from the pretenders to the throne. But, even then the remnants of the old boyar class and the new service nobility clashed over the question of control. Hence as soon as the new monarch was installed he did not have any difficulty in establishing his unlimited control and in proceeding to rule arbitrarily in face of a divided dvorianstvo.

The Czar could do anything he pleased with the nobles, including personal chastisement. They were treated as minors by the Czar and trained in blind and unconditional obedience. In the Czar's presence they observed dead silence. Anything that came from his hand, even the most degrading treatment, was to be received with resignation or even regarded as a sign of distinction. At the same time, however, while the nobles were exposed to all kinds of threat, terror and indignities on the part

7 [i.e. Czardom by end of 17th century.. Analyst]

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They used to go starke naked, save a clout about their middle, with their haire hanging long and wildely about their shoulders, and many of them with an iron coller in chaine about their neckes or middles, even in the very extremity of winter. . . . Among others at this time they have one at Mosco that walketh naked about the streets, and inveyeth commonly against the state and government. . . . Another there was, that dyed not many years agoe . . . that would take upon him to reproove the olde emperour, for all his cruelties and oppressions done towards his people. His body they have translated of late into a sumptuous church neere the emperours house in Mosco, and have canonized him for a saint. Many miracles he doth there. . .[15]

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Another form of protest or of reaction against the existing conditions consisted of mass vagrancy. Many thousands of these restless people were roaming the roads, the forests, and the deserts, as beggars, as pilgrims or as agricultural nomads. Many of them spent whole lives wandering, unable to find peace and rest.

IV

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Conditions in which abusive dominance-submission relationships, self-concern, lack of trust, and destructive aggression thrive do not favor unification and stability of an empire. Yet the Czardom showed a steady and remarkable development in spite of such unfavorable circumstances. In the course of several centuries it had grown from a small principality into a great world power. Just as in the states of steppe nomads, the social agents which were responsible for self-seeking, power-orientation and internal restlessness and explosiveness encouraged also external expansion. But unlike the empires of the steppes, there were in the Empire of the Czars several circumstances which fostered ideological and moral unity, such as the politico-religious philosophy of the Orthodox Church and conditioning on the family and community-level. It was perhaps this combination of the explosive and unifying tendencies which was responsible for steady expansiveness and growing consolidation of the Czardom.

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From its very inception the Russian state was a military soci-

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6
WESTERN TECHNOLOGY AND RUSSIA'S BUREAUCRATIC AUTOCRACY

I

THE STRUCTURE of Muscovite power had some advantages in comparison with the Turco-Mongol system of rule. The steppe warriors had not developed an efficient system of administration. They depended upon their vassals for the collection of taxes. This practice gave an opportunity to the vassals to enrich themselves, which strengthened their feelings of independence and of revolt. In the same manner the principle of religious tolerance and the practice of granting Church autonomies helped to perpetuate religious, linguistic and cultural differences among the subjects, a situation that did not favor ideological unification and centralization of power. In Russia, on the other hand, a system of centralized administration which followed the Byzantine pattern took care of revenues and of military manpower. The enserfed agricultural population was a source of steady income. Furthermore, state dominated Church tended to Slavicize linguistically and to unify ideologically all subjects under the Czar.

However, this system of Muscovite military theocracy that was efficient in dealings with the Mongols, proved inadequate in Russia's relations with its adversaries in the West. Since the end of the middle ages Western countries went through a series of ideological and economic changes which had fundamentally affected the structure of the Western world. Humanism and Renaissance, Reformation and Counter-reformation, the industrial and political revolutions had brought about considerable intellectual and technological advance and radical structural changes. Compared to the West, Russia had many drawbacks in her economic system. Its power-centered and militarized social struc-

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ture was detrimental to the development of trade and industry. For centuries its economy remained founded on a system of primitive agriculture. Lack of large centers of trade and industry adversely affected rural economy. There was no stimulation for agricultural improvements and for freeing of the serfs. Instead, the emphasis was on the exploitation of serf labor as the most expedient means to satisfy the demands of the landlords and of the state. The landlords were mostly absent on military campaigns or other state duties and were generally disinterested in land improvements. At the same time the system of using the land as a pay for military or other state services, in a country whose war campaigns and military contingents were increasing, tended to diminish the size of the donations and increase the burdens imposed on the serfs.

The lack of urbanization, together with the low standard of education of the service nobility, kept also the intellectual development of Russia far behind that in the West. Intellectual activity was limited mainly to the court circles. The ideology and practices of the Russian Church favored intellectual stagnation. Russia accepted Christianity from Byzantium after the Greek Church had already given up classical traditions of Hellenism. By the time Byzantine Christianity entered Russia, Byzantine literature had assumed an almost exclusively ecclesiastical character, and education consisted almost entirely of religious teaching and the reading of the lives of the saints. Art, too, became exclusively religious and stereotyped. All thought was regimented according to religious dogmas and political objectives of the power-holders.

In Russia this type of intellectual rigidity and inactivity was emphasized because of the use of the Old-Slavonic language in the Church, which resulted in neglect of Greek language. And it was considered a sin to learn the "thrice accursed Latin tongue." Thus, the Russian clergymen became isolated from the West because they lacked the possession of the only instruments in which human knowledge was communicated in those days. Moreover, Russian Orthodoxy, like the Byzantine Orthodoxy, was based on monasticism. But unlike the manifold monastic practices of the Western Church, the monks in the Russian Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.

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Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.[1]

However, from the seventeenth century on, Russia's expansion, which was earlier oriented mainly toward the East, turned westward. The wars with the West which heretofore were mainly defensive, tended to acquire an increasingly offensive character. But the wars with the advanced Western countries were more difficult and much more costly than those with the economically and technologically backward Asiatics. The defeats which Russia suffered at the hands of the Swedes and Poles made it imperative for the Czars to increase the military effectiveness of their country to meet the challenge. This need dictated changes in the internal structure of the Czardom, in the direction of administrative and industrial advance along European patterns. Even before Peter the Great, measures had been taken in this direction. But it was Peter who dramatized the issue by himself going abroad as an apprentice in Western industries to become "the first carpenter of the Empire."

In accordance with such need the old system of administration based on service nobility was replaced by a system of salaried officials (*chinovnichestvo*). According to this *chin* (civil rank) system which was introduced by Peter the Great and which followed the Western pattern it was no longer necessary to belong to the dvorianstvo class in order to obtain state service. On the contrary, any one who served faithfully and efficiently could rise in chin and rank and thus obtain the status of a hereditary or of a personal *dvoryanin*, without even owning land. In this way a new salaried military and bureaucratic caste, entirely dependent upon the Czar, was growing at the expense of the landed dvorianstvo. As a result, the dvoryanin-guardsman, the chief state functionary of the eighteenth century, was replaced by the *chinovnik*-commoner in the nineteenth century. Chinovnichestvo absorbed and replaced dvorianstvo—just as earlier the dvorianstvo had absorbed and replaced boyarstvo. Now bureaucracy instead of military nobility became the main instrument of governing.[2]

This change in the structure of the Czardom, however, was accomplished from above, that is, by means of imperial decrees,

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not by means of a popular revolution as in the West. Accordingly the new bureaucratic rule was based on the *Ukaz*[3] and the knut as much as the old order. For the same reason, though the state was formally secularized, the traditions of an autocracy, divinely ordained and supported by God, were carried on by every official as the representative of the Czar.[4]

Therefore the new system of autocracy based on bureaucracy, the same as the old one based on service nobility, could not recognize any political or personal rights of the subjects. Nor could there have developed any *esprit de corps* among the new governing class. This new class of officials owned little or no land and had to live on meager salaries, but was eager to follow the traditions and the high standards established by the old landed nobility. The chinovnichestvo therefore became even more dependent upon the Czar than the dvorianstvo was earlier. There was even less *esprit de corps* and less solidarity in the new governing class than in the old. Each official was constantly in fear of jeopardizing his own social position if he stood up in defense of any of his colleagues. Besides, in this hierarchical system of power the ruin or falling into disfavor of one official often meant the ascendancy of the other. There was, therefore, a tendency to take advantage of such a situation, to resort to intrigues and calumnies, and to help to destroy rather than to rehabilitate a victim.

All the powers, the lawmaking, the application of law, and the justice were placed into the hands of these bureaucrats. At the same time the system of checks and controls was very deficient. Laws were enacted by special temporary commissions of high officials, and created *ad hoc*. The Council of State, a supreme policy-making body, composed of about seventy to eighty highest dignitaries, was appointed by the Czar to serve him only in advisory capacities. The final decision rested in the hands of the Czar, or with the camarilla clique which happened at the moment to be most influential. The Empire was administratively divided into provinces (*gubernia*) which were usually headed by army generals. The gubernias were divided into districts which were headed by chiefs of police. The governors, supported by the police, ruled autocratically in their domains. They were

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was invested with the most extensive powers and was given as its special mission the task of looking after the safety of the state and overseeing the doings of all departments, of all public functionaries, and of all people. The security police was an omnipotent and all-powerful body before whom all subjects were considered guilty unless they proved the contrary. This institution—developed in the course of centuries—became of paramount importance to its rulers. It became one of the most essential wheels of the government and one of the chief cares of the ruling class.[16]

III

Hierarchical relations of strict superordination and subordination in the military and bureaucratic ranks might foster feelings of identification with the mighty and the powerful. It is on such grounds that imperialistic nationalism and ideas of national superiority and grandeur thrive. And when state is fused with the Church in a system of theocratic militarism then nationalism might acquire also the aspects of religious fanaticism.

Expansion, greatness of the state, ideas of grandeur and Messianic ideas of world redemption or world domination might provide also compensation for humiliations, self-abasement, feelings of inferiority and unworthiness and other frustrations which are fostered in a system of abusive domineering-subservience relationships. As a result love of show, display of military might and need for conquests preoccupied the ruling strata of post-Petrine Russia as much as those of the Muscovite state. The Czar's court, the nobility, the military, the bureaucracy, the Church, the cities and the villages tended to display a grandeur that was in sharp contrast with the poverty of the country.[17]

This tendency toward exhibitionism and ideas of greatness was manifested also in the glorification of Russia, and the belief in the sacredness of its exalted mission in the world. Such attitudes and feelings which were rooted in the rigidly hierarchical military and bureaucratic structure were supported also by the Third Rome traditions of the Russian Church according to which Providence itself had bestowed upon Russia's rulers the role of the redeemers of mankind. According to these traditions and teachings Russia was a God-chosen country, the only country

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where true Christianity was preserved. In the official statements, in the prayers, in the Church sermons and school textbooks, the Russian Empire was represented as a Holy Land (*Sviataya Rus*).

Accordingly, official geographic studies and statistics tended to magnify everything within the frontiers of the Empire. Russian possessions and might, the resources and riches of the Czar, the progress and virtues of the country were pictured in the school textbooks in a fabulous way. A steady and imposing territorial growth of the Czardom in the course of many centuries at the expense of the East and the West undoubtedly supported these feelings of greatness. In this manner successes in policies of external expansion promoted desires for further conquests.

As long as the authority of the Church remained unshaken the power of the Czar rested on solid foundations. The Czars were able to increasingly concentrate and monopolize all social power while the Czardom expanded territorially in all directions, in spite of all its internal weaknesses.

In the meantime, however, the economic, educational and religious reforms introduced since the eighteenth century tended to undermine the sacredness of the Church as well as the power of the Czar. It was in such circumstances that feelings of revolt bred on all levels of social organization had an opportunity to come into the open, challenging the Czarist regime and all the institutions on which it was based. The people who were treated like wards and minors and were kept in oppressive dependency in the family, in the local community and on the state level rebelled against the system which kept them in perpetual bondage, a trend of events which finally brought about the downfall of the Czardom. The family roots and the development of this personal and social revolt which had shattered the Czardom will be discussed on the following pages.

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former role as main instruments of the Czar's power to a parvenu bureaucracy and military that leaders of first opposition movements were recruited.

Even before and during the French Revolution a number of Russian landed nobility became aware of the ideas of the Revolution. They were also becoming increasingly interested in constitutional forms of government in which they could take part in their own right, not depending upon the whims of a despotic monarch. Some of these people even became dissatisfied with serfdom because of its economic inefficiency. They were also becoming increasingly impatient with absolutism because of its oppressive and degrading aspects.

Such ideas and feelings penetrated the officers' corps and a number of this military intelligentsia organized themselves into a secret society and formulated a concrete program for constitutional changes.[1] Some of these people came from high nobility. Others, especially those from the South, were impoverished nobles living on meager officer's salaries. In December, 1825 these people attempted to seize power. However, owing to ideological differences and the traditional factional splits within the dvorianstvo, the attempt of this faction of military intelligentsia to gain power was thwarted.[2] Nevertheless, this uprising of the "Decembrists," though abortive, was the beginning of increasing revolutionary activities of the intelligentsia[3] which finally brought about the overthrow of the Czardom in the Revolution of 1917.

The revolt of the Decembrists was a sign that the Czardom had already gone through such changes in its social structure that a change in its political system was overdue. The most important change in this structure was the formation of a class which, for the first time in Russia's history, became economically independent of the Czar, and which, though economically idle and not always prosperous, became intellectually very alert and also very sensitive to Western ideas.

In accordance with the traditional behavior pattern of Russian nobility, their reactions to the conditions at home and to Western thought tended to develop in the direction of two opposite extremes. One was that of the "Westerners" who were

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plosive revolutionary material. Hence the Bolsheviks began to send their agitators into the village.

There was no tendency among these extremists and maximalists to make use of peaceful means which had now been made possible by the Czar's Manifesto of October, 1905. In this manifesto legislative powers were given to Duma (house of representatives) and a certain degree of political, cultural and personal freedom was introduced. On the contrary these professional conspirators, following Anarchist precepts and practices, took advantage of increased opportunities for political agitation. That year the Socialist Revolutionaries in one of their proclamations stated: "If you need more land, hay, pasture, timber, take it from the landlord. Do not pay taxes. Drive evil priests out of the villages, boycott the courts, replace bad officials by good, throw out the police!"[12] In the same year the Bolsheviks, struck by the increasing restlessness in the village, called upon the peasants and the village proletariat for a "collective refusal to pay taxes, refusal to furnish recruits, refusal to fulfill the orders and commands of the government and its agents."[13]

III

Such revolutionary ideas which were infiltrating the villages not only confirmed the peasants in their beliefs and dispositions; they also tended to promote their feelings of rebelliousness, to radicalize them in the extreme, and push them toward excesses. In common with most tillers of land, the Russian peasants were convinced that the land by "natural right" belonged only to those who cultivate it, and that somehow, sometimes in the past, the land was taken away from them by force and trickery, not by right and justice.

The question of ownership of land was closely related to humiliating subservience to the landlords, the commune and the state. Ownership of land meant the regaining of self-respect. The peasants were therefore inclined to believe that they never lost the right to the land and that someday, somehow, all the land would have to be given back to them. "We are yours, but the land is ours" (*My vashi a zemlya nasha*), the peasants would say to the pomeshchiks. The speeches of the peasants' deputies

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V

Power and Personality in Soviet Russia

21
ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY AND REGIMENTATION

I

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BUILDING their rule on Czarist traditions and supported by Lenin's teachings and practices, the Bolsheviks undertook to perpetuate themselves in power by employing the same conspiratorial means which helped them to seize the control of the state. Such policies however were contrary to the expectations of those who yearned for an equalitarian brotherhood and demanded full political participation on equal terms for all. The Bolsheviks therefore had to elaborate on the theories which justified the "dictatorship of the proletariat." One of the fundamental ideological justifications which they put forward to explain their policy of self-perpetuation in power consisted of the claim that after the seizure of power by the proletariat, the class struggle does not cease or weaken, but on the contrary it "continues in new forms, and with even greater frenzy and ferocity, for the reason that the resistance of the exploiters to the fact of socialism is more savage than before."[1] Continued dictatorship

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is therefore said to be necessary as a means to completely eliminate "exploitation of man by man" and to bring about stateless and equalitarian society in the future.

In this manner any signs of opposition to the Party policies have been construed as "class struggle" and "counter-revolution" which made it possible for the self-seeking and mistrustful ruling faction of the Bolsheviks to eliminate all opposition to its rule, including the opposition within the Bolshevik Party itself. These means and justifications of self-perpetuation in power have been supported also by the contention that the counter-revolutionary schemes of the overthrown and dying classes are encouraged and fostered by foreign capitalist powers.

These imperialist states are said to tend to encircle the "only Socialist country" seeking to destroy it.[2] Contrary to the early Socialist promises that the state will tend to "wither away" after the proletariat had seized power, the Bolsheviks asserted that, after the proletarian revolution the state must become even more powerful because it must be used as a "special machine of suppresion."[3] Thus, instead of satisfying the traditional demands for acceptance in an all-human and stateless brotherhood, the Bolsheviks established relationships of absolute rule and unconditional obedience by monopolizing all social power in their hands. Each and every subject was made dependent for his life and livelihood upon the ruling faction. In this manner, planned economic regimentation, strict political conformity, control of thought and feeling, as well as police rule became intrinsic to the Soviet system of power.

In their compulsive drive to concentrate all power and all social control in their hands, the Bolsheviks dispossessed not only financial capitalists and large land owners, but even small farmers, fearing that these might eventually oppose and challenge their rule. "The medium peasantry is a self-sufficient class; the only one which, after the obliteration and expulsion of squires and capitalists, remains capable of opposing the proletariat," said Lenin.[4]

The need to regiment the peasantry, to break their group solidarity and make them completely dependent upon the government was supported also by other considerations. Owing to lack

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This trend to expropriate the peasants and to overspecialize them as a means of political and economic control found its expression in the recent development of Bolshevik ideology. In the utterances of Party leaders and in the Soviet press it is being stressed that the conditions in the Soviet Union are already so advanced that the Soviet state is ready to move from socialism into the first levels of a limited Communism. This first phase of Communism will consist of the elimination of differences between industrial and agricultural work, between industrial workers and the peasantry ("Liquidating the contrast between the city and the village"). Thus it is pointed out, the old opposition between the country and the city will vanish and also cultural and psychological differences between these two strata will disappear. Every person will become engaged in a special "technical-engineering" task and all will be equal and like brothers.

As a result of such development, it is said that even the differences between the manual laborer and the intellectual worker will eventually be abolished and thus the classless and anarchic society envisaged in socialist writings and rooted in the traditions of the Slav culture will be finally achieved.[11] Productive forces will develop an abundance of all consumer goods whose distribution will be on the basis of exchange and according to one's needs. There will be no monetary relations and no differences in social status.

It is clearly and repeatedly emphasized, however, that nobody should mistake this change from socialism to communism as a "withering away" of the state. The state, say the Bolsheviks, must remain "strong" for the needs of defense,[12] until the Soviet system spreads over the entire earth.

II

Total power concentrated in the hands of Bolshevik conspirators as a means of perpetuation of their rule led to compulsory regimentation of all labor, to speed-up system, and to intensified differentiation in skill, income, and status within the working classes. The aim of these measures is to increase production and to control the working classes by breaking their group solidarity and by tying the laborer to his machine and the office worker to

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

pletely dependent upon and submissive to the ruling Party that the old idea of freedom in the choice of work and equality of opportunity was replaced by emphasis on the "discipline of labor," that is, the contention that the objective of high output demands specialization and that in the interest of increasing the skill one cannot recognize the freedom to change one's speciality and one's job.[17] It is also stressed now that an important element in the process of production is the "habit of hard work,"[18] and this habit could best develop as "the first life necessity" if the freedom of choice of specialty and of place of work is restricted and controlled.[19]

In accordance to this imperative need of the Bolsheviks to keep the working classes in complete subjection, Soviet propaganda idealizes hard work. Humble (*skromny*), infinitely devoted (*bezgranichno predany*), and hard working people, those who "burn with desire to work," and those who "sacrifice their lives to working for the cause of Lenin-Stalin," are especially eulogized. In the obituary of some outstanding person the climax of eulogy is the statement that death reached him while he was struggling at his post of duty.[20] In the Stalinist Constitution of 1936 this system of labor subordination to the ruling Party is eulogized as a "matter of honor" and is justified in terms of the right of the Party to starve those who do not work according to the Party interests:

> In the U.S.S.R. work is a duty and matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."[21]

III

Building on practices of Czarist bureaucratic hierarchy and supported by traditions of patriarchal protection-dependency relationships, the Bolshevik rulers have succeeded in regimenting the industrial labor and in forcing it into unconditional submission to and dependency upon the ruling Party. But they have failed to increase the productivity of labor. Frequent reenactments of measures to increase "labor discipline" indicate, however, that to increasing measures of regimentation the industrial

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

much possibility for self-expression, creativeness and personal satisfaction.[24]

On the other hand an atmosphere of domineering and vigilantism offers a great opportunity for advance to the fanatic Party member as well as to the ambitious and unscrupulous careerist within the labor ranks, and the ranks of technicians and engineers. Even among those managers and foremen who might otherwise have different inclinations, the need to maintain their positions often forces them towards a policy of vigilantism, cynicism and oppressive labor driving.

22
INSTRUMENTS OF POLITICAL CONFORMITY

I

THE SYSTEM of dominance, based on economic dependence, social isolation and lack of trust, which has enabled the Bolsheviks to monopolize all social power, has helped them also to force the intellectual strata into unconditional submission to the will of the ruling minority. Just as the land has been collectivized and industrial production governmentalized to make the peasants and the industrial labor dependent upon the Party, so all sources of income in the intellectual fields have been monopolized by the Party-state to make the intellectuals completely dependent for their lives and livelihoods upon the ruling faction of the Bolsheviks. The office tenure of this new service nobility has been conditioned upon their blind submission to the rulers in the Kremlin, just like in the days of the old dvorianstvo.

The educated strata are of a special strategic importance from the point of view of self-perpetuation of the Bolsheviks in power, because it is these strata that provide ideological and political leadership and Party cadres. The party has endeavored therefore to make the intelligentsia even more socially split and dependent

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

upon the regime than the peasantry and industrial labor. The objective of this policy has been to prevent among the intelligentsia formation of an *esprit de corps* and opposition to Bolshevik rule, and to command the services and unquestionable obedience of every educated man. These are the political foundations of the growing and deliberately fostered stress on rank and distinction, on social differentiation, sense of superiority and inferiority, absolute superordination and blind subordination.

In the upper strata, much more so than in the lower classes, the process of hierarchal and functional differentiation is fostered and maintained not only by means of specialization of work and differences in rank, but also by means of sharply differentiated income, and by means of differential distribution of spoils, and of privileges. This sharp stratification of Soviet society, rooted in the traditions of the Czardom, in its own turn promotes power-seeking and domineering, dependency and subservience, as well as lack of social intimacy and lack of trust.

The highest privileges in the Soviet society are accruing to the top ruling faction of professional conspirators. But this group is itself internally sharply differentiated. It is headed by the Party Leader (*Vozhd*), and is divided into a number of policy making bodies, among which the Political Bureau (Politburo), now to be known as the Presidium,[1] is of foremost importance. Though the members of the Presidium and of other top policy making bodies, such as the Secretariat, are formally appointed by the Central Committee of the Party, they are *de facto* selected by the supreme leader and therefore depend upon him for their position. Such a situation fosters bickering among top ranking officials in their mutual struggle to win the favors of the head man, which in turn enables the supreme Party leader to play one faction of his camarilla against the other one or—not unlike in the days of the Czars—to select a more intimate inner circle of a few most trusted persons on whom to rely for advice and help. These then assist the leader in selecting and in eliminating the members of the top ranking hierarchy, according to expediency and circumstances.

This highly concentrated power structure is supported by a

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

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those accounts of Soviet life in which the gloomy appearance of the city populace is contrasted to the more optimistic outlook of the country folk.[34]

25
DESTRUCTIVE AGGRESSION

I

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PROMPTED by extreme power-seeking and by deeply rooted mistrust of their own subjects, the Bolsheviks have built a monolithic Party-state system which differs in the degree of its rigidity and power concentration from all other systems of despotism, theocracy, military dictatorship, totalitarian and police state. In those autocratic political systems not all aspects of life are regimented. A certain limited degree of freedom is left at least in some spheres of personal and of group behavior. But the main difference between these systems and the Bolshevik regime is that while the former prohibits only those activities which have a direct negative bearing upon perpetuation of the system, the latter allows only such behavior as has a direct positive bearing upon the perpetuation of the ruling faction in power.

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In the Soviet society the ruling class is not content with mere passive acceptance of the Bolshevik rule. It demands of each subject a "positive attitude" toward the regime. In such a society there is necessarily a premium in terms of privileges and power for the activities in the fields of political organization and agitation, of vigilance and violence, as well as in the fields of labor-driving, economic management, and military preparedness, since it is in the main upon such activities that perpetuation of Bolshevism depends. In such a "prison and barracks society", it is the calculating and ambitious careerists and zealous devotees and watchdogs, specialists in conspiracy and violence who climb toward the top levels of the Soviet political and social pyramid where blind obedience, crouching servility, jockeying for positions and power, and advancing on the cadavers of one's associates become a matter of survival.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

one's helplessness, feeling of rejection, and dependence upon the controlling power is especially keenly felt. In such conditions even a slight deviation might provoke a feeling of guilt, need for self-punishment and suffering; it might call for public self-humiliation, confession of errors and pledges to repent and to correct the wrong done, especially when such practices are supported by the inherited traditions. There is therefore a certain degree of truth in the assertion of the Bolsheviks, that "Criticism and self-criticism is a great driving force in the development of Soviet society."[10]

II

In a "prison and barracks" society privileges of power and ideas of grandeur do not sufficiently compensate for lack of acceptance, isolation, humiliations, feelings of insecurity, and sense of inferiority and rejection. In an atmosphere of suspicion, intrigue, degradation, and lack of intimate personal and intellectual contact and of social support, anxieties, fears, extreme self-concern, and deep antagonisms easily flourish. Such a situation tends to magnify feelings of destructive aggression developed on the family level and is therefore likely to become overcharged with extreme hostilities and hatreds; it is likely to become full of potential explosiveness which may be directed against the ruling class itself unless convenient channels for discharge of aggressiveness are found.

In a society in which overt expressions of emotional behavior are under the control of a ruling clique, accumulating aggressions are readily directed against internal and external "enemies" of the regime, be they real or invented for the occasion. In this manner the feeling of hostility against the regime might be redirected against its opponents. It is therefore in the interest of survival of the ruling faction in such a society to cultivate hatred and destruction of the "enemy" by all means of public pressure, propaganda, agitation, education, as well as lawmaking.

These are the reasons why attitudes of extreme animosity against the "enemies of the Soviet Motherland" are propagated in the Soviet daily press and in the school textbooks. Stirring hatreds is one of the main tasks of Party agitators.[11] Accordingly

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

of the outstanding tenets in the philosophy of Russian monasticism whose history is even longer than that of the Czardom was charitable love. Many sects of the *Raskolniki* propagated and practiced principles of humaneness. The Slavophils were especially prominent in advocating the return to an idealized stateless society of benevolent paternalism where brotherhood, Christian love, and compassion would reign. The "Westerners" endeavored to introduce into Russia Western concepts of justice and tolerance, and a humanistic, libertarian and juridical state. Russian belles-lettres, Russian school textbooks, as well as laws and regulations in the nineteenth century and up to the beginning of World War I, bear witness to this trend toward Westernization and humanism.

In Soviet Russia, on the other hand, after a brief initial period of reaction against the old regime which led toward an emphasis on all-human values and equalitarian brotherhood, soon the trend of events pushed the Bolshevik ideology in the opposite direction. The determination of a ruling clique of professional conspirators to maintain themselves in power by any and all means dictated the emphasis on the internal and external "threats" which would justify the intensification of internal "measures of security," and of external aggression. Thus vigilantism and war preparedness, and expansion of internal and external Bolshevik power, became the main base of the policies of the ruling class.[25] Such policies had to be constantly reinforced by a deliberate incitement to hatred and destruction.

The image of Soviet society as being in a constant state of war, not only against foreign enemies but against internal oppositionists, deviationists, spies, saboteurs, and remnants of bourgeois mentality has been determined by a social structure which the Bolshevik rulers themselves have created, but which makes their own power uncertain and precarious. In such circumstances Lenin's idea of a life and death struggle with the "class enemies," the idea that "it's them or us" (*Kto kogo*) has provided the main motivating force of the Party's internal and foreign policies. Fearing to be annihilated unless they themselves destroy their enemies, conscious that they have "either to rule or to die," the Bolsheviks have ruthlessly applied the principle of "obedience

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

or death" (*povinovenie ili smert*) in their rule; thus terror has become one of the main instruments of their power.

But once self-seeking careerists and fanatical devotees, specialists in violence, conspiracy and vigilance take into their hands the reins of a society which they indoctrinate with hatred and ruthlessness, the value of human life tends to be greatly lowered. In their constant struggle for survival, fear-ridden and extremely insecure, these people are forced to adopt an attitude of expendability toward all their subjects, just as earlier the Anarchists and Terrorists considered that all their members were only capital to be freely spent in the interest of the revolution.

In such conditions the disregard for individual rights and needs, and lack of consideration and of human feeling become generalized and are applied not only in dealings with enemies, but also in relations with associates, relatives, friends, allies and subjects in general whenever the vested interests of the ruling clique are threatened. The orders and the plans must be fulfilled; the victories must be made no matter what the cost in personal freedom and dignity, human suffering and human lives, because it is these orders, plans, and victories upon which the survival and the perpetuation of the ruling faction depends. All those who are in the way must be unconditionally sacrificed. Said Stalin:

> . . . it [is] easy to be a hero or a great leader if one had to do with the people such as the Russians . . . even persons of medium courage and even cowards became heroes in Russia. Those who do not . . . are killed.[26]

This attitude of disregard and contempt for human life when the survival of the ruling class and its vested interests are in question was expressed by Stalin also in his known interview with G. B. Wells. The magnitude of convict labor establishments, the police practices, and the extent of economic and other deprivations to which the Soviet subjects are exposed are all manifestations of this frame of mind.

The low value which is placed on human life in Bolshevik ideology is especially well demonstrated in war times. The Soviet armed forces command does not assess the cost of war in terms

[CONSTITUTION as of 1949]

[642] Art. 29. The Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR presides at the sittings of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR and has charge of the conduct of its business and proceedings.

[643] Art. 30. Sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR twice a year.

Extraordinary sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR at its discretion or on the demand of one-third of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 31. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR consisting of a President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, twelve Vice-Presidents, according to the number of the Autonomous Republics, the Secretary of the Presidium and 13 Members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 32. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for all its activities.

Art. 33. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR:

a) Convenes the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR;
b) Issues decrees;
c) Gives interpretations of the laws of the Russian SFSR;
d) Conducts nation-wide polls (referendums);
e) Annuls decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the

[645] Russian SFSR, the Councils of Ministers of the Autonomous Republics, the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of territories and regions and the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions, if they do not conform to the law;

f) In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, releases and appoints Ministers of the Russian SFSR, on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR, subject to subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR;
g) Institutes titles of honour of the Russian SFSR;
h) Confers titles of honour of the Russian SFSR;
i) Exercises the right of pardoning citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Russian SFSR;
j) Appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the Russian SFSR to foreign states;
k) Receives the letters of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives accredited to it by foreign states.

Art. 34. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects a Credentials Committee to verify the credentials of the members of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

On the report of the Credentials Committee, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR decides whether to recognize the credentials of deputies or to annul their election.

Art. 35. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, when it deems necessary, appoints commissions of investigation and audit on any matter.

It is the duty of all institutions and officials to comply with the demands of such commissions and to submit to them all necessary materials and documents.

5: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[CONSTITUTION as of 1949]

646 Art. 36. A member of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR may not be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, or, when the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is not in session, without the consent of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

643 Art. 37. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of
646 the Russian SFSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR orders
[644] new elections to be held within a period not exceeding two months from the date of expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 38. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR retains its powers until the newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR shall have formed a new presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 39. The newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is convened by the outgoing Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR not later than three months after the elections.

645 Art. 40. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR appoints the Government of
[646] the Russian SFSR, namely, the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter IV. The Organs of State Administration of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

Art. 41. The highest executive and administrative organ of state power of the Russian SFSR is the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 42. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR is responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, or, in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 43. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation of the USSR and the Russian SFSR, and of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and verifies their execution.

Art. 44. Decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR are binding throughout the territory of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 45. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR:

a) Coordinates and directs the work of the Ministries of the Russian SFSR and of other institutions under its jurisdiction; coordinates and verifies the work of the authorized representatives of the all-Union Ministries;

b) Adopts measures to carry out the national-economic plan;

c) Adopts measures to fulfil the state and local budgets of the Russian SFSR;

d) Adopts measures for the maintenance of public order, for the protection of the interests of the state, and for the safeguarding of the rights of citizens;

e) Directs and verifies the work of the Councils of Ministers of the Autonomous Republics, directs and verifies the work of the Executive Committees of territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies;

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

There will be no place to run and hide oneself; it will be woe and pain without comfort, particularly for the repenting sinners. They will see the anger of God, full of rage and wrath, bearing the woe of revenge.[39] 773

Also the folk religious poetry began to emphasize the gloomy aspects of *post-mortem* life, especially that of the *Strashny Sud*—The Terrible Judgment. It was perhaps in such conditions that Destiny, together with the Truth, became dissociated from the idea of a supreme Justice that reigned everywhere and came to be looked upon as being subject to the caprice of arbitrary and uncontrollable forces that now dominated the Universe. 538 775 777

Such circumstances[1] might have meant quick disintegration of this society, not unlike the rapid dissolution of the Turco-Mongol empires, had it not been for agents that favored the stabilization and the perpetuation of this social system in spite of its internal weaknesses. One of the most important instruments in this process of social consolidation was the Byzantine Church. 178 795

5
THE BYZANTINE CHURCH AND MUSCOVITE MILITARY THEOCRACY

I

FOLLOWING the traditions established by the Roman Caesars, the Emperor of Byzantium (Basileus) was looked upon as the supreme war-lord, the sole legislator, and the chief justice, as well as the universal ruler. Therefore, the Church, which was subjected to the absolute and autocratic will of the Emperor, developed a religious ideology in accordance with the dominant political philosophy and practices of the Empire. 795 771 779 643

The Emperor assumed the duty of defending the Church, combating heresy, and spreading Orthodox faith throughout all the globe. In return, God had promised him universal dominion

1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 52-55--Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

795 771 779 643 over the whole earth.[1] Through the support of the Church the absolute power of the Emperor became sacred, all-comprising and omnipresent. In the proclamation which announced his reign after he has been solemnly anointed by the Patriarch it was stated that he "proceeded from God, and not from man," and that to him, the "supreme master of the universe, absolute obedience was due from all."[2]

795 797 177 It was this Messianic ideology of politico-religious proselytism and world salvation which had united the Church and the state that helped Byzantium to solidify its rule and to spread its influence and control over the neighboring countries. In conquered, dependent and friendly territories numerous bishoprics of Eastern rite were established whose function was to obtain the moral support of the people for the Byzantine ruler. The conquered people were allowed a certain degree of autonomy in their internal affairs and one of their privileges was the right of the use of their native language in church rituals.

This politico-religious expansionism, however, had its weaknesses. The only tie that linked the subjected and the dependent peoples with the central power was the Church. Thus, as soon as the central power and the authority of the Byzantine Emperor weakened as a result of internal feuds, palace revolutions, civil wars, and invasions, some petty local potentates saw a chance to emancipate themselves from Constantinople and proclaim themselves as sovereign rulers. Such a local lord following Byzantine traditions would appoint from his own kinsmen bishops and Patriarchs whose function was to anoint the new king, to bestow upon him God-like qualities, and to sanctify his despotic rule among the subjects.

795 797 648 793 It is this pattern of Church and state relations that also developed between Byzantium and Russia by the end of the tenth century, when as a result of a political alliance with Byzantium Prince Vladimir of Kiev was converted to Christianity.[3] A Greek Metropolitan and a number of Greek Orthodox bishops were subsequently sent to Russia. Having an eye on the control of all other Russian principalities, the Byzantine Church bestowed upon the Metropolitan of Kiev the authority over all Russian

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

The ideology of Moscow imperial theocracy was rooted in the power-centered traditions of Russian princes, reinforced by a fusion of Mongol and Byzantine political ideas and practices. As among the Mongols, the Czar was considered to be the supreme owner of the body and of the property of his subjects, but as among the Byzantines he was also concerned with their souls. At the same time, according to the Muscovite political philosophy, the Czar as owner of his subjects derived his authority not from the people, as in Byzantium, but directly and exclusively from God.[7] Therefore, the Czar alone possessed rights, his subjects only duties.

In the Muscovite system of theocratical power not only was the Czar's freedom unlimited by any laws, but his personal will was not limited by any recognized human rights either. The Czar was considered to be limited only by his duty to God and by Divine law. The Czar, however, was himself the sole judge of his duty to God. He himself was the sole interpreter of Divine Law in regard to temporal affairs. Even the head of the Church could only supplicate but not advise him in these matters. The Czar was therefore at liberty to use the law capriciously as an instrument of his personal power, or to break the law at his convenience. And so he often did.[8]

Supported by the imperial ambitions of the Church, Muscovite rulers had two main objectives. One was the solidification of the unlimited personal power of the Czar to which all institutions of law and order were subjected; the other consisted of territorial expansion at the expense of the neighboring countries. The hereditary magnates—the local princes and the boyars—were obstacles in the path of both of these objectives. This landed aristocracy, following the traditions of early Russian princes, insisted on their personal and manorial privileges and resented any interference of the Muscovite Czar. They were therefore in favor of limitation of the Czar's power.

At the same time, however, these magnates were members of an advisory council to the Czar (*Boyarskaya Duma*); in this council some of them were closer to the Czar and formed an inner circle which exerted more power and influence on the affairs of the state. The boyars were therefore not unified and did not

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

III

The atmosphere of despotism, servility, fear and awe which developed under this system of total regimentation and dependency left an imprint on the habits and the attitudes of the people and had some influence on the shaping of their values and of their views of life. In conditions of complete dependency and domineering-subservience relationships, self-concern, destructive aggressiveness, as well as fatalistic resignation, are likely to thrive, not personal and social responsibility, moral obligations or group solidarity.

This trend of events meant also increasing social restlessness and political instability which in turn favored the rise to leadership of ruthless power-seekers and psychopaths. Lack of limitation on the personal power of the Czar, dissensions among the nobility and want of responsibility and of emotional balance in the person of the Czar led often to extreme excesses in Czar's rule.[11] All the attempts of the boyars to transform the Boyarskaya Duma into a legislative body were unsuccessful. Since the end of the seventeenth century even the *Zemski Sabor*, the consultative body of representatives of all classes, ceased to be convoked.

Only when the throne became vacant and the omnipotent Czar was gone did this nobility sometimes attempt to squeeze out promises and pledges from the pretenders to the throne. But, even then the remnants of the old boyar class and the new service nobility clashed over the question of control. Hence as soon as the new monarch was installed he did not have any difficulty in establishing his unlimited control and in proceeding to rule arbitrarily in face of a divided dvorianstvo.

The Czar could do anything he pleased with the nobles, including personal chastisement. They were treated as minors by the Czar and trained in blind and unconditional obedience. In the Czar's presence they observed dead silence. Anything that came from his hand, even the most degrading treatment, was to be received with resignation or even regarded as a sign of distinction. At the same time, however, while the nobles were exposed to all kinds of threat, terror and indignities on the part

7 [i.e. Czardom by end of 17th century.. Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

of the Czar, they became increasingly rank-conscious, domineering and abusive toward all lower in rank or under their power.[12]

Such a ruling class, with its open misrule and arbitrariness, could not inspire the subjected classes with confidence and respect. The lack of social and political security was manifested in want of initiative, in disinterest in productive activities, in loose morals, in hazard games, in a low value of human life, and in a general lack of trust.[13]

On the other hand, perhaps as a reaction to these conditions of insecurity and of social disorganization, there was an urge of complete renunciation of the world and its strife, an urge to detach oneself from the group, a tendency to isolate oneself completely from human society and seek personal consolation and personal salvation in religion. This trend of social withdrawal and self-oriented feelings brought about a great development of hermitism and of monastic life. Many of these people, completely detached from human society and preoccupied exclusively with their own self, sought peace and communion with God in lonely, remote depths of forests, in the solitude of the wilds and deserts. Here "far removed from men" they spent their lives in prayer, fasting and self-maceration.

At the same time the masses of the people who lived in great misery and who were exposed to arbitrariness, exploitation, and other forms of oppression on the part of the mighty, sought consolation and hope in supernatural forces. Beliefs in miraculous powers of wonder-working icons and in life-giving properties of the Cross were taking deep roots. On all sides sprang up prophecies and apparitions. Saint men and prophets, often mentally unbalanced, would appear in the streets and openly voice their protest against the Czar and his government.[14]

These were the only signs of an open opposition to the existing system that was becoming increasingly unbearable. Such "idiots" were considered saintly by the people not only because of their strange behavior and their ability to endure extremes of hardship, but also for their unheard of courage to speak openly against the Czar:

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Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.[1]

However, from the seventeenth century on, Russia's expansion, which was earlier oriented mainly toward the East, turned westward. The wars with the West which heretofore were mainly defensive, tended to acquire an increasingly offensive character. But the wars with the advanced Western countries were more difficult and much more costly than those with the economically and technologically backward Asiatics. The defeats which Russia suffered at the hands of the Swedes and Poles made it imperative for the Czars to increase the military effectiveness of their country to meet the challenge. This need dictated changes in the internal structure of the Czardom, in the direction of administrative and industrial advance along European patterns. Even before Peter the Great, measures had been taken in this direction. But it was Peter who dramatized the issue by himself going abroad as an apprentice in Western industries to become "the first carpenter of the Empire."

In accordance with such need the old system of administration based on service nobility was replaced by a system of salaried officials (*chinovnichestvo*). According to this *chin* (civil rank) system which was introduced by Peter the Great and which followed the Western pattern it was no longer necessary to belong to the dvorianstvo class in order to obtain state service. On the contrary, any one who served faithfully and efficiently could rise in chin and rank and thus obtain the status of a hereditary or of a personal *dvoryanin*, without even owning land. In this way a new salaried military and bureaucratic caste, entirely dependent upon the Czar, was growing at the expense of the landed dvorianstvo. As a result, the dvoryanin-guardsman, the chief state functionary of the eighteenth century, was replaced by the *chinovnik*-commoner in the nineteenth century. Chinovnichestvo absorbed and replaced dvorianstvo—just as earlier the dvorianstvo had absorbed and replaced boyarstvo. Now bureaucracy instead of military nobility became the main instrument of governing.[2]

This change in the structure of the Czardom, however, was accomplished from above, that is, by means of imperial decrees,

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the favors of one's superiors that one hoped to exercise more power and to achieve a higher degree of security.

Such a situation often demanded self-abasing and cringing humility toward superiors in the hierarchy as an adjustment to a situation of permanent insecurity and threat. ". . . those employed believe that they can never do enough to show their zeal."[8] "Without being base, it is impossible to get on," the officials themselves would say.[9] At the same time, perhaps as a compensation for degradation and loss of self-respect, there developed the propensity of the officials to show haughtiness and arrogance to those below them in rank and status. "A man, as soon as he rises a grade above the common level, acquires the right . . . to maltreat his inferiors to whom it is his duty to transmit the blows that he receives from those above him."[10]

In such conditions preoccupation with one's self rather than interest in group ideals and objectives thrived. There was therefore a tendency for selfish and petty concerns, greediness, venality, and corruption. Careerism prevailed over loyalty. Fortunes were made by many in public service as a security for the uncertain future.[11] The public opinion itself supported such behavior because it was expected that people who acquire office or any other positions of trust would take personal advantage of the situation. In some departments because of the inadequacy of the salaries and in order to meet the expected high standards of living the officials were considered to have tacit permission to have recourse to illicit perquisites. Administration, justice, police, the army and the navy, and even the clergy, all had their acknowledged perquisites, which often included bribes.[12]

In such conditions in which extreme self-concern thrived, the Czar himself did not feel safe and secure. This sense of insecurity on the very peak of power was reflected, for instance, in the tendency of the Czars not to tolerate any outstanding personalities in their midst.[13] The same feeling was reflected in the idea that any concession on the part of the Czar would be considered as a sign of weakness. The result was that the Czar was often surrounded by sycophants and careerists and had no close friends whom he could trust and on whom he could rely for support at all times. In such circumstances the Czar might feel isolated,

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

643 imagine himself threatened by "enemies," and live in fear.[14] As
157 a defense against such feelings the Czar might be inclined to follow the advice of those of his officials who favored concentration of power and who advised against giving up any of his prerogatives or against any yielding to the demands of the opposition. "Constitution" to such a Czar and his camarilla was as dangerous as "revolution."

But such policies, which are rooted in a sense of extreme insecurity themselves tend to strengthen such feelings. Mistrust of people, fear of the "enemies," suppression of all opposition and tendency to concentrate increasingly the power in one's hands, to dominate and to demand absolute submissiveness is therefore perpetuated. Hence, power-relations in Russia of the eighteenth and nineteenth century tended to follow the pattern of rule established earlier in Muscovite Czardom:

661 The emperor Nicholas I ruled his country like a gamekeeper. Under
643 his administration of the empire, based as it was upon a system
566 of flogging, imprisonment, and exile to Siberia, the great could indulge their caprices with impunity . . . But . . . in reality . . . the masters were also slaves. Every man, whoever he might be, was dependent on someone more powerful than himself who could with impunity make him wretched, and over him again there was someone still mightier. The lord, it is true, lived in comfort, and the serfs in squalor, but that was all. They were all slaves, one as much as the other . . . I have seen both oppressors and oppressed at close quarters, and I can aver that the inhuman regime of bondage corrupted and depraved one as much as the other.[15]

625 Just as in the political organization of steppe nomads and in the Muscovite Czardom such relations of insecurity, mistrust, self-seeking, abusive domineering and blind subordination demanded an efficient system of watchfulness, vigilance, checking and counterchecking. A special attention therefore had to be paid to the institution of secret political police. Since the days of Czar Nicholas I, the secret political police, known as the Third Section, was placed above all ministries, and was directly subject to the Emperor himself, just as in the days of Ivan the Terrible. Like the Oprichniki of Ivan the Terrible the Third Section was the main agency of vigilance, the chief watchdog of the state. It

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Top ruling circles themselves often exhibited a great lack of self-control. A number of rulers showed a tendency toward excesses and extremes that bordered on insanity. Even the Czars of the nineteenth century, in spite of many Western moderating influences, showed tendencies toward instability and extremes in their behavior. Not seldom a new monarch would completely reverse the policies of his predecessor. The rulers tended to show great instability also in attitudes toward their advisers. They would turn suddenly against the old councilors and find new favorites. As a result often "the mighty of yesterday were sent to Siberia or the scaffold." But also barrack and bedchamber revolutions were frequent, reflecting the suddenly changing extremes in moods within the ruling cliques.

Lack of moderation and emotional instability was one of the favored themes of Russian belles-lettres of the nineteenth century. The heroes in these works often display an extremely unbalanced type of behavior. Feodor Chaliapin, who himself took part in producing such types on the Russian stage, states the following:

> . . . When I think of the characters I have created on the Russian stage, I am conscious not so much of the characters themselves as of an all pervading sense of the Russian temperament that is all extremes. . . . It seems as though Russian temperament is entirely devoid of moderation. . . . The fact remains that their contradictions are far more harsh and violent than those of most mentalities. . . . The Russian heart is infinitely pitiful and tender, but at the same time what gross and often completely aimless cruelty and tyranny are to be found in Russian life. The Russian soul is extraodinarily sensitized, but what brutality and lustful suspicion and vulgarism are to be found in human relationships. It is only too true that neither in good nor in evil can the Russian steer a middle course . . .[8]

In *Khovantchina* it is religious fanaticism, and how profound and powerful is that fanaticism! A normal mind could not possibly comprehend that perfect serenity which enables men to die for their belief. They stand on the sheer rampart, utterly oblivious of the stairway by which they might descend to safety. They batter their heads against the wall, unconscious of pain . . . In Rimsky-Korsakov's *Pskovitane* I take the part of Ivan the Terrible. He, the Tsar, cares nothing that the river runs red with blood, so illimitable is his knowledge of

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

It was this contrast between the alleged lofty calling of the minister of a privileged Church and his sad fate that must have depressed many a priest and made him bitter and resentful. Even before he became priest, while still a student in the divinity school, where he was educated at the government's expense, he was exposed to abusive treatment at the hands of his superiors. He was ill-fed, insufficiently clothed, and frequently beaten with the rod or lash. At one time these Church seminaries were so unpopular that children of the clergy had to be forced into them with the help of the knut and of the police. Embittered because of bad treatment, many of these young men nursed a grudge against their disciplinarians, as well as against the Church, the state, and the society at large. The instructors in these institutions, ill-paid and badly treated by their own superiors, were often as wretched and as discontented as their pupils.[2] In this manner the conditions in these institutions tended to reinforce feelings of rebellion which were nursed in the family.

As a result of such circumstances, Russian-Orthodox seminaries became a fertile ground for revolutionary political propaganda which was spreading with an increasing intensity in all the middle schools and universities of the Czardom ever since the abortive uprising of the Decembrists.[1] In this manner many Russian-Orthodox seminaries became hot-beds of subversive radicalism. Mutinies occurred and even attempts to assassinate rectors.

In the meantime, however, that is since 1869, services other than priesthood were opened to a priest's son. Since then the most rebellious youths from divinity schools and priestly families tended to leave church calling and engage in other activities. It was from among such rebels that many Russian revolutionaries were recruited. Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov among the "Nihilists," Nechaev among the Terrorists, Stalin among the Bolsheviks, are only a few outstanding examples in a long list of Russian professional conspirators and revolutionaries. Said Stalin:

> In protest against the humiliating regime and the jesuitical methods that prevailed in the seminary, I was ready to become, and eventually did become, a revolutionary, a believer in Marxism . . .[3]

[1] [i.e. in December, 1825 — Analyst]

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secret police had completely free hands in hunting down the members of the Terrorist movement, using the same cunning means as the terrorists did. Each party relied on terror, based on the principle that all means were justified. One of the principal victims in this struggle was Czar Alexander II whose ideas and policies were aimed at liberalizing the Russian society and raising it to the economic and educational level that had been achieved in the European West.

As a reaction against this event, Alexander's son and successor, Alexander III, instituted officially a regime of terror and declared a ruthless war of extermination of all terrorists and other subversive elements. The Russian public opinion, too, shocked by the assassination of Alexander II, was becoming alert to the dangers of terrorist practices.[29] Such circumstances had a disheartening effect on terrorist plans. A number of revolutionaries found it expedient to move the center of their activities to European capitals. Other young malcontents endeavored to "go among the people" (*iti v narod*) and start mass agitation and propaganda. These *Narodniki* wanted also to raise the educational and economic standards of the lower strata of the Russian society, particularly the peasants who were to play a significant role in the coming events.

16
THE STRUCTURE OF VILLAGE COMMUNITY

I

BEFORE serfdom, the land commune (*mir*) whose function was to distribute land periodically, to collect taxes and maintain order, was also an institution which protected its members from outside interference. It was an institution made up of peasants who were not differentiated economically and who knew their own needs and capacities. In such village communities the Old-Slavonic traditions of mutual aid and egalitarian

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Great-Russian peasant saw the need to keep on good terms with this ruler of the underworld.

Since the Czar was identified with God, the peasant's feeling toward the Czar was like his attitude toward God. He knew that the Czar was as omnipotent as God. "Everything is in the power of God and the Czar," he would say. Therefore, he feared the Czar like he feared God, he felt an awe before the Czar as before God, and he hoped for the best, but it can hardly be said that he had much love for him. "Czar is not fire, but if you come close to him you will burn yourself," he would say. His idea was also that "Where there is Czar there is fear and dread," and that "Czar's rage spreads death." Since God was so far away, detached, neglectful, and implacable, it was the Czar's fearful power that mattered. "God's is the will, but the court is Czar's," he would say.[5]

The peasant's feelings toward the supreme power of the world and of the universe reflected only his bitter experiences with the representatives of these powers on the earth with whom he had to deal in local affairs. Often these did not bring justice, but venality, arbitrariness and persecution. "The court is founded on untruth and injustice"; "Where there is court there is chicanery," he would say. And since the judges were corrupted, the only way to get anything from them was to bribe them. "The judge is useful as much as the pocket is helpful," he would say. Such action, however, was not always advisable because of greediness of the judges. "You will never fill a judge's pocket"; "Do not litigate, you will strangle yourself."[6]

Because of his traditional distrust of authorities the peasant showed also a profound lack of trust in all written laws. He likened the law to the cobweb whose purpose was to catch the small and helpless, not the big and powerful ("The bumblebee will break through, the fly will get stuck."). He also compared the law to a tool that could be used arbitrarily by those who held it in their hands ("The law is like shaft, you turn it wherever you want it."). He noticed that "those who write the laws also break them," and concluded that "It is in vain to write laws if they are not carried out." In accordance with the Old-Slavonic anarchic and equalitarian traditions he was inclined to believe

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771 829 will live eternally. Yes, Lenin lives, his spirit is immortal—his idea is eternal—the leaves of his wonder books are imperishable.[36]

769 643 Lenin is represented not only as the architect of a promised world, but also as a prophet, all of whose prophecies have come to pass (*svershayutsya vse prorochestva Lenina*). There is an officially sponsored cult of Lenin which is propagated by means of many legends that surround his life, his activities, his martyrdom, and his death. He lies mummified in a mausoleum where thousands of pilgrims daily come to worship him. And throughout the country there are numerous Lenin's museums which, like the churches, remind the faithful of the omnipresence of Lenin's spirit. It is the aim of the ruling hierarchy to make their subjects incorporate in their conscience the image of a holy, infallible, and immortal Lenin in whose name the Bolsheviks will be able to make great demands:

> Here everything is eternal,
> Here everything is holiness
> Here sleeps a great Man—
> He and the people are inseparable
> He is—the Conscience of my Motherland.[37]

771 643 Accordingly, as in its worship of Lenin, the Party of the Bolsheviks is tireless in propagating the cult and the iconolatry of Stalin, who is pictured as Lenin's best pupil, as his closest friend and collaborator, and as his legitimate successor. In poems dedicated to him, Stalin is acclaimed as the "master of the entire world"; he is pictured as foreseeing the coming events and disasters, as possessing miraculous powers and life-giving qualities, and as being able to conquer death itself.[38]

With the death of Stalin, the Party is faced with the problem of molding the image of a new Leader with God-like qualities and patriarchal prerogatives. The Soviet press is now picturing Malenkov, one of the present top Party men, as being the pupil of Lenin and comrade-in-arms of Stalin. It is by means of such filiation that a new ruler acquires the attributes of the old deities.

000 Building on the traditional role of the Father in the Russian

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665 The ruling hierarchy realizes, however, that deification of the
208 Party leader would not produce desired effects unless supported by rewards, that is, actual gains or hopes of gains ascribed to his wisdom. It is for this reason that Stalin's name is invariably linked with and symbolically attached to all the outstanding accomplishments of the Soviet system. Stalin is also pictured as incorporating in himself longings and aspirations, dreams and yearnings both of the Soviet people and of all the oppressed and humiliated in the world, of all those who are rejected and deprived of good things in life. Such an image of Stalin strengthens culturally and structurally rooted identification with suffering. He is therefore represented as a symbol of the interests and hopes of all hard-working and suffering mankind. Hence the epoch in which we live, the epoch that is renowned for the strivings of the working masses (of those who suffer), for acceptance in an equalitarian society is to be known as "Stalin's Epoch" (*Stalinskaya Epokha*).

869 But even this linking of Stalin's name with all significant
643 achievements of Soviet society in the field of economy, government, science, and art is not considered sufficient to prevent doubts and skepticism. Deep faith in the Vozhd and identification with him which will be so strong that it will endure most adverse circumstances and make people ready for great and supreme sacrifices must be instilled early in childhood. Thus already in nurseries the children were given toys on which it was inscribed "Thanks to Comrade Stalin for happy and joyful childhood" (*Spasibo tovarishchu Stalinu z schastlivoe i radostnoe detstvo*). Small children are taught to recite stories which emphasize the dependence of the whole country upon Vozhd who is compared with the rising sun. The Soviet children are told that no child and no youth is so fortunate in any other place in the world. They are assured that Vozhd is doing everything in his power to make their lives prósperous and happy. The children are expected therefore to show a feeling of gratitude toward Vozhd, the Party, and the government and must grow up as worthy fighters to take the place of the present leaders:

> We, the children of the Soviet Union, the happiest country in the world, feel the constant solicitude for us by the Party, the government, and our beloved leader, comrade Stalin.

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Comrade Stalin is the best friend of us children, of all the children of the world. It is he who builds for us the best schools, palaces of culture, stadiums and camps, where we can become strong and healthy, so that we can study more and better in the winter time, when we go to school. We must grow up as fighters worthy to take the place of those now present here (*Applause*)—as fighters devoted to the cause of the Party, devoted to the cause of the Communist International (*Applause*). Long live our beloved Stalin! (*Applause*).[40]

Accordingly the study and imitation of the life of the two deified Soviet leaders, Lenin and Stalin, is considered to be one of the primary duties and a sacred obligation of every Pioneer and Komsomol. The aim of the Party is to form the conscience of the young according to an idealized image of Lenin and Stalin. Young people are told to think constantly of their leaders, to be inspired by them, to follow them, and to love them. It is often pointed out that the reason that Stalin became so great and achieved the leading position in the Party was because he was such a faithful follower and loyal disciple of Lenin. "We must do everything so that our life is such as the unforgettable Iliich wanted it to be."[41] "In the soul of each one of us there is one and only one image which governs all of us. That is the image of the great Stalin."[42] And if a Pioneer or Komsomol is relaxing in his duties and vigilance, he is instantly reminded: "Comrade Iliich would not have approved of you." Stalin himself in his speeches often stressed the need to imitate Lenin:

> Remember, love, study, Iliich, our teacher, our leader. Fight and defeat enemies, internal and external—like Iliich. Build a new existence, a new mode of life, a new culture—like Iliich. Never refuse to do even the smallest jobs, because out of little things the great things are constructed—this is one of the important legacies of Iliich.[43]

IV.

The apotheosis of Stalin did not seem to have sufficient appeal among sophisticated and disaffected intelligentsia, nor among dissatisfied and apathetic laboring masses who tended to blame Stalin for their ills. Nor was the identification of the Party with Mother sufficient to inspire faith in Bolshevik system. It was

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[642] Art. 29. The Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR presides at the sittings of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR and has charge of the conduct of its business and proceedings.

[643] Art. 30. Sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR twice a year.

Extraordinary sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR at its discretion or on the demand of one-third of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 31. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR consisting of a President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, twelve Vice-Presidents, according to the number of the Autonomous Republics, the Secretary of the Presidium and 13 Members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 32. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for all its activities.

Art. 33. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR:

a) Convenes the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR;

b) Issues decrees;

c) Gives interpretations of the laws of the Russian SFSR;

d) Conducts nation-wide polls (referendums);

[645] e) Annuls decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR, the Councils of Ministers of the Autonomous Republics, the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of territories and regions and the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions, if they do not conform to the law;

f) In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, releases and appoints Ministers of the Russian SFSR, on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR, subject to subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR;

g) Institutes titles of honour of the Russian SFSR;

h) Confers titles of honour of the Russian SFSR;

i) Exercises the right of pardoning citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Russian SFSR;

j) Appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the Russian SFSR to foreign states;

k) Receives the letters of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives accredited to it by foreign states.

Art. 34. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects a Credentials Committee to verify the credentials of the members of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

On the report of the Credentials Committee, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR decides whether to recognize the credentials of deputies or to annul their election.

Art. 35. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, when it deems necessary, appoints commissions of investigation and audit on any matter.

It is the duty of all institutions and officials to comply with the demands of such commissions and to submit to them all necessary materials and documents.

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646 Art. 36. A member of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR may not be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, or, when the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is not in session, without the consent of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

643 Art. 37. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of
644 the Russian SFSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR orders
[644] new elections to be held within a period not exceeding two months from the date of expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 38. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR retains its powers until the newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR shall have formed a new presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 39. The newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is convened by the outgoing Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR not later than three months after the elections.

645 Art. 40. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR appoints the Government of
[645] the Russian SFSR, namely, the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter IV. The Organs of State Administration of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

Art. 41. The highest executive and administrative organ of state power of the Russian SFSR is the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 42. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR is responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, or, in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 43. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation of the USSR and the Russian SFSR, and of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and verifies their execution.

Art. 44. Decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR are binding throughout the territory of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 45. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR:

a) Coordinates and directs the work of the Ministries of the Russian SFSR and of other institutions under its jurisdiction; coordinates and verifies the work of the authorized representatives of the all-Union Ministries;

b) Adopts measures to carry out the national-economic plan;

c) Adopts measures to fulfil the state and local budgets of the Russian SFSR;

d) Adopts measures for the maintenance of public order, for the protection of the interests of the state, and for the safeguarding of the rights of citizens;

e) Directs and verifies the work of the Councils of Ministers of the Autonomous Republics, directs and verifies the work of the Executive Committees of territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies;

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f) Sets up, whenever necessary, special Committees and Central Administrations under the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR for economic and cultural affairs;

g) Exercises guidance in the sphere of the relations of the Russian SFSR with foreign states, on the basis of the general procedure established by the USSR governing the relations of Union Republics with foreign states;

h) Directs the organization of the military formations of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 46. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR has the right to annul decisions and orders of Executive Committees of regional and territorial Soviets of Working People's Deputies and of Executive Committees of Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions as well as to suspend decisions and orders of Councils of Ministers of Autonomous Republics, decisions and orders of regional and territorial Soviets of Working People's Deputies and Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions.

The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR has the right to annual orders and instructions of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 47. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR and consists of:

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR;
The Vice-Chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR;
The Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the Russian SFSR;
The Ministers of the Russian SFSR;
The Chief of the Arts Administration;
The Chairman of the Committee on Cultural and Educational Institutions.

Art. 48. The Government of the Russian SFSR or a Minister of the Russian SFSR to whom a question of a member of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is addressed must give a verbal or written reply in the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR within a period not exceeding three days.

Art. 49. The Ministers of the Russian SFSR direct the branches of state administration which come within the jurisdiction of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 50. The ministers of the Russian SFSR, within the limits of the jurisdiction of their respective Ministries, issue orders and instructions on the basis and in pursuance of the laws of the USSR and the Russian SFSR, of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR and of the orders and instructions of the Union-Republican Ministries of the USSR, and verify their execution.

Art. 51. The Ministries of the Russian SFSR are either Union-Republican or Republican.

Art. 52. Each Union-Republican Ministry of the Russian SFSR directs the branch of state administration of the Russian SFSR entrusted to it, with the exception of only a limited number of enterprises, according to a list confirmed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and is subordinate both to the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR and the corresponding Union-Republican Ministry of the USSR.

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645 Art. 53. Each Republican Ministry of the Russian SFSR directs the branch of state administration entrusted to it and is directly subordinate to the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

[642] Art. 54. The following Ministries of the Russian SFSR are Union-Republican Ministries of the Russian SFSR:

The Ministry of Internal Affairs
The Ministry of State Control
The Ministry of State Security
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs
The Ministry of the Armed Forces
The Ministry of Cinematography
The Ministry of Light Industry
The Ministry of Forestry
The Ministry of the Timber and Paper Industry
The Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry
The Ministry of the Building Materials Industry
The Ministry of Public Health
The Ministry of the Fish Industry
The Ministry of the Food Industry
The Ministry of State Farms
The Ministry of Agriculture
The Ministry of Trade
The Ministry of Finance
The Ministry of Justice.

Art. 55. The following Ministries of the Russian SFSR are Republican Ministries:

The Ministry of the Housing Construction Industry
The Ministry of Motor Transport
The Ministry of the Municipal Economy
The Ministry of Local Industry
The Ministry of the Local Fuel Industry
The Ministry of Education
The Ministry of Social Maintenance.

Chapter V. The Higher Organs of State Power of Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics

635 Art. 56. The highest organ of state power in an Autonomous Republic is the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Art. 57. The Supreme Soviet of an Autonomous Republic is elected for a term of four years by the citizens of the Republic on the basis prescribed by the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic.

Art. 58. The Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic is the sole legislative organ of the Autonomous SSR.

Art. 59. The Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republics

a) adopts the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic and proposes it to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for confirmation;

b) determines the division of the Autonomous Republic into districts and the boundaries of districts and towns and proposes them to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for confirmation;

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not by means of a popular revolution as in the West. Accordingly the new bureaucratic rule was based on the *Ukaz*[3] and the knut as much as the old order. For the same reason, though the state was formally secularized, the traditions of an autocracy, divinely ordained and supported by God, were carried on by every official as the representative of the Czar.[4]

Therefore the new system of autocracy based on bureaucracy, the same as the old one based on service nobility, could not recognize any political or personal rights of the subjects. Nor could there have developed any *esprit de corps* among the new governing class. This new class of officials owned little or no land and had to live on meager salaries, but was eager to follow the traditions and the high standards established by the old landed nobility. The chinovnichestvo therefore became even more dependent upon the Czar than the dvorianstvo was earlier. There was even less *esprit de corps* and less solidarity in the new governing class than in the old. Each official was constantly in fear of jeopardizing his own social position if he stood up in defense of any of his colleagues. Besides, in this hierarchical system of power the ruin or falling into disfavor of one official often meant the ascendancy of the other. There was, therefore, a tendency to take advantage of such a situation, to resort to intrigues and calumnies, and to help to destroy rather than to rehabilitate a victim.

All the powers, the lawmaking, the application of law, and the justice were placed into the hands of these bureaucrats. At the same time the system of checks and controls was very deficient. Laws were enacted by special temporary commissions of high officials, and created *ad hoc*. The Council of State, a supreme policy-making body, composed of about seventy to eighty highest dignitaries, was appointed by the Czar to serve him only in advisory capacities. The final decision rested in the hands of the Czar, or with the camarilla clique which happened at the moment to be most influential. The Empire was administratively divided into provinces (*gubernia*) which were usually headed by army generals. The gubernias were divided into districts which were headed by chiefs of police. The governors, supported by the police, ruled autocratically in their domains. They were

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q) labour legislation;
r) Legislation concerning marriage and the family;
s) Direction of public health;
t) Direction of social maintenance;
u) Direction of elementary, secondary and higher education;
v) Direction of the cultural, educational and scientific organizations and institutions of the Russian SFSR, and administration of the cultural, educational and scientific organizations and institutions of all-Republican importance;
w) Direction and organization of physical culture and sports;
x) Organization of the judicial organs of the Russian SFSR;
y) Granting the rights of citizenship of the Russian SFSR;
z) Amnesty and pardon of citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Russian SFSR;
aa) Establishment of the representation of the Russian SFSR in international relations;
bb) Organization of the military formations of the Russian SFSR.

635 Art. 20. Every Autonomous Republic has its Constitution which takes into account its peculiar features and is constructed in full agreement with the Constitutions of the Russian SFSR and of the USSR.

Art. 21. The laws of the Russian SFSR have the same force within the territory of every Autonomous Republic. In the event of discrepancy between the law of the Autonomous Republic and a law of the Russian SFSR, the law of the Russian SFSR prevails.

Chapter III. The Higher Organs of State Power of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

● 646 Art. 22. The highest organ of state power in the Russian SFSR is the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

[642] Art. 23. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR exercises all rights vested in the Russian SFSR in accordance with Articles 13 and 19 of the Constitution of the Russian SFSR, insofar as they do not, by virtue of the Constitution, come within the jurisdiction of organs of the Russian SFSR that are accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, that is, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR, and the Ministries of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 24. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is the sole legislative organ of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 25. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is elected for a term of four years by the citizens of the Russian SFSR voting by election districts on the basis of one deputy for every 150,000 of the population.

Art. 26. A law is considered adopted if passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR by a simple majority vote.

Art. 27. Laws passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR are published over the signatures of the President and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 28. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects a Chairman of the Supreme Soviet and eight Vice-Chairmen.

1 [Cf. p.p. 2, 3-4--Analyst]

[CONSTITUTION as of 1949]

[642] Art. 29. The Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR presides at the sittings of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR and has charge of the conduct of its business and proceedings.

[643] Art. 30. Sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR twice a year.

Extraordinary sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR at its discretion or on the demand of one-third of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 31. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR consisting of a President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, twelve Vice-Presidents, according to the number of the Autonomous Republics, the Secretary of the Presidium and 13 Members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 32. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for all its activities.

Art. 33. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR:

a) Convenes the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR;
b) Issues decrees;
c) Gives interpretations of the laws of the Russian SFSR;
d) Conducts nation-wide polls (referendums);
e) Annuls decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the

[645] Russian SFSR, the Councils of Ministers of the Autonomous Republics, the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of territories and regions and the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions, if they do not conform to the law;

f) In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, releases and appoints Ministers of the Russian SFSR, on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR, subject to subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR;
g) Institutes titles of honour of the Russian SFSR;
h) Confers titles of honour of the Russian SFSR;
i) Exercises the right of pardoning citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Russian SFSR;
j) Appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the Russian SFSR to foreign states;
k) Receives the letters of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives accredited to it by foreign states.

Art. 34. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects a Credentials Committee to verify the credentials of the members of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

On the report of the Credentials Committee, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR decides whether to recognize the credentials of deputies or to annul their election.

Art. 35. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, when it deems necessary, appoints commissions of investigation and audit on any matter.

It is the duty of all institutions and officials to comply with the demands of such commissions and to submit to them all necessary materials and documents.

5: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[CONSTITUTION as of 1949]

646 Art. 36. A member of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR may not be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, or, when the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is not in session, without the consent of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

643 644 [644] Art. 37. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR orders new elections to be held within a period not exceeding two months from the date of expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 38. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR retains its powers until the newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR shall have formed a new presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 39. The newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is convened by the outgoing Presidum of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR not later than three months after the elections.

645 [645] Art. 40. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR appoints the Government of the Russian SFSR, namely, the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter IV. The Organs of State Administration of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

Art. 41. The highest executive and administrative organ of state power of the Russian SFSR is the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 42. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR is responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, or, in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 43. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation of the USSR and the Russian SFSR, and of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and verifies their execution.

Art. 44. Decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR are binding throughout the territory of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 45. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR:

a) Coordinates and directs the work of the Ministries of the Russian SFSR and of other institutions under its jurisdiction; coordinates and verifies the work of the authorized representatives of the all-Union Ministries;

b) Adopts measures to carry out the national-economic plan;

c) Adopts measures to fulfil the state and local budgets of the Russian SFSR;

d) Adopts measures for the maintenance of public order, for the protection of the interests of the state, and for the safeguarding of the rights of citizens;

e) Directs and verifies the work of the Councils of Ministers of the Autonomous Republics, directs and verifies the work of the Executive Committees of territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies;

[Constitution as of 1949]

633 Art. 100. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the city Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the respective city Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Departments of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies or directly to the corresponding Departments of the territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 101. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the city Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Moscow and Leningrad are subordinate in their activities both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Moscow and Leningrad and their Executive Committees as well as to the corresponding Ministry of the Russian SFSR directly.

634 Art. 102. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of National Areas and their Executive Committees exercise in the territory of their Areas the rights and duties conferred on them by the "Statute of National Areas" and likewise by the decisions of the corresponding territorial or regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

"The Statute of National Areas" is established by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter IX. The Budget of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

652 Art. 103. The state budget of the Russian SFSR is drawn up by the Council
646 of Ministers of the Russian SFSR and submitted by it to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for its approval.

Upon its approval by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR the state budget of the Russian SFSR is published for general information.

Art. 104. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects a Budget Commission, which reports its conclusions on the state budget of the Russian SFSR to the Supreme Soviet.

Art. 105. The report on the fulfilment of the state budget of the Russian SFSR is approved by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR and published for general information.

652 Art. 106. The budgets of Autonomous Republics, and the local budgets of
631 territories, regions, Autonomous Regions, National and Administrative Areas, district, city and village Soviets include the revenues from the local economy, deductions from the state revenues collected within their territories and likewise receipts from local taxes and imposts in amounts fixed by the laws of the USSR and of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter X. The Courts and the Procurator's Office.

692 Art. 107. In the Russian SFSR justice is administered by the Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR, the Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics, Territorial and Regional Courts, the Courts of the Autonomous Regions, the Courts of National Areas, the Courts of Administrative Areas, the Special Courts of the USSR established by decision of the Supreme Court of the USSR and the People's Courts.

693 Art. 108. In all Courts cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors, except in cases specially provided for by law.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

III

The atmosphere of despotism, servility, fear and awe which developed under this system of total regimentation and dependency left an imprint on the habits and the attitudes of the people and had some influence on the shaping of their values and of their views of life. In conditions of complete dependency and domineering-subservience relationships, self-concern, destructive aggressiveness, as well as fatalistic resignation, are likely to thrive, not personal and social responsibility, moral obligations or group solidarity.

This trend of events meant also increasing social restlessness and political instability which in turn favored the rise to leadership of ruthless power-seekers and psychopaths. Lack of limitation on the personal power of the Czar, dissensions among the nobility and want of responsibility and of emotional balance in the person of the Czar led often to extreme excesses in Czar's rule.[11] All the attempts of the boyars to transform the Boyarskaya Duma into a legislative body were unsuccessful. Since the end of the seventeenth century even the *Zemski Sabor*, the consultative body of representatives of all classes, ceased to be convoked.

Only when the throne became vacant and the omnipotent Czar was gone did this nobility sometimes attempt to squeeze out promises and pledges from the pretenders to the throne. But, even then the remnants of the old boyar class and the new service nobility clashed over the question of control. Hence as soon as the new monarch was installed he did not have any difficulty in establishing his unlimited control and in proceeding to rule arbitrarily in face of a divided dvorianstvo.

The Czar could do anything he pleased with the nobles, including personal chastisement. They were treated as minors by the Czar and trained in blind and unconditional obedience. In the Czar's presence they observed dead silence. Anything that came from his hand, even the most degrading treatment, was to be received with resignation or even regarded as a sign of distinction. At the same time, however, while the nobles were exposed to all kinds of threat, terror and indignities on the part

7 [i.e. Czardom by end of 17th century.. Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

The speeches of the peasants' deputies in the second Duma unmistakably show that the peasants considered that the land belonged to them and to nobody else and that the times of degrading oppression were over. They declared themselves in favor of the free distribution of all the land that was in the possession of the nobility, the Church, and the state:

> We are talking of land these days as of nothing else. We are told it is a sacred, inviolate possession. I think if the people want it, there can be no inviolateness about it. Gentlemen of the nobility! You think we have forgotten the time when you used us as stakes in playing at cards and exchanged us for dogs! We know we were your sacred inviolate property. But the land has been stolen from us. The peasants who have sent me here have said that the land is ours! We have come here not to buy but to take it.[14]

Because of such beliefs and ideas which were intensified by systematic revolutionary propaganda of professional conspirators and agitators, any rumors concerning the land always found a ready response among the peasantry. It is for the same reason that often only a vague rumor about a government land decree was sufficient to convince the peasants that the land was given back to them by the Czar, but that it was the lesser government officials, bribed by the landlords, who kept the land out of their hands. Such land-hungry peasants, already inclined to rebel against age-long and humiliating dependency, were ready to take the law into their own hands, to seize the manorial lands, to loot the estates and to kill the landlords whenever they felt that the power of the existing authorities was crumbling.

The professional conspirators among the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia took full advantage of such inclinations. Their revolutionary plans were especially favored by the growing differentiation in the Russian villages. In the first decade of the twentieth century economic and social differentiation in the Great-Russian village was already well advanced. It was favored by a series of government measures (Stolypin reforms)[15] which were aimed at developing a stratum of independent and prosperous peasantry and destroying the system of communal landholding. As a result of such measures the Great-Russian village became by the first decade of this century composed of a number

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

self. And after the army which Czar Nicholas personally commanded in 1917 had suffered defeats at the hands of the enemies, and the chiefs of the armed forces suggested to the Czar that he should resign, he realized that his prestige had fallen and his authority gone. As out of spite he abdicated not only for himself but for his heirs as well. And as it has already happened in Russia's past, when the central authority suffered defeat and loss of prestige, all seething internal forces of revolt, relieved of the controls that kept them under check, burst out in violent eruptions. In such circumstances everybody deserted the Czar, even the Orthodox Church:

> Even the Orthodox Clergy, that class that had been an integrated part of the Czarist system deserted the Czar in the hour of his doom. Showing as much lack of a sense of proportion as the other classes of Russian society the official hierarchy went as far as to pass a decision according to which all lines containing the word "king" in the Psalms of Dayid were to be deleted.[13]

III

All these circumstances, combined with the extreme factionalism within the intelligentsia, greatly facilitated the seizure of the power by the Bolsheviks. All the four national *Dumas* which were convoked since 1905 were composed predominantly of the intelligentsia and semi-intelligentsia. The same situation existed in the leading circles of all political parties.[14] But in each party, self-centeredness and lust for power led the intelligentsia into constant bickering among themselves and neverending fighting for leadership, a situation that manifested itself in numerous party splits.

It was only in the Bolshevik Party that the Party's Central Committee was well disciplined and unified under one leader who had absolutist and dictatorial powers. This sitution spared the Party too many splits. This Bolshevik system favored the reduction of Party leadership to a rather small number of intellectuals who relied on the semi-intelligentsia and industrial workers in local Party work. It was this dictatorial, centralistic and "aristocratic" organization of the Bolsheviks, as well as the extreme ruthlessness and aggressiveness of its leaders and fanat-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.[1]

However, from the seventeenth century on, Russia's expansion, which was earlier oriented mainly toward the East, turned westward. The wars with the West which heretofore were mainly defensive, tended to acquire an increasingly offensive character. But the wars with the advanced Western countries were more difficult and much more costly than those with the economically and technologically backward Asiatics. The defeats which Russia suffered at the hands of the Swedes and Poles made it imperative for the Czars to increase the military effectiveness of their country to meet the challenge. This need dictated changes in the internal structure of the Czardom, in the direction of administrative and industrial advance along European patterns. Even before Peter the Great, measures had been taken in this direction. But it was Peter who dramatized the issue by himself going abroad as an apprentice in Western industries to become "the first carpenter of the Empire."

In accordance with such need the old system of administration based on service nobility was replaced by a system of salaried officials (*chinovnichestvo*). According to this *chin* (civil rank) system which was introduced by Peter the Great and which followed the Western pattern it was no longer necessary to belong to the dvorianstvo class in order to obtain state service. On the contrary, any one who served faithfully and efficiently could rise in chin and rank and thus obtain the status of a hereditary or of a personal *dvoryanin*, without even owning land. In this way a new salaried military and bureaucratic caste, entirely dependent upon the Czar, was growing at the expense of the landed dvorianstvo. As a result, the dvoryanin-guardsman, the chief state functionary of the eighteenth century, was replaced by the *chinovnik*-commoner in the nineteenth century. Chinovnichestvo absorbed and replaced dvorianstvo—just as earlier the dvorianstvo had absorbed and replaced boyarstvo. Now bureaucracy instead of military nobility became the main instrument of governing.[2]

This change in the structure of the Czardom, however, was accomplished from above, that is, by means of imperial decrees,

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not by means of a popular revolution as in the West. Accordingly the new bureaucratic rule was based on the *Ukaz*[3] and the knut as much as the old order. For the same reason, though the state was formally secularized, the traditions of an autocracy, divinely ordained and supported by God, were carried on by every official as the representative of the Czar.[4]

Therefore the new system of autocracy based on bureaucracy, the same as the old one based on service nobility, could not recognize any political or personal rights of the subjects. Nor could there have developed any *esprit de corps* among the new governing class. This new class of officials owned little or no land and had to live on meager salaries, but was eager to follow the traditions and the high standards established by the old landed nobility. The chinovnichestvo therefore became even more dependent upon the Czar than the dvorianstvo was earlier. There was even less *esprit de corps* and less solidarity in the new governing class than in the old. Each official was constantly in fear of jeopardizing his own social position if he stood up in defense of any of his colleagues. Besides, in this hierarchical system of power the ruin or falling into disfavor of one official often meant the ascendancy of the other. There was, therefore, a tendency to take advantage of such a situation, to resort to intrigues and calumnies, and to help to destroy rather than to rehabilitate a victim.

All the powers, the lawmaking, the application of law, and the justice were placed into the hands of these bureaucrats. At the same time the system of checks and controls was very deficient. Laws were enacted by special temporary commissions of high officials, and created *ad hoc*. The Council of State, a supreme policy-making body, composed of about seventy to eighty highest dignitaries, was appointed by the Czar to serve him only in advisory capacities. The final decision rested in the hands of the Czar, or with the camarilla clique which happened at the moment to be most influential. The Empire was administratively divided into provinces (*gubernia*) which were usually headed by army generals. The gubernias were divided into districts which were headed by chiefs of police. The governors, supported by the police, ruled autocratically in their domains. They were

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631 625 responsible only to the Czar; and the police, not being responsible to the public, but only to their immediate superiors, tended to be arbitrary.

647 What mattered in Russia's bureaucratic system was obedience to one's superiors. That was the primary criterion of judgment of the fitness of a civil servant, not his ability or personal integrity. Seldom was an employee dismissed because of corruption and injustice. A functionary could not be prosecuted for acts committed in the exercise of his functions except with the consent, or, on the initiative of his superiors. And the higher placed the offender, the less real was his responsibility. At the same time a subordinate employee, a soldier, or an inferior officer had no redress if wronged by his superior. A subordinate did have the right by law to lodge a complaint against mistreatment on the part of his chief, but according to the rules of Russian hierarchical discipline, no public servant, civil or military, could present a petition or complaint except through his own superior officer.[5] Few ever dared to do so.

647 871 This bureaucratic irresponsibility and impunity assumes an especial significance if one has in mind the low status of education and training of Russian officials. By the end of the nineteenth century in the provinces, according to an official investigation, out of a hundred employees, only one or two were found to have attended a university, five or six to have graduated from secondary schools, ten or twelve from primary schools. Eighty out of a hundred had had no formal schooling whatever and had passed no examination.[6] Many former soldiers and war veterans with little or no formal schooling crowded civil administration. At times the higher the education the less chances one had to enter state service.[7]

II

647 557 In such a system excess in zeal was often rewarded. On the other hand, initiative and originality, if not successful, were fraught with great personal risks. Therefore, shirking from work and responsibility, and struggling for office and rank became the rule. It was only by achieving higher position and by winning

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the favors of one's superiors that one hoped to exercise more power and to achieve a higher degree of security.

Such a situation often demanded self-abasing and cringing humility toward superiors in the hierarchy as an adjustment to a situation of permanent insecurity and threat. ". . . those employed believe that they can never do enough to show their zeal."[9] "Without being base, it is impossible to get on," the officials themselves would say.[9] At the same time, perhaps as a compensation for degradation and loss of self-respect, there developed the propensity of the officials to show haughtiness and arrogance to those below them in rank and status. "A man, as soon as he rises a grade above the common level, acquires the right . . . to maltreat his inferiors to whom it is his duty to transmit the blows that he receives from those above him."[10]

In such conditions preoccupation with one's self rather than interest in group ideals and objectives thrived. There was therefore a tendency for selfish and petty concerns, greediness, venality, and corruption. Careerism prevailed over loyalty. Fortunes were made by many in public service as a security for the uncertain future.[11] The public opinion itself supported such behavior because it was expected that people who acquire office or any other positions of trust would take personal advantage of the situation. In some departments because of the inadequacy of the salaries and in order to meet the expected high standards of living the officials were considered to have tacit permission to have recourse to illicit perquisites. Administration, justice, police, the army and the navy, and even the clergy, all had their acknowledged perquisites, which often included bribes.[12]

In such conditions in which extreme self-concern thrived, the Czar himself did not feel safe and secure. This sense of insecurity on the very peak of power was reflected, for instance, in the tendency of the Czars not to tolerate any outstanding personalities in their midst.[13] The same feeling was reflected in the idea that any concession on the part of the Czar would be considered as a sign of weakness. The result was that the Czar was often surrounded by sycophants and careerists and had no close friends whom he could trust and on whom he could rely for support at all times. In such circumstances the Czar might feel isolated,

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In a similar manner revolt was brewing in the bureaucracy and the armed forces. In a system which was founded on the principles of absolute dominance, subservience and unconditional submission, it is to be expected that the civil service employees as well as many officers would be often exposed to caprice, arbitrariness and wrong doings on the part of their superiors. These, too, were left without possibility of redress as were the clergymen. Strong sense of rank and social distance were as marked in these strata as among the clergy.

The lay schools were not much different in strictness and discipline from the priests' seminaries, and students in these schools were often as ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and as exposed to the rod and other degrading treatment. The student's parents, who were often impoverished gentry, petty chinovniks, or small traders with meager incomes and big families, were not always able to support their children throughout long years of schooling. At the same time in an economically and technologically undeveloped society with strong traditions of service nobility, there was nothing that young people from such families could do but to enroll at a university or a military academy in order to obtain government office, or to engage in free learned professions. In Russian society of those days these were the only possibilities of obtaining positions of some prestige. Many of these students from impoverished strata had therefore to depend upon public or private munificence to finish their studies. Some of them became police informers to secure a meager income and to finish schooling. Many had to drop out of school because of lack of financial resources.

All Russian schools, therefore, on the middle as well as on the university level, became centers of revolt against an order which exposed them to humiliating treatment, but did not offer them opportunities in accordance with the established traditions of higher classes. Hence the higher the school, the more it was imbued with the revolutionary spirit. And the words "student" and "revolutionary" became synonymous.

When new laws were introduced and these ambitious and rebellious young men and women finally entered state service they found that in addition to being ill-treated and ill-paid, a

[i.e. in the second half of the XIXth century.. Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

large part of them were disfranchised as well, because in municipal self-government and in district and provincial assemblies even persons holding university degrees, if they did not own a sufficient amount of property, were devoid of the right of suffrage.[4] And it was this underprivileged group of declassee nobility, of priests' sons, of former clerics, of sons and daughters of lower government employees, of unemployed professionals, of students and of former students who never had a chance to finish their studies, that became known as the *raznochintsy*.

The raznochintsy intelligentsia tended to lead a bohemian life and to engage in literary activities and journalism. But these vocations were greatly limited because of strict censorship laws. When the bar was established some raznochintsy practiced law as barristers, though they were very restricted in their activities because of traditional extra legal practices of the police. When under local self-administration (*Zemstvo*), a health, educational, and economic program for the improvement of rural areas was developed, a number of raznochintsy were employed by the Zemstvo as physicians, veterinarians, agronomists, teachers and bookkeepers. At the same time, their traditions and training, and especially their ambitions and expectations had conditioned the raznochintsy for intellectual pursuits and political leadership, not for routine administrative work or for business promotion and enterprise.

In such a situation the deeply rooted feeling of rejection which had been developed on the family level was greatly magnified.[5] Accordingly, self-centeredness, power-seeking, lack of trust, destructive aggression, as well as identification with suffering which were developed on the family level were heightened in these circumstances and found expression in ideologies which manifested extreme hostility and an urge for universal destruction. Many of these young rebels, for instance, denied all existing social institutions, conventions and restrictions, and demanded their total obliteration.

This ideology of extreme negation and destruction ("Nihilism") manifested, perhaps, the feelings of utter despair of the ambitious and self-seeking raznochintsy who felt impotent before the God-like power of the Czar and his omnipotent police.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF:

By choosing the "right" people to fill the key Party positions, by using Party aktivs as an instrument of vigilance and political manipulation, and by systematic periodical purges of Party members and of Party officials who do not come up to the standards set up by the Party hierarchy, the whole Party is regimented and kept in submission according to the will of one man and his innermost circle. By an efficient control of such a regimented Party the life of the whole society is manipulated since the Party members are the "leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state."[7] It is also upon the Party's recommendation that all the important appointments in the government, managerial and military hierarchy and in learned professions are made. Hence by controlling the Party, the Party leadership is enabled to regiment the whole society and to make it dependent upon its will.

Such a Party, however, in order to perpetuate its leadership and to maintain its undisputed dominance, must preserve ideological and organizational unity, rigid discipline and *esprit de corps*.[8] These qualities can be best achieved if the Party is limited to a small membership consisting partly of professional conspirators, agitators and political organizers, and partly of the members of government, military and managerial hierarchies. In such a Party the zealots and the careerists, specialists in conspiracy, vigilance and violence, tend to take the lead. As a result, the Party which had been originally conceived as the "vanguard of the working people," which effectively "guides" a devoted proletariat,[9] remained instead an essentially conspiratorial institution and was bound to lose its initial intimate contact with the broad strata of the population.

II

A small faction of professional conspirators, which rules in opposition to the traditionally rooted demands for egalitarian acceptance and full political and social participation, must rely on active help of experts in all fields of political organization and social control to maintain its monopoly of all power. The top hierarchies of these various strata of specialists are all trusted

4 6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Party members. Together with the policy-making Party bodies they form the ruling class of the Soviet society. This top Party-state governing class consists perhaps of about two hundred thousand people or one tenth of one per cent of the total population. They are often referred to as the *Partia i Pravitelstvo*—the Party and the government.

The middle and lower layers of government specialists are often referred to as the *Sluzhashchie*. This stratum includes the rank and file of the learned professions, the rank and file of the intelligentsia and semi-intelligentsia, the middle and lower professional military, the middle and lower government managerial ranks, the engineers and the technicians. According to the 1939 census the number of those in the sluzhashchie class, that is "all those who work in offices" was close to thirty million or seventeen per cent of the total Soviet population, as contrasted to the industrial labor (*rabochie*) which formed thirty-two per cent and the peasantry (*krestiane*) which formed forty-six per cent of the total.

The more one goes down this social scale, the smaller becomes the proportion of Party members to non members and of the privileged to the non-privileged. One's position in this caste-like pyramid determines his status expressed not only in the form of income, but even more so in the extent to which he gets the benefits of various social services, the extent of appurtenances,[10] the amount of freedom of personal movement, and the degree of superordination and subordination.

The privileged position of the educated and semi-educated classes is well manifested in the internal structure of the Bolshevik Party. As late as 1930 about 65 percent of Party members were workers or recruited from the working class, about 20 percent were peasants or of peasant background, and less than 15 percent belonged to the white collar class. But by 1941–42 the composition of the Party was reversed and apparently at present more than 70 percent of the new candidates and members are recruited from among the educated and official classes.[11] The Party rules, which in the first years of Bolshevik regime had favored the industrial proletariat, and to a certain extent the soldiers and the collective peasants, had to be revised in order to

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There is also a deliberate policy on the part of the ruling class
177 626 609 to prevent personal contact and exchange of ideas between the Soviet subjects and the foreigners. In this way the Bolshevik Party is performing the same role in the social and psychological development of Russia as the Orthodox Church has done in the past. Xenophobia and a deliberate avoidance of strangers easily develops in such circumstances, traits which have been noticed by all the observers of Soviet society. Xenophobia is so outstanding in the Soviet world that it has been noticed even by the most casual and most friendly visitors. Soviet authorities have done their best to encourage this feeling. "We were completely cut off
[625] from the great bulk of the Russian people by constant police surveillance, by propaganda and by the threat of punishment."[7] "The air itself was clothed with hate and suspicion . . . penetrated even to the child world. . . . Our next door neighbours, too, were grilled, and though we had known them for years, they took to avoiding us utterly."[8] As a rule, only police informers are assigned to foreigners as servants because everyone else is afraid to work for them.

517 ● 647 In such conditions original ideas and independent intellectual pursuits are fraught with great risks and it is often the less original, the mediocre, the cynical, the shrewd and the unscrupulous that take the lead. Some independent and creative people in such circumstances tend to become apathetic, to withdraw, to sever social contacts and put an end to their creative activities.[9] Others tend to seek safety in bureaucratic routine and in avoidance of initiative and responsibility. For each decision they tend to cover themselves by presenting the matter to various committees, or by seeking the Party's advice, thus letting others shoulder the responsibility.

517 665 The social consequences of such a development are then manifested in a pronounced anti-intellectualism, bureaucratism and vigilantism. The ascendancy of anti-intellectualistic and watchdog trends in Soviet society is well expressed, for instance, in the change in the composition of the membership of the Politbure. In this topmost ruling body the more intellectual types of revolutionaries have been gradually purged and replaced by the activists, the semi-educated professional conspirators, Party organizers, agitators and former security officials.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

517 newspapers, books, and pamphlets, some of which were printed
204 abroad and circulated freely though often clandestinely among
626 the leading circles of the Empire.

517 The ruling circles of the Bolshevik Party themselves were
626 always aware that without criticism intellectual stagnation, lack of creative initiative, and bureaucratism would set in. But they could not afford to allow complete freedom of thought and of expression which might eventually undermine their own power. As a result the Bolsheviks introduced a system of "criticism and self-criticism," known as *samokritika*.

[461] According to this practice it is the duty of every Soviet subject to criticize his own work and the work of others in his shop or office as a means of stimulating alertness, initiative, and hard
[557] work, and as a way to correct errors. But among the officials who closely watch each other's activities, each hoping to rise on the
● [47] cadaver of the other, samokritika is often used as a means of intrigue and ruin in jockeying and struggling for ranks, positions, and power. Samokritika therefore has developed into a weapon employed to detect the ideological deviations and diversions and to criticize any lack of sufficiently positive attitude toward the "Party line." In this manner "self-criticism" in the Soviet Union has become another instrument of regimentation and means to increase conformity.

626 Samokritika is also employed by the ruling circles to manipu-
661 late hostilities generated by the Soviet system and to direct them away from themselves and against the managers and bureaucrats located mostly on the lower levels of the Soviet social pyramid. These people conveniently function as scapegoats. It is such people who, together with a sprinkling from the higher echelons, are periodically offered as sacrifice and "purged" or "liquidated." Samokritika is therefore employed also as a check against abuses of power, though mostly on the local level.

626 In an atmosphere of complete dependence upon and subordi-
154 nation to an overwhelming and infallible power which instils
782 fear and awe, the slightest deviation from the line of thought and emotions as laid down by that distant and inscrutable force might easily provoke anxieties, and a strong sense of guilt. In circumstances in which one feels isolated and without support,

5: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date)-1950 RFI Great Russia RFI

[CONSTITUTION AS of 1949]

642 Art. 15. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic reserves the right freely to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Art. 16. The territory of the Russian SFSR may not be altered without its consent.

[701] Art. 16a. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic has its own Republican military formations.

[649] Art. 16b. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them.

[670] Art. 17. The laws of the USSR are binding within the territory of the Russian SFSR.

[641] Art. 18. Every citizen of the Russian SFSR is a citizen of the USSR.

Citizens of all other Union Republics enjoy on the territory of the Russian SFSR equal rights with citizens of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 19. The jurisdiction of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, embraces:

a) Adoption of the Constitution of the Russian SFSR and control over its observance;

b) Confirmation of the Constitutions of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics;

c) Submission of the formation of new territories and regions and also of new Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for confirmation.

d) Establishment of boundaries, and of the division into districts, of Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics and of Autonomous Regions;

e) Establishment of the boundaries, and of the division into districts, of regions and territories;

f) Legislation of the Russian SFSR;

g) Maintenance of public order and safeguarding the rights of citizens;

h) Approval of the national-economic plan of the Russian SFSR;

i) Approval of the state budget of the Russian SFSR and of the report on its fulfilment;

j) Determination of state and local taxes, imposts and non-tax revenues in conformity with the laws of the USSR;

k) Direction of the fulfilment of budgets of Autonomous Republics and of local budgets of territories and regions;

l) Direction of insurance and savings;

m) Administration of the banks, industrial, agricultural and trading enterprises and organizations subordinate to the Republic, as well as direction of local industry;

n) Control and superintendence of the condition and administration of enterprises subordinate to the Union;

o) Establishment of the procedure governing the use of land, mineral wealth, forests and waters;

p) Direction of dwelling houses and the municipal economy, dwelling house construction and the modernization of cities and other inhabited places; road building; direction of local transport and communications;

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

Soviet social and political structure. The ruling Party which has to remain as an organization of militant conspirators in order to perpetuate itself in power, must also rely for the recruitment of its cadres to a large extent on calculating "careerists" and other self-seekers, who identify themselves not with their group and their society but with the holders of power. The main concern of these people is to rise in the Party and State hierarchy. In their jockeying and struggle for positions and favors, these power-oriented people introduce into the Party and into the government an atmosphere of subservience and ruthlessness, rivalry and intrigue, each seeking to rise on the cadavers of his associates.

Just as in the society of steppe warriors, such a ruling group of power-seekers who are not bound by deep moral bonds or ties of ideological loyalty can be kept together as long as the opportunities for self-aggrandizement exist, or as long as there is a common threat to their positions. Hence a cult of hatred of internal and external "enemies," political expansion, conspiracy on a world scale and planned international tension—short of all-out warfare—have become conditions of survival of Bolshevik power.

This situation forces the Bolsheviks to preoccupy themselves with the problems of security, of defense, and of extension of their political power; it prompts them to subordinate the economic production and the intellectual endeavors to these primary needs of their political survival. Such conditions, in turn, make it difficult to satisfy the demands of the masses for acceptance and for a better and more secure life—a situation that tends to deter the subjects from identifying themselves with the rulers and with the State. And it is this aggravating antithesis between the longings of the multitudes and the power-drive of a ruling clique that breeds social upheaval and intensifies urges for destructive aggression.

It is therefore imminent that we think in terms of planned external pressures which might be brought to bear upon the resolution of this gigantic internal struggle before it reaches the proportions of a global war.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

795 771 779 643

over the whole earth.[1] Through the support of the Church the absolute power of the Emperor became sacred, all-comprising and omnipresent. In the proclamation which announced his reign after he has been solemnly anointed by the Patriarch it was stated that he "proceeded from God, and not from man," and that to him, the "supreme master of the universe, absolute obedience was due from all."[2]

795 797 177

It was this Messianic ideology of politico-religious proselytism and world salvation which had united the Church and the state that helped Byzantium to solidify its rule and to spread its influence and control over the neighboring countries. In conquered, dependent and friendly territories numerous bishoprics of Eastern rite were established whose function was to obtain the moral support of the people for the Byzantine ruler. The conquered people were allowed a certain degree of autonomy in their internal affairs and one of their privileges was the right of the use of their native language in church rituals.

This politico-religious expansionism, however, had its weaknesses. The only tie that linked the subjected and the dependent peoples with the central power was the Church. Thus, as soon as the central power and the authority of the Byzantine Emperor weakened as a result of internal feuds, palace revolutions, civil wars, and invasions, some petty local potentates saw a chance to emancipate themselves from Constantinople and proclaim themselves as sovereign rulers. Such a local lord following Byzantine traditions would appoint from his own kinsmen bishops and Patriarchs whose function was to anoint the new king, to bestow upon him God-like qualities, and to sanctify his despotic rule among the subjects.

795 797 648 793

It is this pattern of Church and state relations that also developed between Byzantium and Russia by the end of the tenth century, when as a result of a political alliance with Byzantium Prince Vladimir of Kiev was converted to Christianity.[3] A Greek Metropolitan and a number of Greek Orthodox bishops were subsequently sent to Russia. Having an eye on the control of all other Russian principalities, the Byzantine Church bestowed upon the Metropolitan of Kiev the authority over all Russian

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territories. He was adorned with the title of the "Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias,"[4] a symbolic beginning of Russian religious and political unity.

When the Tartars in the beginning of the thirteenth century imposed their overlordship over all Russian lands, lacking an efficient administration and interested not so much in governing as in tributes, they restored to the native princes their old titles and gave them the right to collect tributes for them. In this manner in the beginning of the fourteenth century Ivan Kalita of Moscow succeeded in obtaining a *yarlyk* (charter of privileges) in which the Tartar Kahn recognized Ivan as the *Veliky Knyaz* (Grand Prince). A few years later Ivan also became the chief collector of tributes for the Kahn in Russian lands.

In his function as chief farmer of internal revenues Ivan practiced extortion from his Russian subjects and acquired a great personal wealth. His riches enabled him to purchase entire domains and apanages, and to buy the protection and backing of the Kahn. Seeing the ascendency of Ivan, and following Byzantine traditions of Church and state unity, the Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias moved his residence to Moscow and built a cathedral there, ready to support Moscow princes in their political ambitions.

The expansion of Moscow's power over other Russian lands was favored also by external circumstances and pressures. By the second part of the fourteenth century the central authority of the Tartar Empire, the Golden Horde, had weakened and as was customary in Turco-Mongol society, civil wars ensued among the contenders for the throne. This situation presented an opportunity for power wise princes of Moscow to change their policy of cringing and prostration before the Tartars into that of rebellion and bargain. From now on at times they fought the Tartars, at other times they were again kneeling before them; but they now knew how to take advantage of Tartar weaknesses and how to gain new possessions with Tartar assistance. In this policy of expansion at the expense of other Russian principalities the Muscovites had the support not only of the Khans but that of the Eastern Orthodox clergy as well. Their

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6
WESTERN TECHNOLOGY AND RUSSIA'S BUREAUCRATIC AUTOCRACY

I

THE STRUCTURE of Muscovite power had some advantages in comparison with the Turco-Mongol system of rule. The steppe warriors had not developed an efficient system of administration. They depended upon their vassals for the collection of taxes. This practice gave an opportunity to the vassals to enrich themselves, which strengthened their feelings of independence and of revolt. In the same manner the principle of religious tolerance and the practice of granting Church autonomies helped to perpetuate religious, linguistic and cultural differences among the subjects, a situation that did not favor ideological unification and centralization of power. In Russia, on the other hand, a system of centralized administration which followed the Byzantine pattern took care of revenues and of military manpower. The enserfed agricultural population was a source of steady income. Furthermore, state dominated Church tended to Slavicize linguistically and to unify ideologically all subjects under the Czar.

However, this system of Muscovite military theocracy that was efficient in dealings with the Mongols, proved inadequate in Russia's relations with its adversaries in the West. Since the end of the middle ages Western countries went through a series of ideological and economic changes which had fundamentally affected the structure of the Western world. Humanism and Renaissance, Reformation and Counter-reformation, the industrial and political revolutions had brought about considerable intellectual and technological advance and radical structural changes. Compared to the West, Russia had many drawbacks in her economic system. Its power-centered and militarized social struc-

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claimed that the commune should be the main unit of social organization of mankind. In the commune, it was not force or external coerciveness, not the minority or majority rule, but the collective mind, the inner motivations, the principle of unanimity and organic totality that prevailed.[13] It is only by being completely rooted in his own community and completely identified with his own people that man can be creative and can reach all-human ideas, they said.

In such a society in which the state disappears in the Church and in which the commune becomes the basic unit of social organization, instead of external and formal law and authority imposed from above, emotional bonds of unity, self-discipline, informal egalitarian justice and charity will prevail.[13] It is only in such an integrated community which has been fused with the Church and in which the total and organic unity of all members is established that real freedom of the individual can be realized,[14] according to Slavophilism.

Slavophil ideas exerted considerable political influence in Russia and in the rest of the Slav world. Exposed to the growing pressure of imperial designs of Western powers, and embarked on a program of their own imperial expansion in the direction of the Mediterranean and the Pacific, some of Russia's political circles welcomed Slavophil ideas as an ideological justification of Russia's foreign policies. Thus the idea of protection of Orthodox and of Slav peoples,[15] the idea of defense of the Slavs against the encroachments of the Germans and the idea of uniqueness and superiority of Slav culture played an important role in a series of nationalist movements and wars in which Russia became involved since the middle of the nineteenth century.

According to this Pan-Slav movement Russia was the only Christian land, the world outside Russia was "the land of the anti-Christ," the "incorporation of Satan." Accordingly, struggle with the West was not only inevitable, but necessary and salutary, both for Russia and the rest of humankind. And the victory will be undoubtedly on the side of Russia.[16]

For the continuance of its organic life the world required a centre. This centre must be found in a single nation able to

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lead the others. Russia was therefore predestined to fulfill this world mission. Hence the Pan-Slavs looked to Moscow, the ancient Russian capital, not the Westernized "City of Peter" (Petersburg) as the heart of Russia[17] and of mankind of the future—the Third Rome.

15
REVOLT OF THE RAZNOCHINTSY INTELLIGENTSIA (NIHILISM AND ANARCHISM)

I

BY THE second part of the nineteenth century, new changes were taking place in the economic relations as well as in the political and class structure of the Czardom. First of all, the process of disintegration of the old order under the impact of the industrialization and bureaucratization was rapidly coming to an end. Serfdom was abolished and with it there came the disastrous ruin of manorial estates which were not prepared to cope with the difficulties of a money and market economy. The result was that the number of impoverished and pauperized gentry was greatly increased.

At the same time the new laws tended to place emphasis on property. Thus, for instance, in the local assemblies of the noblemen the elective franchise was granted only to noblemen possessing a certain amount of land or a certain value of industrial establishment. This difference in civil rights according to the amount of property introduced a sharp cleavage into the gentry class. Earlier all dvorianstvo and all chinovnichestvo were considered equal in rights and had at least theoretically an equal chance to rise in power or to win the favor of the Czar. But now the new laws disfranchised and declassed a large part of the gentry. Similar laws favored the richer class among the merchants which meant that even in municipal affairs birth and education decreased in value in comparison with wealth.[1]

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one's helplessness, feeling of rejection, and dependence upon the controlling power is especially keenly felt. In such conditions even a slight deviation might provoke a feeling of guilt, need for self-punishment and suffering; it might call for public self-humiliation, confession of errors and pledges to repent and to correct the wrong done, especially when such practices are supported by the inherited traditions. There is therefore a certain degree of truth in the assertion of the Bolsheviks, that "Criticism and self-criticism is a great driving force in the development of Soviet society."[10]

II

In a "prison and barracks" society privileges of power and ideas of grandeur do not sufficiently compensate for lack of acceptance, isolation, humiliations, feelings of insecurity, and sense of inferiority and rejection. In an atmosphere of suspicion, intrigue, degradation, and lack of intimate personal and intellectual contact and of social support, anxieties, fears, extreme self-concern, and deep antagonisms easily flourish. Such a situation tends to magnify feelings of destructive aggression developed on the family level and is therefore likely to become overcharged with extreme hostilities and hatreds; it is likely to become full of potential explosiveness which may be directed against the ruling class itself unless convenient channels for discharge of aggressiveness are found.

In a society in which overt expressions of emotional behavior are under the control of a ruling clique, accumulating aggressions are readily directed against internal and external "enemies" of the regime, be they real or invented for the occasion. In this manner the feeling of hostility against the regime might be redirected against its opponents. It is therefore in the interest of survival of the ruling faction in such a society to cultivate hatred and destruction of the "enemy" by all means of public pressure, propaganda, agitation, education, as well as lawmaking.

These are the reasons why attitudes of extreme animosity against the "enemies of the Soviet Motherland" are propagated in the Soviet daily press and in the school textbooks. Stirring hatreds is one of the main tasks of Party agitators.[11] Accordingly

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in the political philosophy expressed in Soviet writings and in the speeches of outstanding Party members, extreme hatred of the internal and external adversaries is considered as a precondition of Bolshevik victory and of survival of Soviet society. Thus, for instance, in a May Day Order of the Day, Stalin, as People's Commissar of Defense declared: "You cannot defeat any enemy without having learned to hate him with all the power of your soul." In Soviet writings Lenin is hailed as a man who had "a holy hatred of the oppressors of the people . . . "[12]

Just like the Anarchists before them, the Bolsheviks claim that a deliberate cult of hatred is a precondition for the development of a "revolutionary passion." They justify hatred as a means to achieve their revolutionary goals. Following the same traditions the Bolsheviks insist that fanatical devotion should be instilled in people as a means to arouse passionate hatred. Therefore deliberate cultivation of hate together with the training in extreme identification with the Leader, the Party, the Motherland, and the Communist cause must start with kindergarten and with school training of Soviet children. Passionate hatred and passionate love are expected to mutually strengthen each other. According to pedagogical teachings, the Soviet children should be "saturated with irreconcilable hatred toward the enemies of socialist society," as well as with "passionate love of the Motherland." But here too just as in the Anarchist precepts, hatred appears to take the first place and love the second:

> Hatred gives birth to class revolutionary vigilance and creates a feeling of irreconcilability toward the class enemy; the weakening of such vigilance undermines the cause of the socialist revolution. It is necessary to learn, not only to hate the enemy, but also to struggle with him, in time to unmask him and finally, if he does not surrender, to destroy him . . . to vanquish the enemy is impossible without the most burning hatred of him . . . Passionate love of the motherlands breeds inevitably strong hatred of the enemy.[13]

Many outstanding Soviet novelists in their writings emphasize this cult of destructive aggression. Maxim Gorki, for instance, wrote an essay entitled "If the enemy does not surrender, he must be destroyed." Konstantin Simonov, another outstanding Soviet

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of human lives. Soviet military policies are little concerned about systematic rotation of units, facilities for recreation, short leaves and furloughs, regular correspondence with home folks, or with the development of techniques to avoid exposure of men to unnecessary risks.[27] As a result of such attitudes the toll of a Soviet division in war time might come up to 90 percent of its men.[28] Even more indifference is shown toward men who were made prisoners, since "they had surrendered and could not fight any more."[29]

IV

Destructive aggressiveness might become self-destructive unless turned outward. Hence constant internal pressure, intrinsic to Soviet power structure, for aggression against the outside world. A policy of external aggressiveness is likely to provoke external threats against which the accumulating hostilities of the subjects can be mobilized. Successful external aggression is also a convenient way to bolster the prestige of the ruling class and to solidify its rule. The policy of aggression against the outside world implies also the urgency to enhance external security should the policy of expansion provoke international complications.

Early in the development of Bolshevik rule the Communist International and the Communist parties throughout the world have been regimented and employed as instruments of this policy of external expansion, as well as a means of defense against external pressures. It was in accordance with such a trend of events that the Program of the Communist International of 1928, as well as the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International of 1935,[30] emphasized complete identification of the world proletariat with the Soviet power:

> Our road is the road of revolution of the peoples against the oppressors and exploiters. Our will is the will of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Our goal is socialism for the whole of humanity. Our main slogan is the establishment of Soviet power.[31]

In accordance with such need for outward aggression as a relief of internal destructive tensions an ideological distinction

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has been made between "imperialist war of aggression" and "national and class liberation." The first is said to be an "unjust war" of imperialists, exploiters and war mongers, the latter is a movement of the peoples to liberate themselves from the capitalist yoke or from colonial oppression. It is said that in this "just struggle" of the peoples of the world against oppressors the Soviet Union will unselfishly interfere with its armies to help the people to liberate themselves and also to protect liberated peoples from counter-revolution. It is therefore the duty of the working class and of "progressive-minded people" all over the world to strengthen the might of the Soviet Fatherland as "the center of international revolution":

> Being the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of Socialist construction, the land of great working class achievements, of the union of the workers with the peasants, and of a new culture marching under the banner of Marxism . . . the USSR inevitably becomes the base of the world movement of all oppressed classes, the center of international revolution, the greatest factor in world history. In the USSR, the world proletariat for the first time acquires a country that is really its own, and for the colonial movements the USSR becomes a powerful center of attraction.[32]

In order to make Communist parties a tool of this new "Third Rome" ideology all these parties had to follow in their internal organization the Bolshevik pattern of rigid centralism and of unconditional obedience of all the subordinate organs to the higher bodies.[33] Each local Party had to be centralized in such a manner that its leadership was "endowed with complete power, authority, and ample rights" which would enable it to impose "an iron discipline" over its members.[34] All members were expected to accept such centralized Party leadership with absolute power and to "submit to its dictates."[35] This was possible only if "the strictest military discipline" and "unconditional subordination" were established within the ranks of each Communist Party:

> . . . The Communist Party should be organized on the basis of strict proletarian centralism. In order to lead the working class successfully during the long, stubborn civil war, the Communist Party must

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establish the strictest military discipline within its own ranks. The experience of the Russian Communist Party . . . has proved that the victory of the worker is impossible without a severe discipline . . . and unconditional subordination of subordinate units to the decision of those above them, and a strong Party central organ, whose decrees are binding upon all the leaders of Party life . . .[36]

In this manner, the principles of absolute dominance, unconditional obedience and ruthless discipline rooted in the political traditions of Russian society and reinforced by the structure of Bolshevik power were extended to all the parties on which the Bolsheviks imposed their control. In the same manner, also, the traditional filial attitudes of reverence, gratitude, love and humility have been established in relations of these parties to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Accordingly also, destructive aggression became one of the fundamental orientations of these parties. The Communist parties have been encouraged to use all means at their disposal, "including force of arms" in order "to overthrow the international bourgeoisie,"[37] and to "lay low the exploiters . . . completely defeat them . . . crush their resistance. . . ."[38]

As a result, the language of these parties, like that of Bolshevism, stresses hatred, destruction and war. For instance, in the Theses and Statutes and in the Program the emphasis is on extreme hostility expressed in many stereotyped phrases, such as "hatred and relentless aggression," "pitiless struggle," "persistent and merciless denunciation," "merciless contempt," "stubborn, armed and ruthless fight," "fierce and decisive battles," "ruthless war." These means against the "mortal enemy" are said to be necessary in order "to destroy the apparatus of the bourgeoisie," and to bring about the "violent overthrow" of bourgeois power, "at whatever cost." Each Communist party is expected to foster hatred and destructive aggression by all means of propaganda and agitation. The Communist press in all countries and popular Communist songs are especially significant in this respect.

Since the Communist parties outside the Soviet Union, just as the Bolshevik Party itself, stress hatred, pitilessness and destruction, they tend to attract into their ranks people who for one

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It was such thoroughly regimented and indoctrinated Party organizations whose leaderships comprised a hard core of violent and unscrupulous fanatics without bonds of personal or local attachment but unconditionally subservient to the Kremlin, that became a powerful instrument in the international aggression of Bolshevism. Promising Utopias to all disgruntled, rejected and disaffected, such parties became the main instrument of the Soviet Union in its territorial annexations, as well as in the formation of a ring of satellite states. The objective of this expansion was always the same: to turn outward the internal tensions, to enhance the economic, the strategic, and the military potential of the Soviet Union, and to increase the power and influence of the Bolshevik hierarchy at home and abroad.

V

New modifications in Bolshevik ideology were necessary to explain such policies. The Communist parties in the capitalist countries are now said to be unable by themselves alone to overthrow local bourgeoisies or to prevent a counter-revolution after capitalism has been overthrown. These parties therefore need active help of the Soviet armed forces not only to overthrow the capitalist class, but also to eliminate the possibility of counter-revolution and to protect the national independence of the newly formed Communist controlled states—the "People's Democracies." This "liberating" and "protecting" role of the Soviet Army and complete dependence of liberated states upon the Soviet Union is a replica of the dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships on which the Soviet Union itself has been founded. The dependent states are expected to be ready to defend and protect the Soviets "unconditionally and without hesitation." Such a system of Moscow-satellite relationships is considered so overwhelmingly important by the Kremlin rulers that they demand that their satellite leaders constantly emphasize even in fundamental state laws their dependency upon and subordination to the Soviet Union:

The armed might of the great Soviet Union liberated our country from the yoke of German fascism, smashed the landlords and the capitalistic anti-popular state powers, and opened to our working

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people the road to democratic development. Coming to power after severe struggles with the lords and defenders of the old order, the Hungarian working class, in union with the working peasants, rebuilt our war-destroyed country with the unselfish support of the Soviet Union. Under the guidance of the working class hardened in decade long struggles, benefiting by the experience of the 1919 social revolution, depending on the Soviet Union, our people began laying the foundations of socialism.[40]

To emphasize the superiority of the Soviet Union, its undisputed leadership and dependence of the satellites upon it in the struggle for world revolution, an important distinction has been made in regard to the social and political structure of the dependencies in comparison with that of the Soviet state. Though both are said to be the "dictatorships of the proletariat,"[41] the Soviet state is said to be carrying out the transition from Socialism to Communism; the "people's democracies," on the other hand, are said to be carrying out only the transition from capitalism to Socialism.[42]

Complete political and economic dependence of the satellites upon the Soviet Union is ideologically justified by the claim that the general objectives of world revolution presuppose an industrially as well as a militarily powerful Soviet Union as a base. To this primary objective of all Communists local interests of the satellites must be subordinated. Therefore, any opposition to such plans or any hints that the "fraternal assistance" offered by the Soviet Union in the interest of the revolution might not be completely unselfish is immediately castigated as "nationalism," as "opportunism," and as "treason":

> The essential task, that of laying the foundation of Socialism in Poland, can be carried only in close alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union. . . . Any tendency to weaken cooperation with the Soviet Union is directed against the very foundation of the People's Democracy . . . Anyone who imagines that the people's democratic state can be formed merely as a self-sufficient body, on a national scale, isolated from the class struggle on an international scale . . . will inevitably sink into the slough of nationalism and treachery.[43]

This system of political, military and economic dominance of the dependencies implies an elaborate system of watching, super-

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vising, checking and controlling. Accordingly just as in the Soviet Union in each satellite country primary attention is paid to the personnel policies. "Department of Cadres" and "Personnel Bureaus," headed by people who are trusted friends of the Soviet Union and advised by Soviet experts, supervise the political reliability and the labor efficiency of all. Observers of these agencies and Soviet experts are at work in every Party organization, every office and every factory shop. The hiring, releasing, and transferring of personnel rests with these bureaus.

In all these considerations political reliability and not professional competence is of foremost importance, a situation that favors the rise of professionally incompetent zealots and careerists ahead of people who are professionally able but more cautious and moderate, or more independent.[44] In consequence, just as in the Soviet Union, there is a keen struggle for positions and ranks and there is a premium on specialists in political organization and violence, a great demand for watchdogs, agitators, overseers and labor-drivers. Unconditional faith in and devotion to Russia is considered, however, to be the first and primary prerequisite for advance in satellite political, military and managerial hierarchies.[45] Hence periodical purges or "verifications" of Party members are undertaken to insure that only sufficiently Russified people remain in the Party.

The need of total control of dependencies dictates also a divide and rule policy among the satellites. In accordance with such policies the Kremlin instigates and encourages local nationalisms, regionalisms and separatisms and external aggressiveness of the satellites while at the same time it must prevent pan-movements and excessive territorial ambitions which might challenge the dominance of Moscow. Thus while instigating Asiatic nationalism the Soviet Union must prevent the championship of the Pan-Mongolian idea by Mongolia or Communist China. While encouraging various Balkan nationalisms it had to prevent the formation of a South Slav Federation.

Another means of promoting effective control of and dominance of the satellites is isolating these vassal countries from the West and therefore preventing any Western influence to undermine Bolshevik rule. This aim is achieved by deliberately pro-

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voking tension between these dependencies and the Western world, and by promoting anti-cosmopolitanism and castigating satellite intellectuals who show pro-Western attitudes.[46] The control of the Church and persecution of Church leaders, especially those with strong Western ties such as the Catholic hierarchy, serves the same purpose.

In order to strengthen this system of total regimentation and control of its dependencies the Soviet Union formed in 1947 an over-all agency as an instrument of coordination of its major policies toward these states, the Cominform. This over-all agency of conformity and vigilance which took the place of the old Comintern is designed by the Soviet Union to bring about a concerted pressure upon any eventual signs of resistance to the policies dictated by Moscow.

The third meeting of the Cominform (November, 1949), for instance, was especially concerned with means to increase "revolutionary vigilance," to detect "deviationism, opportunism, sectarianism" within Communist parties and to wage an "irreconcilable struggle" against all manifestations of "bourgeois nationalism" and against the "provocations and intrigues of the American imperialists." The Communists who did not unconditionally submit to the wishes of the Kremlin were denounced as "imperialist agents and spies," as the "splitters" in the ranks of the working class, as "tools of imperialists," as "traitors," "reactionary nationalists," "clerical and fascist elements," "counter-revolutionaries," "slanderers," "provokers," "fabricators of foulest lies borrowed from the arsenal of Hitler."[47] In this manner the "Party line" laid down by the Kremlin is universally and unquestioningly adopted by all.

VI

The difficulties of control which arise within such a system of vassal dependencies are well exemplified in the relationships between Soviet Russia and Communist Yugoslavia. In the latter country, the Communist-led Partisans were placed in power when the Red Army took Belgrade, but the quick withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the territory of Partisan-controlled Yugoslavia did not allow the Bolshevik Party sufficient time to place

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its own appointees and trusted agents in all the key positions in the Yugoslav Communist Party and in the Yugoslav state administration.[48]

Even during this short stay of the Red Army in Yugoslav territory, the relations between Communist-Partisan rulers of Yugoslavia and their Soviet liberators became tense. The tension resulted from the "haughty attitude" of the liberators and the hostility that this attitude provoked among the liberated.[49] And later when the Soviet Union attempted to infiltrate Yugoslavia with advisers and experts, the Yugoslav officers began "to abuse" the Soviet military advisers[50] and Yugoslav authorities showed such a "lack of hospitality and lack of confidence" that their security organs "controlled and supervised the Soviet representatives in Yugoslavia."[51] The Yugoslav Communist authorities also refused economic information to the Soviet trade representatives and resented the Soviet Ambassador in Yugoslavia collecting information about the conditions within the Yugoslav Communist Party. And when the Yugoslav Communist leaders and their agents prevented the attempt of the Soviet Union to establish a net of its intelligence agents in the country and within the Yugoslav Communist Party,[52] the final break could not be avoided any longer.[53]

Two totalitarian controls cannot exist in one and the same territory. Thus, when the Soviet Union had realized that Yugoslavia was under the firm control of the Yugoslav Communist Party and police. that they could not liquidate its leadership which became too challenging and could not therefore bring the country to a state of complete dependence, subordination and vassalage, the next alternative left was to expel Yugoslavia from the Cominform.[54] A Communist state out of the Kremlin's hold, if allowed to remain within the Soviet orbit, could undermine the very foundations of the Kremlin's dominance over other satellites.

Similar resentment, antagonism, and lack of trust that developed between the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the Russian Politburo has always existed in all other satellite states in various degrees and forms.[55] Many Communists, particularly the "idealists" and patriots resent the presence of Russian

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experts, advisers, representatives, and agents occupying positions of power and control in each satellite country, especially their haughty and insulting behavior, constant tutoring and sermonizing on the part of Moscow and need to accept the Kremlin's dictates with humility and gratitude. Also economic exploitation of the vassal countries in the interest of the Soviet Union, the imposition of Russian language and Russian culture, the danger of military occupation and the threat of resettlement of whole sections of the population to Siberian mines and lumber camps, all of these cannot but provoke anxieties, fears, and hatreds on the part of the subjected peoples:[56]

> We are finding out that not only lack of knowledge and ability is displayed in the Czech Army toward the Soviet military science and Soviet war experiences, but that we encounter even a direct distaste and resistance based on hatred toward everything Soviet.[57]

For this reason "Titoism" in one form or another has appeared in all satellite countries. A "Titoist crisis," for instance, took place twice in Outer Mongolia, in 1924 and in 1930–32.[58] In other satellite states the same crises were manifested in a number of "spy trials" and execution of outstanding satellite leaders. But purges and trials do not eliminate the sources of dissatisfaction and hostility. Since the causes remain and constantly generate new feelings of destructive aggression, Bolshevik leaders have to constantly increase measures of security, vigilance, and control in all their dependencies. The Kremlin is therefore increasingly forced to rely on power-seeking careerists, on members of minority groups, on Russian subjects, and on children from dependent states taken to Russia and trained as "New Janizaries" to rule their own countries in a "Rokossovsky way."[59] The patriots and the humanists among the Communists have to make room for violent zealots and cynical careerists, "for such men who would not scruple any means in carrying out the orders. . ."[60] The leaders who fought with their people in underground movements against Nazi invaders have to give way to "a few individuals who spent the wartime in Moscow [and] were installed in a 'Rokossovski way' in the top positions . . . lacking the contact with the population and knowledge of its wishes, they mechani-

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cally apply methods which are in flagrant contradiction to our traditions and incompatible with them."[61] Such policies in turn only emphasize the feeling of insecurity, isolation and mistrust; they cause apathy and a slowing-down in economic and intellectual advance.[62]

In this manner the pattern of Bolshevik expansion which was designed to release and redirect the hostilities accumulated within Soviet society has only extended the area of strains and tensions. The addition of each new dependency therefore adds fresh pressures for more aggression directed outward. In such circumstances the Bolshevik leadership is forced not only to instigate its satellites toward external aggression but also to deliberately provoke and perpetuate international tension. By such means the Bolsheviks expect to maintain a constant external pressure that would work toward unity of the Soviet orbit and rallying of all dependencies behind Moscow.

In the meantime, however, such growth and expansion of Soviet power and Communist fomented unrest could not have failed to provoke increasing anxieties and fears in the countries which consider themselves threatened by Bolshevik advance. War preparedness in the West and formation of anti-Soviet military alliances has been the result. Mutual suspicions and international tension which have developed in these circumstances have increased to a point which has already taken the form of a "cold war" and of scattered localized warfare. Thus growing friction between these two increasingly hostile and aggressive worlds might eventually break into an all-out fighting on a global scale.

On the other hand increasing resistance to Soviet expansion on the part of Western powers might eventually completely seal the outlets for Soviet outward aggression. In such a case accumulating internal complexities and stresses generated by the structure of Soviet power might get out of the Kremlin's control and bring about disintegration of Bolshevism through internal conflicts, especially if these are widened and sharpened by means of planned external economic and psychological pressures.

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II

The Slavonic soil cultivators, depending upon economic self-sufficiency and cooperative effort in marshy and forest regions, as well as in the steppes, practiced a system of joint-family ownership of land (zadruga system). But when nomadic warriors imposed their rule over the tillers of the soil, the invaders considered the land over which they ruled to be their property and forced the peasants who were settled on it to pay them tribute in grain and other agricultural produce. According to the expanded version of the *Pravda Ruskaya*, for instance, after the death of a *smerd* (peasant) his sons would inherit the land, but if there were no sons the property went to the prince.

It is possible that already at that time some of the Asiatic conquerors occasionally divided and redistributed the land among the peasants according to the changing size of their families, the ability to till it and pay taxes and tithes. This might have been the most expedient way by which the conquerors sought to increase the income from the lands which they controlled. At the same time the peasants that formed a land commune were held jointly responsible by their over-lords for a predetermined amount of tributes, as well as for criminal acts committed on their territory.

The system of joint community responsibility was a well-known practice in the society of steppe nomads. It was especially applied as a means to procure fines and force the payment of debts. In that social system if a wrong-doer was unable to pay a fine, his nearest relatives, and failing them, the whole camp, had to provide it.[10] Therefore when these predatory herdsmen imposed their rule over the farming folk, they might have introduced the principle of joint responsibility as the most expedient way to collect the tributes and to exploit economically the subjected peoples.

It was by such social processes that the non-warlike and stateless society of the Old-Slavonic agricultural folk was incorporated into a military society of power-oriented horsemen of the Eurasian steppes.

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territories. He was adorned with the title of the "Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias,"[4] a symbolic beginning of Russian religious and political unity.

When the Tartars in the beginning of the thirteenth century imposed their overlordship over all Russian lands, lacking an efficient administration and interested not so much in governing as in tributes, they restored to the native princes their old titles and gave them the right to collect tributes for them. In this manner in the beginning of the fourteenth century Ivan Kalita of Moscow succeeded in obtaining a *yarlyk* (charter of privileges) in which the Tartar Kahn recognized Ivan as the *Veliky Knyaz* (Grand Prince). A few years later Ivan also became the chief collector of tributes for the Kahn in Russian lands.

In his function as chief farmer of internal revenues Ivan practiced extortion from his Russian subjects and acquired a great personal wealth. His riches enabled him to purchase entire domains and apanages, and to buy the protection and backing of the Kahn. Seeing the ascendency of Ivan, and following Byzantine traditions of Church and state unity, the Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias moved his residence to Moscow and built a cathedral there, ready to support Moscow princes in their political ambitions.

The expansion of Moscow's power over other Russian lands was favored also by external circumstances and pressures. By the second part of the fourteenth century the central authority of the Tartar Empire, the Golden Horde, had weakened and as was customary in Turco-Mongol society, civil wars ensued among the contenders for the throne. This situation presented an opportunity for power wise princes of Moscow to change their policy of cringing and prostration before the Tartars into that of rebellion and bargain. From now on at times they fought the Tartars, at other times they were again kneeling before them; but they now knew how to take advantage of Tartar weaknesses and how to gain new possessions with Tartar assistance. In this policy of expansion at the expense of other Russian principalities the Muscovites had the support not only of the Khans but that of the Eastern Orthodox clergy as well. Their

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6
WESTERN TECHNOLOGY AND RUSSIA'S BUREAUCRATIC AUTOCRACY

I

THE STRUCTURE of Muscovite power had some advantages in comparison with the Turco-Mongol system of rule. The steppe warriors had not developed an efficient system of administration. They depended upon their vassals for the collection of taxes. This practice gave an opportunity to the vassals to enrich themselves, which strengthened their feelings of independence and of revolt. In the same manner the principle of religious tolerance and the practice of granting Church autonomies helped to perpetuate religious, linguistic and cultural differences among the subjects, a situation that did not favor ideological unification and centralization of power. In Russia, on the other hand, a system of centralized administration which followed the Byzantine pattern took care of revenues and of military manpower. The enserfed agricultural population was a source of steady income. Furthermore, state dominated Church tended to Slavicize linguistically and to unify ideologically all subjects under the Czar.

However, this system of Muscovite military theocracy that was efficient in dealings with the Mongols, proved inadequate in Russia's relations with its adversaries in the West. Since the end of the middle ages Western countries went through a series of ideological and economic changes which had fundamentally affected the structure of the Western world. Humanism and Renaissance, Reformation and Counter-reformation, the industrial and political revolutions had brought about considerable intellectual and technological advance and radical structural changes. Compared to the West, Russia had many drawbacks in her economic system. Its power-centered and militarized social struc-

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ture was detrimental to the development of trade and industry. For centuries its economy remained founded on a system of primitive agriculture. Lack of large centers of trade and industry adversely affected rural economy. There was no stimulation for agricultural improvements and for freeing of the serfs. Instead, the emphasis was on the exploitation of serf labor as the most expedient means to satisfy the demands of the landlords and of the state. The landlords were mostly absent on military campaigns or other state duties and were generally disinterested in land improvements. At the same time the system of using the land as a pay for military or other state services, in a country whose war campaigns and military contingents were increasing, tended to diminish the size of the donations and increase the burdens imposed on the serfs.

The lack of urbanization, together with the low standard of education of the service nobility, kept also the intellectual development of Russia far behind that in the West. Intellectual activity was limited mainly to the court circles. The ideology and practices of the Russian Church favored intellectual stagnation. Russia accepted Christianity from Byzantium after the Greek Church had already given up classical traditions of Hellenism. By the time Byzantine Christianity entered Russia, Byzantine literature had assumed an almost exclusively ecclesiastical character, and education consisted almost entirely of religious teaching and the reading of the lives of the saints. Art, too, became exclusively religious and stereotyped. All thought was regimented according to religious dogmas and political objectives of the power-holders.

In Russia this type of intellectual rigidity and inactivity was emphasized because of the use of the Old-Slavonic language in the Church, which resulted in neglect of Greek language. And it was considered a sin to learn the "thrice accursed Latin tongue." Thus, the Russian clergymen became isolated from the West because they lacked the possession of the only instruments in which human knowledge was communicated in those days. Moreover, Russian Orthodoxy, like the Byzantine Orthodoxy, was based on monasticism. But unlike the manifold monastic practices of the Western Church, the monks in the Russian Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.

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596 women and children of the household. The power of the bolshak was lifelong, but in case of mismanagement, prolonged illness or want of mental powers, the family adult male members or the village elders could remove him and place another adult male as the head man of the household.[2] All the property: land, farm implements, cattle, buildings, household furniture, and utensils were considered common property of all household members, particularly male adults. But women's clothing and other personal belongings, such as linen and canvas, brought as a dowry or produced by women were considered their private property. When such a household was broken up the common property was divided equally among all the adult male members, regardless of the degree of blood relationship.

The bolshak was assisted in his management by a family council (*soviet*) consisting of married male members, while the bolshuka was assisted by the married females. Though the bolshak's place after his death was taken by his eldest son or his eldest brother, it happened occasionally also that such a household came to be ruled by a woman, if she proved to be an exceptionally resolute personality and good manager.

596 178 476 The remnants of such a family collective persisted in some rural parts of Russia until the beginning of the twentieth century. Such a household in which some of the Old-Slavonic traditions were still in existence was looked upon as a labor association, as much as an association of blood-related families. This is why the heads of such a family commune were designated, not by parental names, as father or mother of the family, but by functional names, as managers of the common property.[3]

596 651 621 Originally the powers of the household soviet were an important check on the authority of the head elder. The soviet assured protection against inequity and tended to maintain equalitarian relationships among the married members of the household. However, early in the development of the Great-Russian society the events tended to favor the power of the bolshak. Following the practices of Mongol rule, frequent censuses were held and frequent levies were imposed on the population according to the number of households or according to acreage. The village community which composed a cess district was made jointly respon-

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sible for the whole amount of the tributes and taxes assessed. It was, therefore, in the interest of this land tax commune to favor concentration of power in the hands of the household head and to support his strictness in rule so that each household might contribute at the end of the fiscal year its share of the common tax assessment. With the lack of such a system of control, the taxes of the defaulters might fall on other members of the village community.

To meet the obligations to the tax commune it was necessary for each household to have sufficient manpower and all the farm equipment it needed. Household partition, which implied dispersal of manpower, need for new equipment, and increased taxation, was therefore frowned upon. Loitering or prolonged absence from the community also had to be discouraged. Early marriages, joint households, and rigid supervision by the elders were fostered. In addition, internal household conflicts provoked by forced regimentation and intensified because of lack of privacy, crowded quarters, insufficient food and clothing increased the need for autocratic rule:

> All in the household well know and have learned by experience that in the interest of the well-being of the household it is absolutely necessary that all obey one elder, who has knowledge and experience about the household and upon whom would depend all matters of husbandry.[4]

The landed nobility and the land-owning Church also supported the absolute power of the bolshak and disapproved of household partitions on their estates. The estate owners were bound to furnish the timber and other materials for the construction of new izbas in case of the division of an old household. They also had to provide the new households with farm equipment, all of which was a burden because it implied additional expense for the landlords. At the same time the government, which was constantly engaged in warfare and was increasingly in need of new recruits, found it more expedient to get these from large households so that the tilling of the soil would not suffer and the tax-paying powers would not decrease while military campaigns were taking place. Therefore, all the authori-

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secret police had completely free hands in hunting down the members of the Terrorist movement, using the same cunning means as the terrorists did. Each party relied on terror, based on the principle that all means were justified. One of the principal victims in this struggle was Czar Alexander II whose ideas and policies were aimed at liberalizing the Russian society and raising it to the economic and educational level that had been achieved in the European West.

As a reaction against this event, Alexander's son and successor, Alexander III, instituted officially a regime of terror and declared a ruthless war of extermination of all terrorists and other subversive elements. The Russian public opinion, too, shocked by the assassination of Alexander II, was becoming alert to the dangers of terrorist practices.[29] Such circumstances had a disheartening effect on terrorist plans. A number of revolutionaries found it expedient to move the center of their activities to European capitals. Other young malcontents endeavored to "go among the people" (*iti v narod*) and start mass agitation and propaganda. These *Narodniki* wanted also to raise the educational and economic standards of the lower strata of the Russian society, particularly the peasants who were to play a significant role in the coming events.

16
THE STRUCTURE OF VILLAGE COMMUNITY

I

BEFORE serfdom, the land commune (*mir*) whose function was to distribute land periodically, to collect taxes and maintain order, was also an institution which protected its members from outside interference. It was an institution made up of peasants who were not differentiated economically and who knew their own needs and capacities. In such village communities the Old-Slavonic traditions of mutual aid and egalitarian

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brotherhood could still be maintained. Since the seventeenth century, however, expenditures for military campaigns and for growing ranks of salaried bureaucrats necessitated increasing state incomes which could be obtained without much delay. Since the state was industrially and commercially undeveloped, the only way to increase revenues was in finding new means to squeeze out of the peasantry a still larger part of its produce. Therefore the old system of direct tax collecting from the mir was found to function inefficiently on the estates of the nobility, and laws were passed which made the landowners responsible for the collection of state taxes from the peasantry. In this way ties between the manorial peasants and the central government were severed.[1]

As a result of such a change in the political structure, the manorial serfs became now entirely dependent upon the owners of the manorial estates. There was no more possibility for the peasants to appeal directly to the government. Between the government and the manorial peasants stood now the landlords to whom the peasants became exclusively responsible as a final authority in all matters, administrative as well as judiciary.[2] *Pomeshchik* was now looked upon as the "natural protector of people, their local judge, the guardian of their welfare, their tutor, the trustee of poor and orphans, observer of good order and law."[3] He was considered as the Czar's overseer and watchdog.[4] The patriarchal dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships which existed between the Czar and his subjects were now extended to the landlord and his serfs. Both the Czar and the landlord were addressed as *batyushka* (father).

The position of the serf, however, was now so much more precarious because in new relationships the power of the landlord was absolute. A life-long banishment to Siberia awaited him who lodged a complaint against his master. And since there were neither written laws nor any established customary law to regulate the relations between the serfs and the manorial lords, the serfs were completely dependent upon the degree of moral or ethical standards of their masters for their lives and well-being. These were often very low. Hence unprotected either by

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written or by customary rules of conduct and often exposed to the arbitrariness and mistreatment of their lords, the serfs on many manorial estates came to be completely dependent upon the will and capriciousness of their masters.

It is obvious that many landed gentry who were given such absolute rights over their serfs would tend to completely subjugate the mir also. In such circumstances the mir was likely to lose its character of a self-ruled and self-contained community and instead tended to become an instrument of landlord's power which made the landowner the absolute monarch of his estate. Under the overlordship of the estate owner the mir kept its watchful eye over every peasant, and made it easier for the landowner to manage his property, and for the government to rule the country. It was under such external pressures that the steppe traditions of an absolute, stern and distant patriarchal power were being strengthened among the peasantry.

II

The conditions of the peasants did not improve in these respects after the abolishment of serfdom in the second part of the nineteenth century.[5] The peasants were emancipated from the rule of the pomeshchiks and subjected again directly to the government. But now the government, pushed by pressing demands for increasing revenues, made the mir an instrument of state control and found in it one of the most exacting of tax collectors. In order to be assured of payment the state had to concede to the mir all of the most severe measures of authority. Now the mir was entitled to banish unsolvent peasants to Siberia. And when corporal punishment was abolished in urban criminal law practice, it was still left in use in the mir.[6]

After the abolishment of serfdom the mir came under the supervision of the district chief of police (*Ispravnik*). The law of 1874 gave the police the right to arrest and to fine the village elders, and even to demand from the governor of the province their discharge. The position of the elder became so undesirable that the mir sometimes had to exert force to obtain candidates for this office or to prevent those in office from resigning.[7]

There was another official in this system of rural administra-

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could be achieved only if Russia was to change radically its economic structure. As a result of such a trend of events and of thought the government passed a decree in 1861 according to which the peasants were set legally free from their masters.

As a consequence of his legal emancipation, the peasant found himself in the possession of less arable land than before, and he was still bound to it. He was overburdened even more than before because he was obliged to pay high redemption dues in addition to the heavy taxes that were imposed on him. Moreover the peasants in land communes not only remained jointly responsible to the government for the payment of taxes, but they were also made jointly responsible for redemption payments. The commune's authority over the peasants was increased and the peasant found himself under an even more exacting and more despotic commune regimentation than the one that existed before the "Emancipation Act."

At the same time the peasant still did not have sufficient arable land. He also lacked pasture grounds and timber which were of special importance in his technologically backward and extensive agricultural economy; most of such land was left in the hands of his former masters. The acuteness of land shortage was especially felt because of lack of artificial fertilizers, need for draught animals, and primitiveness of farm equipment. Many peasants did not even possess a wooden plow.

But though the emancipation act of 1861 still kept the peasants bound to the land, and did not provide them with sufficient land, it did open up opportunities for their economic advance and political activation. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, the peasantry became generally recognized as a potentially very significant force, both politically and economically. It was this prospect of the peasant masses as the leading political power of the future in combination with the Slavophil idealization of the peasantry that gave rise to the ideology of *narodnichestvo* (populism). This ideology idealized the virtues and the creative potentialities of the peasantry, and just as the Slavophils, the narodniki claimed that the reconstruction of Russian society, even of the whole world, will come from Russian peasantry.

By the end of that century a faction of Russian radical intel-

[Constitution as of 1949]

633 Art. 100. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the city Soviets of Working People's Deputies are subordinate in their activities both to the respective city Soviets of Working People's Deputies and their Executive Committees and to the corresponding Departments of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies or directly to the corresponding Departments of the territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Art. 101. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the city Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Moscow and Leningrad are subordinate in their activities both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Moscow and Leningrad and their Executive Committees as well as to the corresponding Ministry of the Russian SFSR directly.

634 Art. 102. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of National Areas and their Executive Committees exercise in the territory of their Areas the rights and duties conferred on them by the "Statute of National Areas" and likewise by the decisions of the corresponding territorial or regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

"The Statute of National Areas" is established by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter IX. The Budget of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

652 Art. 103. The state budget of the Russian SFSR is drawn up by the Council
646 of Ministers of the Russian SFSR and submitted by it to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for its approval.

Upon its approval by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR the state budget of the Russian SFSR is published for general information.

Art. 104. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects a Budget Commission, which reports its conclusions on the state budget of the Russian SFSR to the Supreme Soviet.

Art. 105. The report on the fulfillment of the state budget of the Russian SFSR is approved by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR and published for general information.

652 Art. 106. The budgets of Autonomous Republics, and the local budgets of
631 territories, regions, Autonomous Regions, National and Administrative Areas, district, city and village Soviets include the revenues from the local economy, deductions from the state revenues collected within their territories and likewise receipts from local taxes and imposts in amounts fixed by the laws of the USSR and of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter X. The Courts and the Procurator's Office.

692 Art. 107. In the Russian SFSR justice is administered by the Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR, the Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics, Territorial and Regional Courts, the Courts of the Autonomous Regions, the Courts of National Areas, the Courts of Administrative Areas, the Special Courts of the USSR established by decision of the Supreme Court of the USSR and the People's Courts.

693 Art. 108. In all Courts cases are tried with the participation of people's assessors, except in cases specially provided for by law.

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of strata, whose interests were often conflicting. There were the *obshchiniki* (the communal landholders), the *otrubniki* (the peasant private property owners), the *khutoriane* (isolated homestead owners), the *bednyaki* (the poor and indebted peasants), the *serednyaki* (the middle peasants), and the *kulaki*. Finally, there were still the pomeshchiki who owned manorial estates with arable lands, timber-forests and pasture grounds. These were, however, gradually selling their land to the better-off peasants.

The peasant private landholders prospered better than those in the communes. The yield per acre on communal lands has always been much lower than on the private lands. The communal landholders had to rely for a part of their income on wages. These they got as seasonal industrial workers or as agricultural laborers on the lands of the landed gentry. They also worked on the lands of better-off individual peasant property owners whom they resented and called *"novye pomeshchiki"* (the new squires). The poor, landless, and indebted peasants antagonized the better-off peasants. The lower and the middle peasants resented the kulaks and the pomeshchiki.

At the same time the individualization of the Great-Russian peasantry was proceeding very slowly in spite of government help and encouragement. By 1912 the proportion of consolidated peasant holdings, as compared to those remaining in the communal system, was less than 11 percent. Between 1907 and 1915 only about 20 percent of the peasants left land commune.[16] This slow decommunalization did not, however, indicate lack of desire for private land ownership. The reasons for the persistence of the old communal land system lay in the shortage of land, in peasant poverty, in vested interests within the village commune, and finally in traditional lack of self-reliance among the peasants.

As long as a large part of the Great-Russian peasantry remained in the system of communal landholding where lack of initiative and primitive techniques of cultivation prevailed, no great general improvement in land cultivation and in the standard of living of the peasantry could have been expected in spite of all government efforts. Thus, economically insecure and

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241 511 668 hungry for land, resentful of degrading dependency and inclined to be hostile to the existing authorities, many peasants were ready to follow the leadership of professional conspirators and demagogues who incited them to revolt and promised them "land and freedom." Such feelings and attitudes were of decisive importance in the revolutionary days of 1917, as well as later in the civil war.

20
ASCENDENCY OF BOLSHEVISM

I

178 464 WHEN the Czardom in the eighteenth century embarked on its policy of industrialization, the newly built industries, both those state owned and those owned by the landed nobility, were based on serf labor. Also the non-noble entrepreneurs purchased or rented serfs to work in their mines and factories.[1] In such conditions the technical equipment and the production output of Russia's industries remained at a very low level. There was no incentive to introduce technological improvements as long as the labor was abundant, and its cost low. Only a few industries, such as the cotton industry which was in the hands of non-noble owners, and which from its start was based on free labor, had introduced modern machinery.

●[652] Thus since the Russian industries did not advance technologically and were unable to compete with the European industrial products, they had to be protected by high tariff barriers, by 434 grants and subsidies. This situation kept the level of prices of manufactured goods high in comparison with the buying power of the industrial workers, of peasants and of middle urban strata. 178 458 The resulting lack of buying power of these broad strata of the population made the progress of industrialization in Russia very slow, uneven, unstable, and chronically affected by crises

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626 517 They believe that politics is the business of the government, the business of the Central Committee, and as for the writers that their business is not to interest themselves in politics. They believe that if a man wrote well, artistically, and beautifully, one should let it go, in spite of the rotten passages which disorientate our youth and poison it. We demand that our comrades, both the supervisors of literature and the writers themselves must be guided by something without which the Soviet regime cannot exist, and that is politics. Lenin wrote: "Literature must become Party-minded . . . Against bourgeois literary careerism and individualism . . . socialist proletariat must put forward the principle of party literature . . ." Comrade Stalin described our literati as the engineers of human souls. It is necessary therefore that our literature, our literary magazines, . . . should help the Party and the people to educate the youth in the spirit of supreme devotion to the Soviet regime . . .[16]

536 626 Special attention is paid in this respect to dramatic art because of its popularity and effect. It is stated therefore that "a playwright must be a politician" and that the producer and actor must be "politicians" of the same stature. Appointment of a group of actors for a Soviet play "is a political question for the producer . . . and how the hero must be played in a Soviet play is a political question for the actor."[17] In the same manner in painting, sculpture and music the Party demands "Soviet realism" which means that the artists and the musicians must have recourse to "topical themes and images of contemporary Soviet reality" and must discard "formalistic trickery and subjectivist insularity."[18]

177 186 Accordingly any alien, especially Western, influence on Soviet thinking must be completely eliminated. Western philosophy of liberalism and free individual expression could undermine Bolshevik endeavors to create a completely regimented and submissive "new man." Hence a crusade against "cosmopolitanism, objectivism and other manifestations of bourgeois ideology"[19] has been initiated together with the severance of all closer contacts of Soviet intellectuals with the Western world.[20]

•656 Such policies of complete subordination of one's thoughts, feelings and behavior to the needs of the Party demand not only strict censorship of all published matter[21] but dictate even the use of statistics to suit the objectives of the ruling class. A ruling

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group which claims perfection and monopoly on Truth cannot afford to lay itself open to any fundamental criticism of its accomplishments. Figures are therefore manipulated so as to achieve the desired effect.[22] "In the land of the Soviets statistics have become a weapon for Socialism and Communism," the Bolsheviks say.

II

Shaping of the "new man" must begin early in his childhood. To answer to this need, the schools have become in the Soviet system one of the fundamental instruments of character molding in the hands of the ruling faction. Special measures must be applied by educators to fashion character since "the life itself would not do it," the Bolsheviks say. The schools in the Soviet society have therefore a twofold objective. The first is to develop in each and every child psychological traits which are considered most desirable from the point of view of the perpetuation of the Soviet system and Bolshevik rule. The other is to develop needed skills and to train specialists which are of fundamental importance in a system of total control, such as experts in conspiracy, political organization and agitation, in overseeing, in vigilance and violence.

In a thoroughly regimented society training in unconditional obedience and in identification with and dependence upon the leader is of paramount importance. Such personality traits, already rooted in the Russian social and political structure, are being reinforced by the system of training in the Soviet schools whose pedagogical principles in their essentials do not differ from the precepts of the Domostroy. "From early years we must educate children so that a state of discipline will remain as their permanent possession," says a textbook on Soviet pedagogy.[23] "This discipline must be *firm*, that is, unquestioned obedience and submission to the leader, the teacher, or the organizer . . . " Submission to the will of the leader "is a necessary and essential mark of discipline."[24]

According to these pedagogical ideas the teacher does not coax pupils, he *demands* obedience.[25] The teacher is expected to be "authoritative and strict." Whenever necessary he must give

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chooses to consider that the interests of the children have not been safeguarded.[5] In such cases parental rights might be lost for up to five years.[6] According to the Soviet educational philosophy it is expected that the parents will *rear* the children, but that the public organizations under the Party's supervision will instruct and supervise parents in the ways of *Communist upbringing* of children.[7]

The Party considers it to be its duty to arouse antagonism of children against parents when such action is necessary in the interest of the survival of the Soviet regime. As mentioned earlier, planned rift between fathers and sons was, for instance, employed to speed up the process of collectivization. Commissar of Agriculture Jakovlev, speaking before a Party congress on the struggle against the kulaks, stated that "In a number of cases, the children of the kulaks are made to revolt against their parents, and thus the kulak families are divided and the kulaks still more isolated." The Party has also been known to take advantage of family conflicts to encourage the children to spy on their parents and to denounce them to the political police:

> Russian parents had to be very careful of what they said in the presence of their own children, and even of how they disciplined their children. One boy, Pavlik Morosov, was built up as a hero among youth because he had denounced his father who was organizing resistance against the kolhoz. Great propaganda was made about this boy. A book was written about him. Actually he became a hero to most children.[8]

In times of political "purges" there were frequent notices in the Soviet papers in which the children of the parents who were politically persecuted publicly renounced their parents.[9] That was the only way they could escape the vengeance of a regime which had revived the tradition of family hostages and used it as an instrument of political conformity.

The Bolsheviks consider that since "one's way of life is a social matter . . . a matter of national policy,"[10] the Party has the right to interfere even in pre-marital and extra-marital sex relations, as well as in the relations between the spouses. "Young Communist organizations cannot remain neutral when the con-

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duct of its members in love and family life run counter to the ethics of Soviet Man."[11] The fundamental motivation behind this interference in love and sex life is political control. "Moral corruption brings political corruption,"[12] the Bolsheviks say. It is in accordance with such a line of thought that it is considered to be the duty of one to inform on his or her own spouse. Such behavior is especially expected of a Party member. Therefore "A prudent Russian today hesitates to confide in even his wife too fully."[13]

At the same time while the Soviet family laws and Soviet philosophy and practices tend to favor Party and government supervision of family relations and in some cases sharpen family conflicts, they also endeavor to enforce family discipline over children, and to strengthen the sense of mutual responsibility among family members. The Bolsheviks, however, do not encourage development of the sense of kinship loyalty which might go counter to the interests of the state. The Soviet family laws have broadened the concept of family to all ascending and descending lines and to brothers and sisters. In case any one of these relatives is needy or incapacitated, the others have the obligation of support.[14] Emphasis on family responsibility is manifested also in the provision of the law of 1926 which, contrary to the Russian traditions, abolished the principle of separate property of the spouses.[15]

In accordance with new policy, factual or non-registered marriage which earlier enjoyed state protection was denied that privilege and a decree in 1944 ruled that "only registered marriage confers the rights and obligations of spouses."[16] A decree of the same year ruled that divorce is allowed only in case the wish of one or even both parties who seek divorce coincides with the "government's recognition of necessity to dissolve marriage."[17] Moreover in order to make divorce proceeding prohibitive and marriage practically indissoluble, a long judicial procedure was established. In the course of this long procedure the parties must clarify the motives for divorce and bring witnesses. Also high divorce fees were introduced. And to facilitate state interference, no grounds for divorce were stated or specified in the decree.

However, the procedural instructions concerning this decree

[Constitution as of 1949]

641 Art. 126. In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church
655 in the Russian SFSR is separated from the state and the school from the church.
Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens.

Art. 129. In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the Russian SFSR are guaranteed by law:

(a) Freedom of speech;
(b) Freedom of the press;
(c) Freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings;
(d) Freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

These civil rights are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

[675] Art. 130. In conformity with the interests of the working people and in order to develop the organizational initiative and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the Russian SFSR are ensured the right to unite in public organizations -- trade unions, co-operative associations, youth organizations, sport and defence organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies; and the most active and politically conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people unite in the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and State.

[694] Art. 131. Citizens of the Russian SFSR are guaranteed inviolability of the person. No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of a court or with the sanction of a procurator.

Art. 132. The inviolability of the homes of citizens and privacy of correspondence are protected by law.

Art. 133. The Russian SFSR affords the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the working people, or for their scientific activities, or for their struggle for national liberation.

Art. 134. It is the duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR to abide by the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, to observe the laws, to maintain labour discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of socialist intercourse.

[695] Art. 135. It is the duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR to safeguard
[421] and strengthen public socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the country, as the source of the prosperity and culture of all the working people.

Persons committing offences against public socialist property are enemies of the people.

Art. 136. Universal military service is law.

Military service in the ranks of the armed forces of the USSR is an honourable duty of the citizens of the Russian SFSR.

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[XVth century]

175 allies were also the local boyars who were traditionally always ready, at the critical moment, to abandon their own local princes and rush to join the ascending power.

[795] In the middle of the fifteenth century, the representatives of the Church of Byzantium, in the hope of obtaining the Pope's help against the Turks, agreed to a union with Rome. However, in Moscow, whose power was ascending in the face of the disintegrating Mongol Empire and where the Turks were not considered a threat, no need was felt for any Latin help. Thus the Metropolitan of Moscow who gave his approval for the union with Rome was deposed and the Russian Church was declared autocephalous and independent of the Greek Patriarch. This break with the Byzantine Church was of far-reaching consequences. It placed the Russian Church into a completely dependent position on the Grand Prince of Moscow. From now on, the objectives of the Russian state and those of the Russian Church became inseparable.

• [659]

175 795 Another international event, the fall of Constantinople (1453), removed the last ideological barrier to the growth of the Muscovite Principality into a world empire. Since the seat of the Greek Patriarch had fallen into the hands of the infidels, Moscow became the strongest and the leading Eastern-Orthodox state thus inheriting the Messianic ideology of world salvation and of a Universal Orthodox Empire.

In accordance with such traditions the Russian clergy began to consider Moscow as the only true successor of the first and of the second Rome, as the only depositor of the True Faith, and as the center of a Messianic politico-religious Orthodoxy. By the beginning of the sixteenth century this ideology of the "Third Rome" was fully developed. The Grand Prince of Moscow had already adopted the title of Czar (Caesar). At that time a monk of one of the old monastaries of Pskov stated this idea in a letter to Czar Vasili III, in the following manner:

[186] Two Romes have now fallen, and the third one, our Moscow, yet standeth, and a fourth shall there never be. In thy puissant Empire the council of our church doth shine throughout all the world with the light of holiness which is greater even than the light of the sun. In all the world thou alone art the Christian Tzar.[8]

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II

Following Byzantine traditions and being entirely dependent upon and identified with the dominant political power, the Russian Orthodox clergy supported the autocratic reign of Muscovite rulers by means of an apotheosis of the Czar. According to this theocratic ideology the role of the Church was to be the loyal ally and helper of the Czar who derived his authority directly from God. The Czar's judgment could be overruled by no prelate. In his effort, common with that of the Church to establish a divine order on the whole earth, the Czar had to be unconditionally supported.*

Native Russian, Byzantine and Turco-Mongol institutions and concepts were blended in this system of Russian imperial theocracy. According to the Mongol idea of imperial power the emperor was the owner of the body and of the property of each one of his subjects. He was, however, disinterested in their souls and conscience. Thus, as far as religious beliefs were concerned, the Mongol rulers showed a great deal of tolerance; being interested mainly in collecting the tributes and not in governing they did not look at religion and clergy as allies in ruling. The shamans among the Ural-Altaic peoples were not organized as a priestly class and the Mongol emperor, even after he had accepted Islam, did not see any potential threat to his imperial power in any religion. In that system of power there was a complete separation of religion and politics.

In Byzantium, on the other hand, the Church was a powerful and well-organized force with imperial ambitions. But the Church was subdued to the imperial and personal interests of the lay ruler. The Church often succeeded, however, in using the imperial power for its own ends. At the same time the Byzantine Emperor in legal theory did not rule in his own right, but derived his authority from the people. In legal theory, he was an elected monarch and was subjected to the supreme rule of law, even if the law emanated from him. There was thus in Byzantium a well established set of laws which bound equally the Emperor and his subjects and guaranteed also certain rights to the subjects.

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Speaking of the character of the peasants Mr. Karnovitch observed, that whoever has to exercise authority over them must above all things guard against indecision, whether in word or act. The Russian always requires a definite command; and in disputes, if the settlement be distinct and pre-emptory, he will be satisfied, whether the sentence is favorable or unfavorable, wise or unwise. If there be hesitation, he immediately becomes intractable, while a resolute command has a magical influence which he cannot resist.[21]

In such a society which is kept together by naked force rather than by moral bonds, breakdown of controls easily results in revolt and upheavals, in widespread bloodshed and destruction. On such occasions, just like the raznochintsy intelligentsia, the peasants, too, tended to revolt against all forms of humiliation and oppressive submission and demanded reestablishment of the old community relations, in which truth and justice and equalitarian brotherhood of man prevailed.

Such forms of peasant protest, which were directed against all the authorities, the family, community elders, the landlord, the Church and the state, will be discussed on the following pages.

18
RELIGIOUS REVOLT OF THE PEASANTRY

I

THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH which in the course of its history came to be completely subjected to the state and was made an instrument of governing, supported the lay authorities in their policies of enserfment. But the state had meagerly rewarded the Church for such services. The revenues from the land donations given to the parishes by the state or by the landlords were not sufficient to maintain the parish priests and their families. The village priests therefore depended for their living upon the fees which the peasants

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Russian people and became its very life. But the Byzantine character of Russian religion was conserved. As we have already seen the Russian Church was for long dependent upon Constantinople. Its literature consisted of translations or imitations of Byzantine writings. Its Metropolitan was a Greek consecrated in Constantinople and sent to rule the Russian Church. The two exceptions provided by the appointment in Russia of Hilarion in 1051 and Clement in 1147 are regarded as isolated cases which did not impair the theory and change the practice, which held good till 1448.

Politically the Russians lived for a century and a half under Mongol domination. From the battle of Kalka in 1223 the onslaughts of these mysterious, hideous and inhuman hordes, suddenly appearing from whence no man knew, burning, killing, capturing, had struck terror into the hearts of the dwellers on the Russian plain. Kiev, the cradle of Russian Christianity, the ancient and beautiful stronghold on the Dnieper, was sacked in 1240, and one by one the rest of the Russian towns speedily succumbed. Novgorod alone escaped, protected by its remote situation behind its marshes and forests, and by the courage, self-sacrifice and political wisdom of its prince, St. Alexander Nevsky. The Tartar rule bore less heavily upon the Church than upon the State. When their victory was assured the Tartars were at first, in matters of religion, easy-going pagans, and so long as they received their tribute, did not interfere unduly with the religion of the people they conquered. And as was also to be the case later on with the Balkan peoples under the Turk, it was their religion and their Church which, in the days of social and political disaster, saved the Russians from complete despair and preserved among them some sense of fundamental unity in spite of all their factions and divisions.

The Russian Church was the nurse of the growing national spirit of Russia. In the person of one of its great national saints, Sergius of Radonezh, who founded the Monastery of the Holy Trinity near Moscow, for centuries the citadel of Russian religion and national aspiration, it inspired the movement which thrust back the Tartar domination. In 1380 Dmitry of the Don, whose building of stone walls round Moscow had been a challenging gesture to which the Tartars were not slow

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Thus Church and State developed side by side and often worked harmoniously together. As time went on, however, the Metropolitan came to be more and more dependent upon the Tsar, who on more than one occasion dispensed with the form of election altogether and frankly appointed his chief bishop himself, a course of action for which Constantinople had supplied precedents. A case in point is that of the Metropolitan Daniel, and it is involved in the controversy between the Possessors and the Non-possessors which divided ecclesiastics in sixteenth-century Russia.

The Non-possessors desired a reform of the monasteries and in particular disapproved of the possession of landed property by monks whose vow of poverty, they held, should apply corporately as well as individually. They were led by scholars and mystics like Maxim the Greek and Nil Sorsky. The Possessors, under Joseph of Volokalamsk, while holding the opposite opinion on the subject of monastic property, were supporters of the steadily increasing autocracy of the Tsar, whereas their opponents took a more liberal and humane view both about the authority of the State and about the exercise of discipline upon heretics, whom Joseph and his friends felt little compunction in calling upon the secular arm to destroy. The Tsar Vasili III was childless and proposed to divorce his wife and marry another woman. The Metropolitan Barlaam whose sympathies inclined to the Non-possessors refused to sanction this or to perform the ceremony. He paid for his principles by life imprisonment in a monastery, and a pliant Possessor was found in the person of Daniel whom Vasili made Metropolitan in his place and by whom the new marriage was solemnized. Moralists have not failed to point out that the fruit of this marriage was Ivan the Terrible.

The dispute between the Possessors and Non-possessors went on. Some legal adjustments were introduced into the hitherto unrestricted right to bequeath lands to the religious houses. The celebrated Council of the Hundred Chapters or Stoglav[1] which met in 1551 enacted certain reforming measures,

[1] *Sto* means one hundred, and *glav* means chapter. The enactments of the Council were divided into a hundred chapters. Hence the name Stoglav, which is applied both to the document and to the Council which produced it.

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some of which were concerned with the monastic life. But the core of the Council was conservative and it set the seal of its sanction upon the general pattern of Russian life. It authorized a revision of the Service books, though little came of the authorization. It pronounced in favour of the old Russian customs in making the sign of the Cross and the singing of Alleluia. All these were matters which were to give much trouble to the Patriarch Nikon later on (see below, p. 103).

The differences between the Possessors and Non-possessors on the ethical and humanitarian sides of their controversy remained unresolved, and in general Nil Sorsky failed to establish the ideals he desired in Russian monastic life, and to secure the acceptance of more humane principles in the treatment of heretics. In this respect perhaps he lived before his time. More than a century later two deacons whose wives had died of the plague had forsaken their ministry and married again. They were sent to prison to be kept without food until they perished, and only escaped this fate through the special intercession of the Patriarch of Antioch who was in Moscow at the time.

As the power and dignity of the Russian Tsar increased, it seemed but fitting that his chief bishop should have a corresponding status and receive the supreme ecclesiastical title. With little difficulty this was achieved in 1589 and the title of Patriarch of Moscow was conferred upon the Metropolitan Job and subsequently recognized by the other Eastern Patriarchs.

Thus Russia became the fifth Patriarchate of the Church, and was held, in some sense, to have taken the place of Rome, which had "fallen away". The assumption of this new dignity was accompanied by the creation of a number of new Russian dioceses, and the raising of others to Metropolitan rank.

A generation later Russia again lay under the heel of an invader. The period of disturbances and civil war known as the Troublous Times brought with it foreign invasion. The Poles overran Russia and were in possession of Moscow. For sixteen months they had been laying siege to the famous Monastery of the Holy Trinity a few miles away. Then a dramatic episode occurred. In response to letters sent out from

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the Monastery a great patriotic host came to its rescue under the leadership of a prince, a butcher, a monk and a Cossack, drove out the Poles, and established Michael as the first Tsar of the House of Romanov and his father Philaret as Patriarch. The House of Romanov was to last until the collapse of imperial Russia, and the advent of the Soviets. The Patriarchate was not so long lived. But in addition to Philaret himself it produced at least one outstanding figure in the vigorous personality of Nikon.

Nikon, of peasant origin, was a rigorist, vigorous and dominating, sincere and ascetic. As head of the Chudov monastery in Moscow he had been the close friend and adviser of the Tsar Alexis, the devout son and successor of Michael, for some years, when in 1652 with a good deal of reluctance and some stipulations he yielded to the Tsar's entreaties and accepted the Patriarchal Throne. Perhaps he foresaw that his own personality and conception of his duty as Patriarch were bound to clash with those of his friend and sovereign. Such in fact proved to be the case. Nikon felt himself bound in conscience to resist the encroachments of the secular power in the realm of spiritual affairs. But at the same time he had little scruple about intruding his own will into secular matters, where his harsh severity and arrogance made him many enemies among the boyars.

There was another aspect of the troubles which were to gather around Nikon and in the end overwhelm him. It was the question of the revision of the Service books of the Church —a thorny matter on which many men both in Russia and elsewhere have pricked their fingers.

The Old Slavonic books used by the Russian Church had been translated from the Greek, and in the course of centuries of transcribing, minor errors had inadvertently crept into the text. Beside these matters there were other questions in dispute, such as whether the sign of the Cross should be made with two fingers in the Russian manner or with three as the Greeks were accustomed to make it. And how often should Alleluia be sung on certain occasions? One may be pardoned some astonishment at the fury of the passions aroused by the mere discussion of these subjects. But this is to misunderstand. Men

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excommunicated the Old Believers, deposed Nikon himself and banished him into monastic seclusion.

The line of Patriarchs continued until 1700 when Adrian the last of the original succession died. By this time the dynamic personality of Peter the Great had appeared on the scene and inaugurated a new period in Russian history. In building the city on the Neva which bore his own name he opened his famous "window upon Europe" through which a hurricane blew which disturbed, scattered and rearranged many things in the life of the Russians. Peter admired all things Western and was determined to make Russia a great nation after the pattern of the West. So far as the Russian Church was concerned Peter's reforms had little if any effect in the sphere of doctrine, but he saw to it that bishops were appointed who sympathized or at least were ready to co-operate with his critical ideas on traditional Russian customs and who were willing to acquiesce in the subservience of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to his own autocratic will. Most important of all, he permitted no election of a successor to the Patriarch Adrian, and twenty-one years later abolished the Patriarchate altogether. The formal instrument by which this change was made was entitled the "Ecclesiastical Regulation". There were to be no more Patriarchs in Russia, instead the supreme authority in the Church was to be vested in a body formed on the German Lutheran model and known as the Holy Governing Synod.

This was no synod in the ordinary ecclesiastical sense of the word, but a committee whose members were appointed and dismissed at the will of the Tsar. In addition a secular official called the Procurator was appointed by the Emperor. This layman was not indeed a member of the synod, but his function was to supervise all its proceedings, and without his consent the synod could enact nothing, nor even choose what matters it should discuss. The bishops were dragooned into acceptance of this system, completely foreign as it was to the spirit of the Russian Church. Yet Peter's organization lasted until the collapse of the Empire in 1917.

It is an eloquent testimony to the dynamic force of Peter's personality that the impetus of his reforming movement survived his death. But it introduced deep cleavages and

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confusion into Russian life. The Court and governing classes in St. Petersburg became the least Russian of all sections of the nation, indeed they were more German than Russian, and for long the reform of Peter affected only the educated classes of society. Behind the St. Petersburg façade was the great mass of the people who continued to regard everything Western with suspicion and even abhorrence. Nevertheless, the movement gradually made headway and in due course the interplay of Western ideas and native Russian thought was to produce modern Russian culture and especially the astonishing achievement of Russian nineteenth-century literature.

The "Westernizers" who believed that the destiny of Russia was to follow the path of the West, and the "Slavophils" who put their faith in the Orthodox tradition of native Russian culture, sharpened their wits upon each other in drawing-room discussions and set forth their views in books. But behind all this and but little affected by it, the religious life of the Russian people went on as before. The official Church and the majority of the hierarchy supported the Government even if they disapproved of things Western. Tsar and Metropolitan needed each other, for each believed that in the preservation of the other his own well-being was involved.

But the schism inherited from the seventeenth century still continued and the "Old Believers", among whom was conserved much that was most profound and sincere in the traditional religion of Russia, would have no truck with the St. Petersburg Empire which was anathema to them, nor with the official Church which had come to terms with it. There were in course of time many groups of these interesting schismatics, some of whom had a clergy and some had not. If sections of them degenerated into sects which were psychologically abnormal, the bulk of them, consolidated by persecution and fanatically tenacious of their beliefs, upheld a high standard of conduct and their communities were a storehouse of many significant and beautiful elements of Russian Orthodoxy. Although after 1800 some availed themselves of more generous terms offered them for reconciliation to the Church, the Old Believers exist to this day as a well-organized body of some millions under their own bishops.

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The Old Believers maintain, not without some show of reason, that it is the official Church which has left them, not *vice versa*. But in any case the vast bulk of the Russian people remained within the fold of that official Church. They lived their lives in close contact with their village churches oblivious of the disputes of Slavophils and Westernizers, pathetically constant in their belief in their Little Father, the Orthodox Tsar, and shocked but silent if they heard of time-serving prelates. Nor were men lacking to guide and uphold them. In the eighteenth century Tikhon Zadonsky is an instance of the devout hard-working and conscientious bishop by no means rare in post-Petrine Russia.[1] He stayed at his episcopal post although yearning for the life of secluded devotion for which he had to wait so many years. Some reflection of this man's personality is to be seen in the portrayal of Zossima in Dostoyevsky's *Brothers Karamazov*. In the monasteries were to be found men conspicuous for their sanctity and well qualified to give advice and spiritual help to the many who sought them out. Zossima is not alone in Russian literature and the counterparts of these men in real life, such as St. Serafim of Sarov, Ambrosius of the Monastery of Optina, and many less well-known men of the kind, stand in the true line of descent from Nil Sorsky, in their spirituality and unworldliness and their essentially Russian love of freedom.

The vitality of the Russian Church during the period after Peter and especially in the nineteenth century found expression in widespread missionary activity (see below, p. 162). If the expansion of the Church took place together with the expansion of the Empire, if the missionary bishop worked hand in hand with the secular official and imposed Russian religion and Russian rule at the same time, who is to say which was the dominating motive? At any rate it cannot be said that the Russian Church was blind or indifferent to the spiritual needs of its pagan fellow subjects of the Tsar. But if the State was benevolently interested in the Church, it was determined to control it, and the position of outstanding men like Platon under Katharine II and Paul, and Philaret under Alexander I

[1] Gorodetsky: *The Humiliated Christ in Modern Russian Thought*, pp. 99 ff.

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was a difficult one, so long as they held high office. Each of these men was a thinker and theologian of distinction whose writings are regarded as having high authority in the Orthodox Church. Philaret in particular was the author of the celebrated *Confession* which bears his name and the translator into Russian of the Acts of the Synod of Jerusalem, with its important variations from the original (see p. 89). He was interested also in projects for educational and financial reform. But the autocratic action of the sovereign and the paralysing effect of the régime of the Holy Synod with its Procurator made it clear that the State must find more pliable material to fill the highest offices in the Church. Both Platon and Philaret were dismissed to their own dioceses and retired in official disgrace, although each of them continued to exercise great influence through his writing and preaching.

In the summer of 1917, between the March and October Revolutions, the All-Russian Church Council met in Moscow. Its members were both clerical and lay and representative of all classes within the Russian Church. It embarked upon the planning of a wide programme of administrative reform, it swept away Peter's Holy Governing Synod, and restored the Patriarchate of Moscow. Tikhon, Metropolitan of Moscow, whose name was soon to become well-known throughout the world, was appointed by lot from among three elected candidates, to occupy the Patriarchal Throne.

After the triumph of the Bolsheviks and the establishment of the Soviet Government, the world was startled to witness the attempt of a modern Government to suppress religion.[1] No doubt the close association of the Russian Church with the hated Tsarist régime of which it had on occasion shown itself the willing agent, helped to exacerbate the hostility with which the men who had overthrown the Tsar regarded the Church. But it is important to note that their hostility was not directed to this or that bad feature of any particular manifestation of religion, 'but against religion as such, and, if some of their spokesmen are to be believed, against "good" religion even

[1] For a balanced and judicious examination of the whole struggle, see P. B. Anderson: *People's Church and State in Modern Russia*. S.C.M. Press, 1944.

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198 more than "bad". They adopted with enthusiasm the philosophy of Karl Marx and his interpretation of history, and were sincerely convinced that the welfare of mankind necessitated the "liquidation" of religion. No effort was spared and much skill and ingenuity were employed to achieve this end. But though great suffering was caused to individual men and women, and the external organization of the Russian Church was for a time unable to function, and although large numbers of people were induced to abandon at least the outward profession of their faith, yet the lapse of time made it clear that the religion of Russia was not to be eliminated either by physical repression or by argument and propaganda, and that the secular authorities would have to come to terms with it.

•659 The process of finding a *modus vivendi* was greatly facilitated in consequence of the Second German War. When Hitler invaded Russia, the Russian Church unhesitatingly embraced its share in the sufferings of the whole people, gave its blessing to the armies which defended Russian soil and called for national solidarity under the leadership of the Soviet Government in the protection of the Fatherland. In turn the Government decided that it no longer had anything to fear from the Church and was glad to enlist its help in the conduct of the great struggle.

How far, if at all, the new relation of Church and State has been purchased by modification and adjustments of the Church's ideals and standards, time will show. The public utterances of Soviet churchmen today have nothing but thanks and congratulations to offer the secular authority. The Church, they say, is free to live its spiritual life and, what is more, always has been since the October Revolution. The outsider who reads this may be pardoned a suspicion that the lady doth protest too much and that the heroic spiritual power which held its own unbowed before the onslaughts of a foe, has to some extent succumbed to the seductive blandishments of a friend. Yet such a judgment may after all turn out to be unfounded and unfair. If the Russian Church has indeed found a way, with its spiritual integrity unimpaired, to co-operate with an atheist secular authority, not only can it do much if it will to contribute to the sorely needed understanding between Russia

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and the West, but the fruit it has produced in so much tension and suffering may be such as other parts of the Christian Church may be glad to garner in time of need.

Christianity in Russia has had a very different history from Christianity in Western countries. For long it lived its life in isolation from the West. Its clergy knew no Greek or Latin and the discussions of the Schoolmen passed them by. It had no share in Luther's Reformation or the Counter Reformation and only indirectly felt their effects. It has had, and still has, its own problem of the relation of Church and State and its own ways of dealing with the education and training of its flock. If in modern times it has relied too much upon the external support of the State, it has nevertheless known that its real strength lay in the people's natural sense of religion and the reality of spiritual things.

It is reported that an anti-religious agitator in haranguing a Russian crowd called upon God, if there were one, to strike him dead. When nothing happened he inferred to his hearers that there was no God because He had not killed him. "No," said the crowd, "He hasn't, but we will." And they did. The story, if true, illustrates also the "dionysian" element in the Russian temperament, which is so liable to sweep them into violent action and constitutes one pole in that striking dualism which runs through Russian character.

But there is better evidence of the religious spirit of the Russians in their feeling for God in nature, their sense of beauty as a link with the divine, their admiration, and in spite of all, their practice of the virtues of charity and humility. The ordinary Russian feels that he can hardly be less than charitable and forgiving in view of the shortcomings of all men before God. In spite of his own liability to outbreaks of violence, the idea of administering capital or indeed even corporal punishment in cold blood, sends a chill of revulsion through him.

There is indeed a strand in Russian religion which administers a shock of surprise to the modern Western who derives his impressions of Russia from newspaper accounts of the activities of the Russian State. Long before the Little Poor Man of Assisi changed clothes with the leper and gave his special

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517 668 to bring about an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men on a global scale. Seeking to realize these bi-polar objectives, the Bolsheviks have inherited and reinforced the basic contradictions and conflicts between the aspirations of the rulers and those of the subjects which have throughout centuries undermined the stability of Czardom.

668 661 In their effort to perpetuate themselves in power, the Bolsheviks had to remain organized as a ruling elite of professional conspirators and to reinforce dominance-submission relationships in a system of total power concentrated in their hands. To maintain such a political rule, the Bolsheviks had to introduce a system of total dependence of all upon the holders of power and thus to reinforce the attitudes of self-effacement. They also established a planned system of social differentiation and isolation to prevent social intimacy and group solidarity and hence the potentiality of organized opposition to their rule.

668 771 In such conditions, feelings of rejection and traditional longings for an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men have been greatly strengthened among the subjects. It is this situation that points out the fundamental weakness of the Soviet system. To counteract the effects of this basic vulnerability of their regime, the Bolsheviks have endeavored to deify the Soviet rulers, have resorted to the damnation and anathema of the Western world, and have embarked on a propaganda campaign for a Messianic redemption of all suffering and exploited humanity. In this manner, the Bolsheviks have been able to appeal to supra-ethnical and supra-personal loyalties and to all-human longings, not unlike a universal church.

[208] The Bolsheviks have also endeavored to build up the morale of their subjects by means of prestige projects, by mythical undertakings, by mass pageantry, mass unanimous voting and large scale militarization. All these devices are conceived as ways to provoke emotional identification of the masses with the Soviet State and to find in this identification a substitute for their yearnings for a community of free and equal men.

642 665 Total dominance and total submission relationships which have to be maintained to perpetuate this conspiratorial system of power have introduced other basic strains and stresses in the

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class the tendency was toward the concentration of power in the hands of the more mighty princes.[13]

This concentration of power in the hands of the city plutocracy found its expression in the principle of an unanimity vote in the city assembly (*Veche*). Data on the early political and social organization of the Russian urban communities show that the unanimity in decisions was the rule. The old documents about these gatherings tell us that "what has been established by the oldest city, is maintained by its boroughs," that "all thought and spoke as one man," that "all were unanimous in the desire," and that the decision was reached "by all the oldest and all the youngest men of the assembly."[14]

But we also learn that this unopposed group consensus was achieved by means of threat and terror against all those who might show an inclination to disagree or who disagreed after the assembly had been held and after a resolution had been passed. The dissenters were often beaten with rods, despoiled of their property, or murdered. Sometimes they might escape such fate if ready to pay a fine that varied according to the rank of the dissenter. In this manner a minority, backed by physical force was able to enforce its will on the rest under the guise of "unanimity."[15]

Pressure for the unanimous consent on the part of the people was applied also in the village assemblies, and later in the land commune (*mir*). In some other customs of the Great-Russian peasantry, even in our own times, the unanimous consent was considered necessary. In marriage ceremonies, for instance, custom demanded that the bride when leaving her parental home obtain blessing from all her neighbors. There was, however, a threat against neighbors who refused their blessing. Curses were invoked against them: "Those who do not bless her, may they never marry their sons and daughters" (*Kto ne blagoslovit tomu vek sinov ne zhenit a docheri za muzh ne vdavat*).[16]

The principle of unanimity was apparently the procedure in the local assemblies of the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators of the Dnieper river basin. Such an unanimity was also practiced until our times in the Zadruga society of Croatia.[17] But in those pacific and anarchic societies the principle of unanimity was real, not

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a fiction. Lacking means of physical enforcement because of the lack of a centralized political system, common action could take place only among those who voluntarily agreed. But when small bands of mounted warriors imposed their rule over the multitudes of non-warlike peasantry, the power-oriented conquerors made use of the Old-Slavonic system of unanimity for purposes of regimentation and governmentalization from above. That is, they imposed a dictated consensus by means of force else the opposition of the peasant majority would soon have deprived the ruling minority of its power.

In this manner a number of band chieftains of nomadic origin ruled groupings of small peasant communities, in the form of manorial principalities. Each one of these local potentates, even though Slavicized in speech or born in mixed families, still exhibited extreme self-seeking characteristics and cherished personal power and aggrandizement above everything else, a tenet that had characterized his nomadic predecessors. Each, therefore, following steppe traditions, had a scheme of his own; each was interested primarily in accumulating riches for himself and his immediate family. In consequence, these local princes and their war bands constantly intrigued and fought among themselves. They also transferred their personal and factional strifes to the neighboring towns of burghers. In these squabbles and struggle for power and expansion, the feuding princes and fighting factions did not hesitate to call on the common enemies in their neighborhoods, such as the steppe marauders or the Viking pirates to come in and help them defeat their opponents.

It was in the course of such an internecine strife (*vsta rod na rod*) in Novgorod region in the middle of the ninth century that a band of Scandinavian merchant-pirates was called on to come and help one clique of native princes against the other.[18] These "Varangians" not only came in but stayed, founding later the Russian state in the Dnieper river basin, at that time the most important merchant thoroughfare in that part of the world. These Norse conquerors and state builders were soon assimilated by the natives. In the course of time a series of new principalities was formed and old factional bickerings and fratricidal warfare was renewed.[19]

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the mind of the burghers. As a result, the city folk changed their attitude and instead of haughty bearing they now "bow low" to Mikula.

Ilya of Murom, the other hero of peasant origin, is portrayed as "being crippled" for many years. Then suddenly he acquires gigantic strength from two sources: from psalm singers and from Svyatogor, a hero of supernatural origin and superhuman powers. By means of this acquired strength and by employing cunning, Ilya gets rid of Svyatogor and, like Mikula, joins the bandit-warriors. However, the professional warriors do not accept Ilya on equal terms because of his low origin. But by constant demonstration of superior physical strength employed as a means of intimidation Ilya is finally accepted by the ruling military aristocracy. After a terrifying demonstration of physical strength which shook the whole town to its foundation Prince Vladimir became so panicky that he hurried a messenger to humbly invite Ilya to a prince's feast:

> Knock upon the door five times
> Then cross yourself in the prescribed manner
> Make your bow as it is enjoined,
> Offer humble salutations, and beat with your forehead
> Upon the floor of bricks,
> Upon damp mother earth herself,
> Before the old Cossack, Ilya of Murom.[26]

It seems clear that in these two heroes of peasant origin we find reflected the vicissitudes to which the Old-Slavonic society has been exposed after it has been subjugated to warriors and traders. The moral and productive values of the peasants, symbolized by Mikula's strength, his skill in productiveness, his social responsibility and feelings of dignity and equality, were rapidly declining in the changing conditions. The peasants became an easy prey of the new ruling classes. The result was moral corruption on the part of the soil cultivators, disinterest in land, and an urge to revolt. The peasantry became "crippled." First they expected help from supernatural forces. Then finally they began to rely on guile and on terror to protect themselves. They realized that in the new political atmosphere it was superior physical force which was admired and respected. Many peasants

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therefore were leaving the land to move to the cities or to join the bandits as traders and warriors.

These bandit-warriors are pictured in the Russian folk epic as ruling by such terrifying violence and dreadful terror and craft that all the living beings on the earth flee and hide, or lie prostrate, and even the earth itself shrinks and the sun sinks away at their appearance:

> The red sun was sinking
> Behind the dark woods, behind the broad sea,
> Multitudes of stars studded the clear sky
> When Lord Volga Buslavlevich was born
> In holy Russia.
> When Volga Buslavlevich was five years of age,[27]
> Lord Volga Buslavlevich went forth over the damp earth
> Damp mother earth was rent,
> The wild beasts fled away up to the clouds;
> And the fish scattered in the blue sea:
> And Lord Volga Buslavlevich went
> To learn all craft and wisdom,
> All the various languages;[28]
>
> Volga grew in strength and stature.
> He chose for himself a bold druzhina,
> Of thirty youths save one,
> He, Volga making the thirtieth.
> His dear 'uncle' bestowed upon him,
> Gracious Vladimir of Royal Kiev,
> Three cities with their peasants.[29]

The hero knights of these legendary *Byliny* (the events of the olden days) when they find themselves in circumstances which appear to be under their control, are likely to be boastful, quarrelsome, disrespectful, sensitive to rank and inclined to belittle the strength of their adversaries. In such circumstances they spend their time either in plundering, fighting, maiming and killing, or in feasting, debauchery, and drunkenness.[30]

The extreme power-compulsion and delusions of grandeur of these supermen, as well as their complete lack of self-control, are well symbolized in folk narratives about Svyatogor. This hero has an irresistible urge to bring the heaven and the earth to-

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territories. He was adorned with the title of the "Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias,"[4] a symbolic beginning of Russian religious and political unity.

When the Tartars in the beginning of the thirteenth century imposed their overlordship over all Russian lands, lacking an efficient administration and interested not so much in governing as in tributes, they restored to the native princes their old titles and gave them the right to collect tributes for them. In this manner in the beginning of the fourteenth century Ivan Kalita of Moscow succeeded in obtaining a *yarlyk* (charter of privileges) in which the Tartar Kahn recognized Ivan as the *Veliky Knyaz* (Grand Prince). A few years later Ivan also became the chief collector of tributes for the Kahn in Russian lands.

In his function as chief farmer of internal revenues Ivan practiced extortion from his Russian subjects and acquired a great personal wealth. His riches enabled him to purchase entire domains and apanages, and to buy the protection and backing of the Kahn. Seeing the ascendency of Ivan, and following Byzantine traditions of Church and state unity, the Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias moved his residence to Moscow and built a cathedral there, ready to support Moscow princes in their political ambitions.

The expansion of Moscow's power over other Russian lands was favored also by external circumstances and pressures. By the second part of the fourteenth century the central authority of the Tartar Empire, the Golden Horde, had weakened and as was customary in Turco-Mongol society, civil wars ensued among the contenders for the throne. This situation presented an opportunity for power wise princes of Moscow to change their policy of cringing and prostration before the Tartars into that of rebellion and bargain. From now on at times they fought the Tartars, at other times they were again kneeling before them; but they now knew how to take advantage of Tartar weaknesses and how to gain new possessions with Tartar assistance. In this policy of expansion at the expense of other Russian principalities the Muscovites had the support not only of the Khans but that of the Eastern Orthodox clergy as well. Their

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form an organized opposition; instead they fought among themselves over priority in rank and position (*mestnichestvo*), over estates and crownlands, and over the favors of the Czar.

The lack of unity and struggle for power existed also among the lesser nobility, most of whom obtained their rank not by right of inheritance but by the favor of the Czar or as a reward for their military services. Some of these service nobility were rich in vast possessions, others did not differ much from common peasants in the amount of land they possessed, in standard of living, and in formal education.

Internal squabbles among the landed magnates and the service nobility were weakening the strength of the Czardom in relation to its adversaries. This situation offered a strong argument in favor of the Czar's despotism and at the same time eased the crushing of the opposition in the interest of unlimited power. "If subjects submit not themselves unto their ruler, never shall strife cease in the land," said Ivan the Terrible.[9]

The best way to break the power of the landed aristocracy was by making them economically dependent upon the Czar. This objective was achieved in two ways. One was forceful expropriation, resettlement, imprisonment and assassination of recalcitrant boyars. The other consisted of the increased emphasis on *pomestie* system of conditional land tenure as against *votchina*, or hereditary land property.

According to the pomestie system, which followed Mongol traditions, the crown lands, together with the peasants settled on them, were donated to the holder of an office or of a military rank under the condition of obligatory and loyal service to the Czar, and only as long as the loyal service on the part of the land recipient lasted. The *pomeshchik* was obliged to provide a contingent of soldiers according to the size of his donation. This obligation devolved from father to son. The older sons would obtain from the Czar new pomesties and the youngest son would, as a rule, inherit the pomestie of his father.[10] In the Byzantine Empire, too, the land was given in reward for service, but there the land became hereditary property that could be disposed of at will by the holder. In Russia the system of conditional land ownership meant, like in the Mongol political system, complete

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of the Czar, they became increasingly rank-conscious, domineering and abusive toward all lower in rank or under their power.[12]

Such a ruling class, with its open misrule and arbitrariness, could not inspire the subjected classes with confidence and respect. The lack of social and political security was manifested in want of initiative, in disinterest in productive activities, in loose morals, in hazard games, in a low value of human life, and in a general lack of trust.[13]

On the other hand, perhaps as a reaction to these conditions of insecurity and of social disorganization, there was an urge of complete renunciation of the world and its strife, an urge to detach oneself from the group, a tendency to isolate oneself completely from human society and seek personal consolation and personal salvation in religion. This trend of social withdrawal and self-oriented feelings brought about a great development of hermitism and of monastic life. Many of these people, completely detached from human society and preoccupied exclusively with their own self, sought peace and communion with God in lonely, remote depths of forests, in the solitude of the wilds and deserts. Here "far removed from men" they spent their lives in prayer, fasting and self-maceration.

At the same time the masses of the people who lived in great misery and who were exposed to arbitrariness, exploitation, and other forms of oppression on the part of the mighty, sought consolation and hope in supernatural forces. Beliefs in miraculous powers of wonder-working icons and in life-giving properties of the Cross were taking deep roots. On all sides sprang up prophecies and apparitions. Saint men and prophets, often mentally unbalanced, would appear in the streets and openly voice their protest against the Czar and his government.[14]

These were the only signs of an open opposition to the existing system that was becoming increasingly unbearable. Such "idiots" were considered saintly by the people not only because of their strange behavior and their ability to endure extremes of hardship, but also for their unheard of courage to speak openly against the Czar:

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subjects: coercion and dependency. One such method was to massacre a large part of the population, to loot the conquered territories, and to leave those that remained alive in abject misery. The plunder of the conquered peoples sometimes went to such extremes that they were exposed to prolonged famines and food had to be brought from Moscow to save the remaining populace from starving to death.

When a non-Russian territory had been brought to impotence by such means the Muscovite rulers would settle the Russian people among the natives, dividing the territory into a number of administrative units. The next step was to appoint persons who were strangers to those places to govern them. Following the Mongol pattern, these governors were changed often and never allowed to stay long enough to become friendly with the natives and to develop a genuine local power of their own. As a rule, in one and the same place two personages would be appointed, one of higher nobility to hold the office in name, and the other of lower nobility to control the former. Moreover, special overseers and watchdogs were periodically sent directly from Moscow to spy and check on both.[19]

This system of checking on persons who held high offices was practiced also in the army where large army units were headed by persons of the old high nobility, who were not trusted. To these nominal commanders, officers of lesser nobility would be appointed as deputy commanders. It was often these "political commissars" who had the real power.[20]

Just as in the tribes and states of the steppes the conquered people were kept in subjugation also by fomenting continual dissension between various classes and within each class of the population. The Czar at the same time relied on the numerical strength and loyalty of his personal guards and selected garrisons which were strategically distributed throughout the conquered country. The conquered people, brought thus by the conqueror to helplessness, fell to their knees and begged their overlords for mercy.

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643 imagine himself threatened by "enemies," and live in fear.[14] As
157 a defense against such feelings the Czar might be inclined to follow the advice of those of his officials who favored concentration of power and who advised against giving up any of his prerogatives or against any yielding to the demands of the opposition. "Constitution" to such a Czar and his camarilla was as dangerous as "revolution."

But such policies, which are rooted in a sense of extreme insecurity themselves tend to strengthen such feelings. Mistrust of people, fear of the "enemies," suppression of all opposition and tendency to concentrate increasingly the power in one's hands, to dominate and to demand absolute submissiveness is therefore perpetuated. Hence, power-relations in Russia of the eighteenth and nineteenth century tended to follow the pattern of rule established earlier in Muscovite Czardom:

661 The emperor Nicholas I ruled his country like a gamekeeper. Under
643 his administration of the empire, based as it was upon a system
566 of flogging, imprisonment, and exile to Siberia, the great could indulge their caprices with impunity . . . But . . . in reality . . . the masters were also slaves. Every man, whoever he might be, was dependent on someone more powerful than himself who could with impunity make him wretched, and over him again there was someone still mightier. The lord, it is true, lived in comfort, and the serfs in squalor, but that was all. They were all slaves, one as much as the other . . . I have seen both oppressors and oppressed at close quarters, and I can aver that the inhuman regime of bondage corrupted and depraved one as much as the other.[15]

625 Just as in the political organization of steppe nomads and in the Muscovite Czardom such relations of insecurity, mistrust, self-seeking, abusive domineering and blind subordination demanded an efficient system of watchfulness, vigilance, checking and counterchecking. A special attention therefore had to be paid to the institution of secret political police. Since the days of Czar Nicholas I, the secret political police, known as the Third Section, was placed above all ministries, and was directly subject to the Emperor himself, just as in the days of Ivan the Terrible. Like the Oprichniki of Ivan the Terrible the Third Section was the main agency of vigilance, the chief watchdog of the state. It

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668 625 secret police had completely free hands in hunting down the members of the Terrorist movement, using the same cunning means as the terrorists did. Each party relied on terror, based on the principle that all means were justified. One of the principal victims in this struggle was Czar Alexander II whose ideas and policies were aimed at liberalizing the Russian society and raising it to the economic and educational level that had been achieved in the European West.

661 668 As a reaction against this event, Alexander's son and successor, Alexander III, instituted officially a regime of terror and declared a ruthless war of extermination of all terrorists and other subversive elements. The Russian public opinion, too, shocked by the assassination of Alexander II, was becoming alert to the dangers of terrorist practices.[29] Such circumstances had a disheartening effect on terrorist plans. A number of revolutionaries found it expedient to move the center of their activities to European capitals. Other young malcontents endeavored to "go among the people" (*iti v narod*) and start mass agitation and propaganda. These *Narodniki* wanted also to raise the educational and economic standards of the lower strata of the Russian society, particularly the peasants who were to play a significant role in the coming events.

16
THE STRUCTURE OF VILLAGE COMMUNITY

I

BEFORE serfdom, the land commune (*mir*) whose function was to distribute land periodically, to collect taxes and maintain order, was also an institution which protected its members from outside interference. It was an institution made up of peasants who were not differentiated economically and who knew their own needs and capacities. In such village communities the Old-Slavonic traditions of mutual aid and egalitarian

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the communistic tenets of the Dukhobortsy in such a way as to turn them to his own profit and advantage. Like other Dukhobortsy, Kapustin too believed that God was in every man, and therefore all men were equal. He said, however, that God first had revealed himself in Jesus and the soul of Jesus has then continually animated new bodies throughout many generations. And by virtue of its higher qualities, and the absolute command of God, the soul of Jesus as it passed from one man to another had invariably retained its identity, and the man in whom the soul of Jesus resided, unmistakenly knew he was Jesus:

> Thus Sylvan Kolisnikof at Nikisk whom many of older among you knew, was Jesus; but now, as truly as the heaven is above and the earth under my feet, I am the true Jesus Christ, your Lord! fall down therefore on your knees and worship me![28]

Kapustin introduced a complete community of goods among his followers. They worked the fields in common and divided the harvest among them. Storehouses were erected to provide against years of dearth or famine. Also various kinds of industries were introduced and the colony showed visible progress in the first few years of its existence. Kapustin had also assembled an advisory Council of thirty Elders about him, from among whom an inner circle of twelve was selected. These were known as "The Apostles." Before he died he endeavored to impose his son as his successor and claimed that when he died the soul of Jesus would enter the body of his son.

After Kapustin's death dissatisfactions grew stronger and manifested themselves in suspicion, mistrust, and denunciation. The Council of Elders developed into an inquisitional tribunal which ruled arbitrarily, interpreting justice according to their caprices. Those who submitted unconditionally were rewarded, those who were suspected of deviation were accused of treachery and of intention to go over to their "enemy" that is, the official Church, and were punished with torture and even with death. The house from which the Elders ruled became known as *Ray i muka*—paradise and torture.[29]

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"Lenin always felt that the Party was he, that he was the will of the movement concentrated in one man, and he acted accordingly . . . "[8] It was this demand for total power and urge to perpetuate oneself in power that necessitated military discipline and frequent purges within the Party, just as earlier among the Terrorists, the same demand and urge fostered intolerance and hatred of all deviationists and outsiders, promoted mistrust and led to the use of terror inside and outside of Party ranks. Thus Lenin, too, approved of terror:

[661]

We have never rejected terror on principle, nor can we ever do so. Terror is a form of military operation that may be usefully applied, or may even be essential in certain movements of the battle. . . .[9]

Extreme power-seeking and resulting dogmatism and inability to compromise, as well as the example set by the Anarchists and Terrorists, led even in the early years of Party life to an emphasis on hatred of the opponents and on ruthlessness in dealing with them. Thus, in early Bolshevik writings, the words "hatred," "ruthlessness," "irreconcilability," "mercilessness," "relentlessness," "extermination," "destruction," "wiping off," became prominent. When called before the Central Committee of the Party to answer for his accusations against some Party members, which the Central Committee considered unjust and false, Lenin prided himself on using unethical methods in fighting his opponents. He proudly admitted that his accusations were deliberately schemed to:

. . . evoke in the reader hatred, aversion and contempt . . . calculated not to convince but to break up the ranks of the opponent, not to correct the mistake of the opponent but to destroy him, to wipe his organization off the face of the earth . . . to evoke the worst thoughts, the worst suspicions about the opponent . . . Against such political enemies I then conducted—and in the event of a repetition and development of a split shall always conduct a fight of extermination . . .[10]

It was this compulsive urge of the Bolsheviks to seize power by all and any means, their centralistic and military Party organization and their ruthlessness in dealing with their opponents that had enabled them to take advantage of the chaotic situa-

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of foreign loans and investments the process of industrialization and of economic autarchy, which was needed to develop military potential necessary to withstand internal and external threats, was proceeding at too slow a pace. This situation made it imperative for the impatient and insecure ruling class to have at hand goods available for quick export in order to buy foreign machinery and to industrialize and militarize the country at a higher speed.

The peasants in the meantime were busy in making improvements on their possessions and in raising the amount of food for home consumption. Increased peasant consumption of food however meant decrease of the crops available both for export and for the needs of fast growing urban strata which were being created as a result of a speedy industrialization. Also lack of regulation of agricultural production meant that planting and sowing were designed to a large extent to satisfy the home needs of the peasant, and only to a lesser extent those of the national or foreign market.

This meant that as long as a large section of the peasantry remained as independent producers there was always a danger that the ruling class might not have at its disposal sufficient quantities of marketable products. And the more the ruling faction felt insecure in its power, the more this potential threat of an economically independent peasantry seemed real and close. This feeling of insecurity and mistrust of the Bolsheviks was manifested in their hatred of the peasantry. "The peasant who has two cows is already an enemy," they would say. Hence the Party hierarchy made the decision not only to abolish the economic independence of the peasants, but also to "destroy peasantry as a class" by means of collectivization.

In their determination to "destroy peasantry as a class," the Bolsheviks first incited the poor and the medium peasants against the "kulaks" and then the landless against the small peasant owners. The Bolshevik agitators took advantage also of the traditional tensions within peasant families and aroused son against father and brother against brother. Thus inciting and exploiting resentments and hostilities between various peasant strata and taking advantage of family antagonisms, the Bolsheviks were able

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to force the peasants to join the collectives and the state farms. Those who opposed such policies were resettled or banished to convict labor camps. Many were massacred. According to Stalin ten million peasants became victims of this "class war."[5]

In order to insure their complete control over the farming population, the Bolshevik leaders sent the most trusted Party people from the city to the village to manage the newly formed *kolhozes*. These *novye bary* (new lords), as the peasants called them, installed themselves in the mansions of former estate owners and kept themselves at a considerable distance from the rural population, not unlike the former serf-owners. And not unlike the former gentry the new masters were also bent upon extracting maximum labor from the peasantry with minimum reward.

Under such conditions, the peasants, in the first outbursts of their reaction against this state of abusive submission resorted to outward aggression in the form of traditional uprisings. They burnt their crops and slaughtered their cattle rather than collectivize them. It is estimated that almost two-thirds of the entire livestock and a large part of the crops were destroyed.[6] Such a situation affected even the Ukraine, the "granary of Russia" and greatly contributed to the famine of 1932–33 in which hundreds of thousands of people died of starvation and epidemics. It was by such active rebellion that the peasantry forced the Party into a temporary retreat. The Party had to appease the peasants by giving each peasant household the right to retain in private use a small plot of land, and also in private possession a limited number of livestock. Also, private trade in agricultural products was restored in a limited degree.[7]

These were however only temporary concessions, since the Bolsheviks were determined to completely "industrialize" the peasantry as a means of political and economic control. Following such aims the highest possible degree of specialization in farm operation has been fostered and the members of the same family have been assigned to different, spacially separated activities. In this manner the agricultural brigade instead of the peasant family became the basic unit of agricultural production. For the same reason the highest possible degree of mechanization of

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This trend to expropriate the peasants and to overspecialize them as a means of political and economic control found its expression in the recent development of Bolshevik ideology. In the utterances of Party leaders and in the Soviet press it is being stressed that the conditions in the Soviet Union are already so advanced that the Soviet state is ready to move from socialism into the first levels of a limited Communism. This first phase of Communism will consist of the elimination of differences between industrial and agricultural work, between industrial workers and the peasantry ("Liquidating the contrast between the city and the village"). Thus it is pointed out, the old opposition between the country and the city will vanish and also cultural and psychological differences between these two strata will disappear. Every person will become engaged in a special "technical-engineering" task and all will be equal and like brothers.

As a result of such development, it is said that even the differences between the manual laborer and the intellectual worker will eventually be abolished and thus the classless and anarchic society envisaged in socialist writings and rooted in the traditions of the Slav culture will be finally achieved.[11] Productive forces will develop an abundance of all consumer goods whose distribution will be on the basis of exchange and according to one's needs. There will be no monetary relations and no differences in social status.

It is clearly and repeatedly emphasized, however, that nobody should mistake this change from socialism to communism as a "withering away" of the state. The state, say the Bolsheviks, must remain "strong" for the needs of defense,[12] until the Soviet system spreads over the entire earth.

II

Total power concentrated in the hands of Bolshevik conspirators as a means of perpetuation of their rule led to compulsory regimentation of all labor, to speed-up system, and to intensified differentiation in skill, income, and status within the working classes. The aim of these measures is to increase production and to control the working classes by breaking their group solidarity and by tying the laborer to his machine and the office worker to

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his desk in the same way as the peasant has been bound to the land.[13]

The Party hierarchy has also passed a decree which enables the Party to keep the youth under its complete control. The decree orders mobilization of hundreds of thousand of Soviet youths to be trained annually as labor reserve. All those who go through such a training are "considered mobilized and under obligation to work four successive years in state enterprises in accordance with the directive of the general officer of Labor Reserves . . ."[14] Along the same lines of labor mobilization and economic regimentation a decree was passed according to which every skilled laborer, technician, engineer, and factory employee could be ordered moved from one factory to another in any location in the Soviet Union according to the needs of industrialization.[15]

In accordance with the need for total control of the working classes and of economic production the management of the factories was completely removed from the control or influence of the workers and centralized in the hands of the factory directors (*edinonachalie*). These became responsible for failure in output, for waste and for low quality of products. In such an industrial system the trade unions have become instruments of regimentation and speed-up. They ceased to be an institution for the protection of the rights and interests of the working class and instead evolved into an organization of overseers and labor drivers. The trade unions' Charter of 1949 expressly states this function:

> Mobilization of all factory workers and employees for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the production plan, for the strengthening of labor discipline, and for the development of socialist competition.
>
> Elaboration of practical measures for the stepping up of labor productivity, improvement of the quality of production, reduction of production costs, and raising of profitableness of the enterprise.[16]

In the same manner, one of the May Day slogans of 1952 reads: "Soviet trade unions! Develop socialist competition more widely for pre-schedule fulfillment of the state plan by every enterprise."

It was because of this need to regiment labor and make it com-

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ment expense the Party recruits these in the first place from among specific categories of children, such as war orphans, illegitimate and delinquent children, and children of Party functionaries. Such children are considered to be most promising from the point of view of Party objectives.

It is mainly from the university student body that the new ruling classes and all needed experts of the Soviet Union are being recruited.[16] It is therefore of paramount importance that this reservoir of the ruling strata is kept well under control and that it is thoroughly ideologically indoctrinated and trained in unswerving loyalty and conformity to the Party. "Ideological training of Soviet students is a vital and integral part of all the work of district, city, province, and territory party committees."[17] It is therefore imperative that this body is highly selective and not overcrowded. Recruitment of university students from among higher classes and from selected categories of children serves well the Party objectives to perpetuate its power and to command unconditional submission of all to its will. Such policies also tend to solidify Soviet social structure along caste lines.[18]

III

The Bolsheviks have also employed other means to establish their absolute dominance. Following Anarchist precepts and practices, and driven by power-seeking and destructive aggression, they have justified a number of oppressive measures as being necessary "to hasten the liquidation of the capitalistic elements and to organize defense against capitalist encirclement which is as yet far from being, and will not soon be destroyed."[19] Their objectives were to be achieved not only by means of economic dependency, systematic indoctrination, planned social isolation and lack of trust, but also by means of relentless vigilance and systematic terror.

One of the most important instruments of such policies have been the courts of law. Soviet socialist law is defined as the "totality of the rules of conduct, established in the form of legislation—to the end of annihilating, completely and finally, capitalism and its survival in the economy, manner of life,

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chooses to consider that the interests of the children have not been safeguarded.[5] In such cases parental rights might be lost for up to five years.[6] According to the Soviet educational philosophy it is expected that the parents will *rear* the children, but that the public organizations under the Party's supervision will instruct and supervise parents in the ways of *Communist upbringing* of children.[7]

The Party considers it to be its duty to arouse antagonism of children against parents when such action is necessary in the interest of the survival of the Soviet regime. As mentioned earlier, planned rift between fathers and sons was, for instance, employed to speed up the process of collectivization. Commissar of Agriculture Jakovlev, speaking before a Party congress on the struggle against the kulaks, stated that "In a number of cases, the children of the kulaks are made to revolt against their parents, and thus the kulak families are divided and the kulaks still more isolated." The Party has also been known to take advantage of family conflicts to encourage the children to spy on their parents and to denounce them to the political police:

> Russian parents had to be very careful of what they said in the presence of their own children, and even of how they disciplined their children. One boy, Pavlik Morosov, was built up as a hero among youth because he had denounced his father who was organizing resistance against the kolhoz. Great propaganda was made about this boy. A book was written about him. Actually he became a hero to most children.[8]

In times of political "purges" there were frequent notices in the Soviet papers in which the children of the parents who were politically persecuted publicly renounced their parents.[9] That was the only way they could escape the vengeance of a regime which had revived the tradition of family hostages and used it as an instrument of political conformity.

The Bolsheviks consider that since "one's way of life is a social matter . . . a matter of national policy,"[10] the Party has the right to interfere even in pre-marital and extra-marital sex relations, as well as in the relations between the spouses. "Young Communist organizations cannot remain neutral when the con-

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Many observers of Soviet society have noticed that in this constant struggle for power, and sometimes in order to save their very lives, Soviet officials and intellectuals must be ready not only to inform on each other, but also to "throw mud" at the closest associates and friends as soon as these happen to fall in disgrace.[1] Denunciation of a friend is often "the best way out of a hole," they say. Many "pretend to deny and to disown those who fall in disgrace" or, frightened, "join in verbal lynching to protect themselves." There is a "malignant joy regarding a comrade's mistakes . . . exaggeration of mistakes."[2] They "rush to kick a man who is already down, to push him over the precipice." In such conditions "Friendship is strained with blood and betrayal; it is an object of fear and suspicion."[3] Even members of one's own family might be repudiated under such pressure.[4] At the same time the need for cringing before one's superiors is often compensated by arrogance, capriciousness, arbitrariness, insulting and humiliating treatment of his subordinates or of all unprotected.[5]

The sense of guilt, insecurity, and feelings of humiliation which develop in such circumstances are magnified by means of social isolation. This isolation is manifold in the Soviet society, especially in the upper ruling strata. Intimate personal contact and unfettered social and intellectual intercourse is officially frowned upon and is therefore very limited among the Party, Army, government and managerial hierarchies. Intimate fraternization with associates is looked upon with great suspicion in a society whose ruling minority maintains itself in power by means of planned social divisions and mistrusts. Said Stalin: ". . . such family conditions create a favorable environment for the nurture of reptiles, not Bolsheviks."[6]

Real risks are involved in any free discourse in a society which is infested with watchdogs and informers and in which many are inclined to seek self-advance in the ruin of others. In the upper strata besides fear, suspicion and need for extreme caution, there is lack of intimate contact also because of sharp differentiation in rank. For the same reasons intercourse between the educated and non-educated strata has to be kept to a minimum.

There is also a deliberate policy on the part of the ruling class

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517 newspapers, books, and pamphlets, some of which were printed
204 abroad and circulated freely though often clandestinely among
626 the leading circles of the Empire.

517 The ruling circles of the Bolshevik Party themselves were
626 always aware that without criticism intellectual stagnation, lack of creative initiative, and bureaucratism would set in. But they could not afford to allow complete freedom of thought and of expression which might eventually undermine their own power. As a result the Bolsheviks introduced a system of "criticism and self-criticism," known as *samokritika.*

[461] According to this practice it is the duty of every Soviet subject to criticize his own work and the work of others in his shop or office as a means of stimulating alertness, initiative, and hard
[557] work, and as a way to correct errors. But among the officials who
[647] closely watch each other's activities, each hoping to rise on the cadaver of the other, samokritika is often used as a means of intrigue and ruin in jockeying and struggling for ranks, positions, and power. Samokritika therefore has developed into a weapon employed to detect the ideological deviations and diversions and to criticize any lack of sufficiently positive attitude toward the "Party line." In this manner "self-criticism" in the Soviet Union has become another instrument of regimentation and means to increase conformity.

626 Samokritika is also employed by the ruling circles to manipu-
● 661 late hostilities generated by the Soviet system and to direct them away from themselves and against the managers and bureaucrats located mostly on the lower levels of the Soviet social pyramid. These people conveniently function as scapegoats. It is such people who, together with a sprinkling from the higher echelons, are periodically offered as sacrifice and "purged" or "liquidated." Samokritika is therefore employed also as a check against abuses of power, though mostly on the local level.

626 In an atmosphere of complete dependence upon and subordi-
154 nation to an overwhelming and infallible power which instils
782 fear and awe, the slightest deviation from the line of thought and emotions as laid down by that distant and inscrutable force might easily provoke anxieties, and a strong sense of guilt. In circumstances in which one feels isolated and without support,

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one's helplessness, feeling of rejection, and dependence upon the controlling power is especially keenly felt. In such conditions even a slight deviation might provoke a feeling of guilt, need for self-punishment and suffering; it might call for public self-humiliation, confession of errors and pledges to repent and to correct the wrong done, especially when such practices are supported by the inherited traditions. There is therefore a certain degree of truth in the assertion of the Bolsheviks, that "Criticism and self-criticism is a great driving force in the development of Soviet society."[10]

II

In a "prison and barracks" society privileges of power and ideas of grandeur do not sufficiently compensate for lack of acceptance, isolation, humiliations, feelings of insecurity, and sense of inferiority and rejection. In an atmosphere of suspicion, intrigue, degradation, and lack of intimate personal and intellectual contact and of social support, anxieties, fears, extreme self-concern, and deep antagonisms easily flourish. Such a situation tends to magnify feelings of destructive aggression developed on the family level and is therefore likely to become overcharged with extreme hostilities and hatreds; it is likely to become full of potential explosiveness which may be directed against the ruling class itself unless convenient channels for discharge of aggressiveness are found.

In a society in which overt expressions of emotional behavior are under the control of a ruling clique, accumulating aggressions are readily directed against internal and external "enemies" of the regime, be they real or invented for the occasion. In this manner the feeling of hostility against the regime might be redirected against its opponents. It is therefore in the interest of survival of the ruling faction in such a society to cultivate hatred and destruction of the "enemy" by all means of public pressure, propaganda, agitation, education, as well as lawmaking.

These are the reasons why attitudes of extreme animosity against the "enemies of the Soviet Motherland" are propagated in the Soviet daily press and in the school textbooks. Stirring hatreds is one of the main tasks of Party agitators.[11] Accordingly

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author, wrote a well known poem under the title *"Ubey ego"*—kill him.[14] In a similar manner Alexey Tolstoy, a well-known Soviet novelist, has published an essay entitled *Ubey Zverya*—Kill the Beast. "Kill him," writes Alexey Tolstoy, "that is your sacred command."[15] Mikhail Sholokhov, another prominent Soviet writer, wrote a pamphlet entitled *Nauka Nenavisti*—The Science of Hatred—in which he stressed, in a like way as the early Russian Anarchists and contemporary Soviet pedagogists, the necessity of ardent love for the Cause as a source of passionate hatred of all the opponents. To him, too, love seems to be necessary primarily as a means of hate.[16] "Hatred for enemies of the land of socialism is an inseparable feature of socialist ideology and the ideology of Leninism," the Bolsheviks repeatedly say.

Under the label "enemies" are classed not only the foreign "capitalists, imperialists, and reactionaries," and internal non-Party oppositionists, but also Party members who deviate from Party ideology, and "all sceptics, opportunists, capitulators, scabs, and traitors." Hatred and struggle against these "enemies" within the Party must be as merciless and ruthless as against external adversaries. This is considered to be imperative in a mortal struggle against the capitalist world:

> The history of the Party . . . teaches us that unless the Party of the working class wages an uncompromising struggle against the opportunists within its own ranks, unless it smashes the capitulators in its own midst . . . it cannot perform its role of organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution . . . If, while it is carrying on a life and death fight against the bourgeoisie, there are capitulators and traitors on its own staff, within its own fortress, the working class will be caught between two fires, from the front and the rear. Clearly such a struggle can only end in defeat.[17]

This conscious fomenting of intense hostility and animosity against internal, as well as external "enemies" as a means of survival in a "mortal struggle" is manifested in the language of Bolshevism. The words "liquidation" and "purge" which are often synonomous with killing and extermination of opponents became outstanding in Soviet vocabulary. There is an increasing use of words which convey ideas of hatred and violence and stimulate such feelings and practices. In Bolshevik stereotyped termi-

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nology opponents are referred to as the "enemies of the people." They are said to be "groups of spies," "traitors to the country," "dregs of humanity," "fiendish criminals," "pigmies," "useless rubbish," "hordes of barbarians," "hangmen," "cannibals," "enemies of humankind."[18] These "instruments of oppression of the proletariat," full of "falsehoods and perverse lies," "narrow-minded petty-bourgeois with sickly mentality," have to be mercilessly "smashed," "annihilated," "crushed," "destroyed" with an "ever greater frenzy and ferocity."[19] They have to be "cleansed" from the Soviet society in order to ensure the consolidation of the rule of the Bolsheviks.

It was in order to justify ruthlessness in dealing with the opposition that labelling, denouncing and name-calling has become prominent in Bolshevik practices. Any softness toward the "enemies" is denounced as bourgeois "sentimentalism."[20] Instead, *besposhchadnost* (mercilessness), *surovost* (ruthlessness), *besstrashie* (fearlessness), and *zheleznaya volia* (iron will) are said to be the "Lenin ways" by which the political workers are to deal with all the "opponents, slackers, and deviants."

If in this "life and death fight," ruthlessness, pitilessness, and mercilessness have to be applied then also cunning, guile, craft, ruse and deceit are equally welcome as useful means. Lenin is often quoted as saying that the Communists, when necessary, must "resort to strategy and adroitness, illegal proceedings, reticence and subterfuge,"[21] that they must use any trick and veiling of truth; that they must dodge and maneuver. They must be ready in the interest of final success to suffer humiliation and self-abasement. In the interest of the cause and of final victory, they must know how to retreat and how to "crawl in the mud on their bellies."[22] According to the Bolshevik teaching, there is not an "absolute ethic." Every act is measured by how it corresponds to the interests of the group.[23]

III

Emphasis on extreme hatred, on ruse, and on mercilessness against those who do not conform is not new in the history of Russian society. Destructive aggression formed an aspect of the Czarist rule; it was manifested in the persecution of religious

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dissenters, in the civil wars as well as in the struggle between the Czarist police and the revolutionary intelligentsia; it was even formulated as an ideology and became a credo of Anarchism.

In the Bolshevik ideology this anti-humanism is justified by representing the "enemies" as not being human beings. Just as in the folk attitudes toward enemy aliens, the oppositionists and the adversaries, actual and potential, real and imaginary, are identified in Bolshevik writings with "gnats," "insects," "reptiles," "dogs," "wild beasts," and "beasts of prey." It is by such ways of reasoning that the Soviet pedagogists have come to the assertion that indoctrination of the people with "burning hatred" of the enemy does not contradict the ideas of humanism, because, they claim, the ideas of humanism and humane feelings do not apply to beasts. In this manner even acts of cruelty toward the "enemies" are condoned and encouraged:

> Hatred of the enemies of the socialist Motherland by no means contradicts the principles of humanism, since it is devoted to the protection of the rights and liberty of the worker from the designs of beasts of prey.[24]

The need for such an appeal to extreme animosities against the adversaries is in itself an indication of instability of the Bolshevik system. The ruling faction had to resort to such a means in order to promote complete identification with and fanatical devotion to the Cause and to the Leader. Here, however, we see a noticeable difference between the Czardom and the Soviet Russia. Though the Czarist system often exhibited aspects of extreme ruthlessness, the whole ideological and intellectual development of the Czarist Russia, especially in the last century of its existence, was in the direction of increasing Westernization and humanization. This trend coincided with certain gains in the field of personal, economic, and cultural freedoms in the Czardom.

As a result terrorism and acts of violence, though widely practiced, were not openly advocated as official Czarist policy. Many moderate and conservative factions of the intelligentsia strongly denounced all acts of terror performed either by the government or under the auspices of the revolutionary intelligentsia. One

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of the outstanding tenets in the philosophy of Russian monasticism whose history is even longer than that of the Czardom was charitable love. Many sects of the *Raskolniki* propagated and practiced principles of humaneness. The Slavophils were especially prominent in advocating the return to an idealized stateless society of benevolent paternalism where brotherhood, Christian love, and compassion would reign. The "Westerners" endeavored to introduce into Russia Western concepts of justice and tolerance, and a humanistic, libertarian and juridical state. Russian belles-lettres, Russian school textbooks, as well as laws and regulations in the nineteenth century and up to the beginning of World War I, bear witness to this trend toward Westernization and humanism.

In Soviet Russia, on the other hand, after a brief initial period of reaction against the old regime which led toward an emphasis on all-human values and equalitarian brotherhood, soon the trend of events pushed the Bolshevik ideology in the opposite direction. The determination of a ruling clique of professional conspirators to maintain themselves in power by any and all means dictated the emphasis on the internal and external "threats" which would justify the intensification of internal "measures of security," and of external aggression. Thus vigilantism and war preparedness, and expansion of internal and external Bolshevik power, became the main base of the policies of the ruling class.[25] Such policies had to be constantly reinforced by a deliberate incitement to hatred and destruction.

The image of Soviet society as being in a constant state of war, not only against foreign enemies but against internal oppositionists, deviationists, spies, saboteurs, and remnants of bourgeois mentality has been determined by a social structure which the Bolshevik rulers themselves have created, but which makes their own power uncertain and precarious. In such circumstances Lenin's idea of a life and death struggle with the "class enemies," the idea that "it's them or us" (*Kto kogo*) has provided the main motivating force of the Party's internal and foreign policies. Fearing to be annihilated unless they themselves destroy their enemies, conscious that they have "either to rule or to die," the Bolsheviks have ruthlessly applied the principle of "obedience

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or death" (*povinovenie ili smert*) in their rule; thus terror has become one of the main instruments of their power.

But once self-seeking careerists and fanatical devotees, specialists in violence, conspiracy and vigilance take into their hands the reins of a society which they indoctrinate with hatred and ruthlessness, the value of human life tends to be greatly lowered. In their constant struggle for survival, fear-ridden and extremely insecure, these people are forced to adopt an attitude of expendability toward all their subjects, just as earlier the Anarchists and Terrorists considered that all their members were only capital to be freely spent in the interest of the revolution.

In such conditions the disregard for individual rights and needs, and lack of consideration and of human feeling become generalized and are applied not only in dealings with enemies, but also in relations with associates, relatives, friends, allies and subjects in general whenever the vested interests of the ruling clique are threatened. The orders and the plans must be fulfilled; the victories must be made no matter what the cost in personal freedom and dignity, human suffering and human lives, because it is these orders, plans, and victories upon which the survival and the perpetuation of the ruling faction depends. All those who are in the way must be unconditionally sacrificed. Said Stalin:

> . . . it [is] easy to be a hero or a great leader if one had to do with the people such as the Russians . . . even persons of medium courage and even cowards became heroes in Russia. Those who do not . . . are killed.[26]

This attitude of disregard and contempt for human life when the survival of the ruling class and its vested interests are in question was expressed by Stalin also in his known interview with G. B. Wells. The magnitude of convict labor establishments, the police practices, and the extent of economic and other deprivations to which the Soviet subjects are exposed are all manifestations of this frame of mind.

The low value which is placed on human life in Bolshevik ideology is especially well demonstrated in war times. The Soviet armed forces command does not assess the cost of war in terms

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reason or another feel rejected, non-accepted, humiliated, oppressed or ostracized in their own society and who find in these parties an opportunity to vent their accumulated grievances and pent-up hostilities. But they also tend to attract people who for idealistic and humanistic reasons seek Utopias of all-human brotherhood. They attract ambitious and talented intellectuals and semi-educated people who have been thwarted in their professional and political expectations; also intellectuals and semi-intelligentsia with mediocre abilities but strong urges for self-assertion and desire for leadership and domination. They also attract many patriots belonging to oppressed nationalities or races, who have identified themselves with their nation, race or ethnic and cultural minority and seek acceptance of their group in a Communistic millenium. In times of social upheavals these parties attract also many adventurers, criminals, vagabonds, and other deviants and offenders.

It is, however, people overcharged with destructive aggression who in these parties tend to climb toward the top levels of Party leadership, because it is such people to whom the Party offers great opportunities for their destructive urges and who therefore tend to be unconditionally loyal to Moscow as contrasted to the more moderate and more humane and patriotic elements, who for one reason or another might not want always to accept Moscow's dictate. As a result of such internal conditions the history of all Communist parties has been a history of internal intrigues, splits, purges, and frequent bloodshed which in turn made it easier to completely subdue these organizations to the will of the Kremlin:

> . . . those who disorganize the Party are to be flayed without mercy. Championing as we do working class unity, we shall with so much more energy and irreconcilability fight for unity within our Parties. There can be no room in our Parties for factions, or for attempts at factionalism. Whoever will try to break up the iron unity of our ranks by any kind of factionalism will get to feel what is meant by the Bolshevik discipline that Lenin and Stalin have always taught us (applause) . . . *The Party is above everything else!* (Loud applause) To guard the Bolshevik unity of the Party as the apple of one's eye is the first and highest law of Bolshevism![20]

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vising, checking and controlling. Accordingly just as in the Soviet Union in each satellite country primary attention is paid to the personnel policies. "Department of Cadres" and "Personnel Bureaus," headed by people who are trusted friends of the Soviet Union and advised by Soviet experts, supervise the political reliability and the labor efficiency of all. Observers of these agencies and Soviet experts are at work in every Party organization, every office and every factory shop. The hiring, releasing, and transferring of personnel rests with these bureaus.

In all these considerations political reliability and not professional competence is of foremost importance, a situation that favors the rise of professionally incompetent zealots and careerists ahead of people who are professionally able but more cautious and moderate, or more independent.[44] In consequence, just as in the Soviet Union, there is a keen struggle for positions and ranks and there is a premium on specialists in political organization and violence, a great demand for watchdogs, agitators, overseers and labor-drivers. Unconditional faith in and devotion to Russia is considered, however, to be the first and primary prerequisite for advance in satellite political, military and managerial hierarchies.[45] Hence periodical purges or "verifications" of Party members are undertaken to insure that only sufficiently Russified people remain in the Party.

The need of total control of dependencies dictates also a divide and rule policy among the satellites. In accordance with such policies the Kremlin instigates and encourages local nationalisms, regionalisms and separatisms and external aggressiveness of the satellites while at the same time it must prevent pan-movements and excessive territorial ambitions which might challenge the dominance of Moscow. Thus while instigating Asiatic nationalism the Soviet Union must prevent the championship of the Pan-Mongolian idea by Mongolia or Communist China. While encouraging various Balkan nationalisms it had to prevent the formation of a South Slav Federation.

Another means of promoting effective control of and dominance of the satellites is isolating these vassal countries from the West and therefore preventing any Western influence to undermine Bolshevik rule. This aim is achieved by deliberately pro-

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Soviet social and political structure. The ruling Party which has to remain as an organization of militant conspirators in order to perpetuate itself in power, must also rely for the recruitment of its cadres to a large extent on calculating "careerists" and other self-seekers, who identify themselves not with their group and their society but with the holders of power. The main concern of these people is to rise in the Party and State hierarchy. In their jockeying and struggle for positions and favors, these power-oriented people introduce into the Party and into the government an atmosphere of subservience and ruthlessness, rivalry and intrigue, each seeking to rise on the cadavers of his associates.

Just as in the society of steppe warriors, such a ruling group of power-seekers who are not bound by deep moral bonds or ties of ideological loyalty can be kept together as long as the opportunities for self-aggrandizement exist, or as long as there is a common threat to their positions. Hence a cult of hatred of internal and external "enemies," political expansion, conspiracy on a world scale and planned international tension—short of all-out warfare—have become conditions of survival of Bolshevik power.

This situation forces the Bolsheviks to preoccupy themselves with the problems of security, of defense, and of extension of their political power; it prompts them to subordinate the economic production and the intellectual endeavors to these primary needs of their political survival. Such conditions, in turn, make it difficult to satisfy the demands of the masses for acceptance and for a better and more secure life—a situation that tends to deter the subjects from identifying themselves with the rulers and with the State. And it is this aggravating antithesis between the longings of the multitudes and the power-drive of a ruling clique that breeds social upheaval and intensifies urges for destructive aggression.

It is therefore imminent that we think in terms of planned external pressures which might be brought to bear upon the resolution of this gigantic internal struggle before it reaches the proportions of a global war.

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not by means of a popular revolution as in the West. Accordingly the new bureaucratic rule was based on the *Ukaz*[3] and the knut as much as the old order. For the same reason, though the state was formally secularized, the traditions of an autocracy, divinely ordained and supported by God, were carried on by every official as the representative of the Czar.[4]

Therefore the new system of autocracy based on bureaucracy, the same as the old one based on service nobility, could not recognize any political or personal rights of the subjects. Nor could there have developed any *esprit de corps* among the new governing class. This new class of officials owned little or no land and had to live on meager salaries, but was eager to follow the traditions and the high standards established by the old landed nobility. The chinovnichestvo therefore became even more dependent upon the Czar than the dvorianstvo was earlier. There was even less *esprit de corps* and less solidarity in the new governing class than in the old. Each official was constantly in fear of jeopardizing his own social position if he stood up in defense of any of his colleagues. Besides, in this hierarchical system of power the ruin or falling into disfavor of one official often meant the ascendancy of the other. There was, therefore, a tendency to take advantage of such a situation, to resort to intrigues and calumnies, and to help to destroy rather than to rehabilitate a victim.

All the powers, the lawmaking, the application of law, and the justice were placed into the hands of these bureaucrats. At the same time the system of checks and controls was very deficient. Laws were enacted by special temporary commissions of high officials, and created *ad hoc*. The Council of State, a supreme policy-making body, composed of about seventy to eighty highest dignitaries, was appointed by the Czar to serve him only in advisory capacities. The final decision rested in the hands of the Czar, or with the camarilla clique which happened at the moment to be most influential. The Empire was administratively divided into provinces (*gubernia*) which were usually headed by army generals. The gubernias were divided into districts which were headed by chiefs of police. The governors, supported by the police, ruled autocratically in their domains. They were

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the favors of one's superiors that one hoped to exercise more power and to achieve a higher degree of security.

Such a situation often demanded self-abasing and cringing humility toward superiors in the hierarchy as an adjustment to a situation of permanent insecurity and threat. ". . . those employed believe that they can never do enough to show their zeal."[8] "Without being base, it is impossible to get on," the officials themselves would say.[9] At the same time, perhaps as a compensation for degradation and loss of self-respect, there developed the propensity of the officials to show haughtiness and arrogance to those below them in rank and status. "A man, as soon as he rises a grade above the common level, acquires the right . . . to maltreat his inferiors to whom it is his duty to transmit the blows that he receives from those above him."[10]

In such conditions preoccupation with one's self rather than interest in group ideals and objectives thrived. There was therefore a tendency for selfish and petty concerns, greediness, venality, and corruption. Careerism prevailed over loyalty. Fortunes were made by many in public service as a security for the uncertain future.[11] The public opinion itself supported such behavior because it was expected that people who acquire office or any other positions of trust would take personal advantage of the situation. In some departments because of the inadequacy of the salaries and in order to meet the expected high standards of living the officials were considered to have tacit permission to have recourse to illicit perquisites. Administration, justice, police, the army and the navy, and even the clergy, all had their acknowledged perquisites, which often included bribes.[12]

In such conditions in which extreme self-concern thrived, the Czar himself did not feel safe and secure. This sense of insecurity on the very peak of power was reflected, for instance, in the tendency of the Czars not to tolerate any outstanding personalities in their midst.[13] The same feeling was reflected in the idea that any concession on the part of the Czar would be considered as a sign of weakness. The result was that the Czar was often surrounded by sycophants and careerists and had no close friends whom he could trust and on whom he could rely for support at all times. In such circumstances the Czar might feel isolated,

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517 668 to bring about an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men on a global scale. Seeking to realize these bi-polar objectives, the Bolsheviks have inherited and reinforced the basic contradictions and conflicts between the aspirations of the rulers and those of the subjects which have throughout centuries undermined the stability of Czardom.

668 661 In their effort to perpetuate themselves in power, the Bolsheviks had to remain organized as a ruling elite of professional conspirators and to reinforce dominance-submission relationships in a system of total power concentrated in their hands. To maintain such a political rule, the Bolsheviks had to introduce a system of total dependence of all upon the holders of power and thus to reinforce the attitudes of self-effacement. They also established a planned system of social differentiation and isolation to prevent social intimacy and group solidarity and hence the potentiality of organized opposition to their rule.

668 771 In such conditions, feelings of rejection and traditional longings for an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men have been greatly strengthened among the subjects. It is this situation that points out the fundamental weakness of the Soviet system. To counteract the effects of this basic vulnerability of their regime, the Bolsheviks have endeavored to deify the Soviet rulers, have resorted to the damnation and anathema of the Western world, and have embarked on a propaganda campaign for a Messianic redemption of all suffering and exploited humanity. In this manner, the Bolsheviks have been able to appeal to supra-ethnical and supra-personal loyalties and to all-human longings, not unlike a universal church.

[208] The Bolsheviks have also endeavored to build up the morale of their subjects by means of prestige projects, by mythical undertakings, by mass pageantry, mass unanimous voting and large scale militarization. All these devices are conceived as ways to provoke emotional identification of the masses with the Soviet State and to find in this identification a substitute for their yearnings for a community of free and equal men.

642 665 Total dominance and total submission relationships which have to be maintained to perpetuate this conspiratorial system of power have introduced other basic strains and stresses in the

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Soviet social and political structure. The ruling Party which has to remain as an organization of militant conspirators in order to perpetuate itself in power, must also rely for the recruitment of its cadres to a large extent on calculating "careerists" and other self-seekers, who identify themselves not with their group and their society but with the holders of power. The main concern of these people is to rise in the Party and State hierarchy. In their jockeying and struggle for positions and favors, these power-oriented people introduce into the Party and into the government an atmosphere of subservience and ruthlessness, rivalry and intrigue, each seeking to rise on the cadavers of his associates.

Just as in the society of steppe warriors, such a ruling group of power-seekers who are not bound by deep moral bonds or ties of ideological loyalty can be kept together as long as the opportunities for self-aggrandizement exist, or as long as there is a common threat to their positions. Hence a cult of hatred of internal and external "enemies," political expansion, conspiracy on a world scale and planned international tension—short of all-out warfare—have become conditions of survival of Bolshevik power.

This situation forces the Bolsheviks to preoccupy themselves with the problems of security, of defense, and of extension of their political power; it prompts them to subordinate the economic production and the intellectual endeavors to these primary needs of their political survival. Such conditions, in turn, make it difficult to satisfy the demands of the masses for acceptance and for a better and more secure life—a situation that tends to deter the subjects from identifying themselves with the rulers and with the State. And it is this aggravating antithesis between the longings of the multitudes and the power-drive of a ruling clique that breeds social upheaval and intensifies urges for destructive aggression.

It is therefore imminent that we think in terms of planned external pressures which might be brought to bear upon the resolution of this gigantic internal struggle before it reaches the proportions of a global war.

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By the end of that century[1] a faction of Russian radical intelligentsia fused the Russian Narodnik and Anarchist ideologies and practices with those of Western Socialism and formed the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries. The program of this Party was agrarian socialism and terrorism. They published leaflets and manifestos, and spread their ideas in the villages. The Socialist Revolutionaries preached open violence as a means of overthrowing the Czarist regime. They relied on the peasantry to start uprisings against the landlords and government officials, and to commit individual acts of terror to achieve their ends. Just as earlier, the Anarchists and Terrorists, the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, had a separate organization which specialized in perpetrating acts of terror:

> Where the lash and the whip are, there are also the bomb and the revolver! So has it been, so is it now, and so shall it be. When public indignation and hate become centered upon an agent of the regime whether he be placed high or low; when that agent becomes a symbol of violence and despotism; when his activity becomes harmful to the commonweal; when no means are available to render him harmless and his continued existence represents an affront to the social conscience, then is the door open to terror in the executor of the sentence pressed from the hearts of public-minded citizens.[7]

The terroristic organization of the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries enjoyed complete autonomy within the Party. It had its own sources of revenue and was independent in selection of prospective victims. In the course of a few years of its existence it perpetrated more than two hundred acts of terror. Most of these consisted of assassinations or of attempted assassinations of highly placed officials of the government, including a member of the Imperial Family, two Ministers of Interior, thirty-nine governors, seventy-four ranking officers of the army and the navy, and fifty-two high police officials. Seventy percent of these acts of terror were perpetrated by workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors.[8]

The Socialist Revolutionaries relied mainly on middle and poor peasant strata. They attempted to widen the gap between the better-off and the poor, to set up the lowest strata against the upper, to stir class hatred against the kulaks. In their manifestos, leaflets, and speeches, the Socialist Revolutionaries harangued

[1] [i.e. 19th century -- Analyst]

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the peasantry, and appealed to their deeply rooted hostilities against the ruling classes, and against all people of means. In their proclamations to the peasantry they stated that "the land belongs to those who till it." They incited the peasants to appropriate by force hay, pasture, and timber. They also encouraged violence and murder against all those whom they held responsible for their plight.[9]

As a result of such propaganda and agitation combined with economic and social difficulties, peasant disturbances were renewed and increased in frequency and intensity. They led to the events of 1905. That year the government suffered a considerable loss of prestige because of the defeat on the battlefield (the Japanese War of 1904–1905). In such circumstances (the same as after the Crimean War), fear and awe and unconditional obedience—the foundations of Czarist rule—were shaken, internal disturbances ensued and threatened the existence of the Czardom. By this time the revolutionary eruptions of the peasantry were combined with those of the industrial proletariat. Between January and April, 1905, there were about 660,000 workers on economic and political strikes.[10] In October of the same year there was again a general strike.

In that month also a general peasant rising took place embracing three hundred districts in 47 gubernias. Again it was the central and southern regions that took the lead;[11] and again the gubernias in which the landlords suffered the heaviest losses were predominantly those where the system of repartitional land tenure prevailed over the system of individual peasant households and of hereditary holdings. In the communities with communal land holdings the dissatisfaction was greatest and violence ran especially high.

The activities of the Social Revolutionaries in the village were joined by those of the Bolsheviks. By the beginning of the twentieth century a wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party, the Bolsheviks, who earlier scorned the peasants and worked exclusively among the urban proletariat, began to pay more attention to the Russian village. They became impressed by the frequency and the intensity of the peasants' disturbances and realized that the peasantry presented potentially very ex-

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plosive revolutionary material. Hence the Bolsheviks began to send their agitators into the village.

There was no tendency among these extremists and maximalists to make use of peaceful means which had now been made possible by the Czar's Manifesto of October, 1905. In this manifesto legislative powers were given to Duma (house of representatives) and a certain degree of political, cultural and personal freedom was introduced. On the contrary these professional conspirators, following Anarchist precepts and practices, took advantage of increased opportunities for political agitation. That year the Socialist Revolutionaries in one of their proclamations stated: "If you need more land, hay, pasture, timber, take it from the landlord. Do not pay taxes. Drive evil priests out of the villages, boycott the courts, replace bad officials by good, throw out the police!"[12] In the same year the Bolsheviks, struck by the increasing restlessness in the village, called upon the peasants and the village proletariat for a "collective refusal to pay taxes, refusal to furnish recruits, refusal to fulfill the orders and commands of the government and its agents."[13]

III

Such revolutionary ideas which were infiltrating the villages not only confirmed the peasants in their beliefs and dispositions; they also tended to promote their feelings of rebelliousness, to radicalize them in the extreme, and push them toward excesses. In common with most tillers of land, the Russian peasants were convinced that the land by "natural right" belonged only to those who cultivate it, and that somehow, sometimes in the past, the land was taken away from them by force and trickery, not by right and justice.

The question of ownership of land was closely related to humiliating subservience to the landlords, the commune and the state. Ownership of land meant the regaining of self-respect. The peasants were therefore inclined to believe that they never lost the right to the land and that someday, somehow, all the land would have to be given back to them. "We are yours, but the land is ours" (*My vashi a zemlya nasha*), the peasants would say to the pomeshchiks. The speeches of the peasants' deputies

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and unemployment, a situation that was well exploited by the professional conspirators, particularly the Bolsheviks.

By the end of the nineteenth century the first wave of strikes swept the country.[4] At first the strikes were spontaneous, local and purely economic in character. The workers wanted higher wages and better working conditions. But since many industries were located in Petersburgh which was the center of heavy industry, and in Moscow which was the center of the railroad system and of the textile industry, the revolutionary intelligentsia and professional conspirators and agitators who were also concentrated in these two capitals could not fail to see great political opportunities, both in the concentration of the industrial proletariat, and in its economic plight. But there were differences among the revolutionary factions of the intelligentsia in regard to revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

The ideological differences as to propaganda policies and revolutionary strategy was one of the factors which led to the split of the Socialist Democratic Party into two factions, the *Bolsheviks* (the majority), and the *Mensheviks* (the minority). Being mostly of urban middle class origin the Mensheviks were inclined to advocate gradual advance of the country toward democratization. They also proposed an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie. Accordingly also in internal Party organization the Mensheviks were in favor of a policy of liberalism and democracy. The Bolshevik faction, on the other hand, was recruited from among the raznochintsy who were affected by Anarchism and were inclined toward extremist solutions and recognized no compromise. They proposed an alliance with the revolutionary peasants and an armed rebellion staged by the workers and peasants as the most effective means of seizing power.

Following the ideas and practices of the Anarchists and the Terrorists (Narodovoltsy), the Bolsheviks claimed that the immediate seizure of power was of paramount importance while the work of educating the masses could begin later. That end, the seizure of power, to the Bolsheviks no less than to their political predecessors, the Anarchists, sanctified everything. Deliberate instigation of hatred, planned deceit, individual killing, armed uprising, and systematic terror were all equally approved

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means if they led to the final goal, revolution and the overthrow of the Czarist system. Thus even at that time the Party was placed above everything else and the interests and the rights of the individual had to be subordinated to the Party and to its supreme objective, the revolution. At the second congress of Russian Social Democrats, which took place in London in 1903 where the final split between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks occurred, Pasadovski, one of Lenin's aassiciates declared:

> There is no doubt that we do not agree on the following fundamental issue: should our future policy be subordinated to some kind of basic democratic principles, or should all democratic principles be subordinated exclusively to the advantages of our party. I decidedly advocate the latter. There is nothing among the democratic principles that we should not subordinate to the advantages of our Party. . . . Yes, also the inviolability of the individual. As a revolutionary party striving for its ultimate aim—social revolution, we should consider the democratic principles exclusively from the standpoint of the advantages of our party.[3]

This idea of supreme Party interests to which everybody and everything was subordinated was closely associated with the principle of centralistic and dictatorial party organization which was earlier conceived by Bakunin and later advocated by Lenin, and finally adopted by the Communist International.[4] Lenin said that the organizational principle of revolutionary social democracy demands the enlargement of the rights and plenary powers of the central body against the parts.[5] Just like Bakunin, Lenin advocated the need of a "close circle of professional revolutionaries"[6] who would compose a stable and continuous Party leadership. He claimed that in a country with despotic leadership, in a life and death struggle with Czarist police, a small but stable and continuous revolutionary committee at the top of the Party would be more efficient to lead a mass movement and therefore better equipped to seize power.[7]

This principle of centralized and autocratic Party leadership which had its roots in the self-seeking drives of the raznochintsy led eventually to the dictatorship of one man. Just as Bakunin saw only himself at the top of his revolutionary hierarchy, so did Lenin. Early in the history of the Party it was noticed that

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"Lenin always felt that the Party was he, that he was the will of the movement concentrated in one man, and he acted accordingly . . . "[8] It was this demand for total power and urge to perpetuate oneself in power that necessitated military discipline and frequent purges within the Party, just as earlier among the Terrorists, the same demand and urge fostered intolerance and hatred of all deviationists and outsiders, promoted mistrust and led to the use of terror inside and outside of Party ranks. Thus Lenin, too, approved of terror:

> We have never rejected terror on principle, nor can we ever do so. Terror is a form of military operation that may be usefully applied, or may even be essential in certain movements of the battle. . . .[9]

Extreme power-seeking and resulting dogmatism and inability to compromise, as well as the example set by the Anarchists and Terrorists, led even in the early years of Party life to an emphasis on hatred of the opponents and on ruthlessness in dealing with them. Thus, in early Bolshevik writings, the words "hatred," "ruthlessness," "irreconcilability," "mercilessness," "relentlessness," "extermination," "destruction," "wiping off," became prominent. When called before the Central Committee of the Party to answer for his accusations against some Party members, which the Central Committee considered unjust and false, Lenin prided himself on using unethical methods in fighting his opponents. He proudly admitted that his accusations were deliberately schemed to:

> . . . evoke in the reader hatred, aversion and contempt . . . calculated not to convince but to break up the ranks of the opponent, not to correct the mistake of the opponent but to destroy him, to wipe his organization off the face of the earth . . . to evoke the worst thoughts, the worst suspicions about the opponent . . . Against such political enemies I then conducted—and in the event of a repetition and development of a split shall always conduct a fight of extermination . . .[10]

It was this compulsive urge of the Bolsheviks to seize power by all and any means, their centralistic and military Party organization and their ruthlessness in dealing with their opponents that had enabled them to take advantage of the chaotic situa-

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665 tion which had developed in Russia after the February revolution and to achieve their main objective.

II

182 Just as earlier, in Turco-Mongol empires, the great weakness of the Czardom lay in its low degree of emotional and ideological unity And it is this basic vulnerability of the Czardom which has enabled a small, but determined, well disciplined and ruthless faction of professional conspirators to seize power. Like its patriarchal family the whole Czardom was torn by internal dissension and strife. The abusive and humiliating power relationships at all levels of social organization of the Czardom encouraged self-orientation and destructive aggressiveness which precluded tolerance, compromise and social cohesion.

In such circumstances it was difficult to develop a set of common values that would serve as a focal point of unity of all subjects and keep the society unified in face of all threats to its existence. Orthodox religion, as well as Russian nationalism, failed in its role of unifying ideologies in a society in which interpersonal and intergroup relationships provoked feelings of rejection, mistrust, emotional instability and extreme factionalism. Thus, instead of developing itself into an integrated community unified by common feelings and identification and common interests, there grew within the Czardom a number of separate and inimical worlds with confiicting expectations and demands and with differing images and visions.

184 There was the world of the peasants, the world of the landlords,
665 the world of the lower urban folk, the world of the clergy, the world of the bureaucracy, the world of the military, the world of the intelligentsia, the world of a small upper commercial and industrial class, and finally the separate worlds of ethnical, religious and national minorities. Since Russia had not developed a numerically strong and influential middle class to link and unify all these strata, there was little contact, less understanding and no mutual sympathy between these contrasting worlds. There were deep tensions and conflicts also within each one of these worlds and all were in a perpetual state of hostility and warfare among themselves.[11]

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self. And after the army which Czar Nicholas personally commanded in 1917 had suffered defeats at the hands of the enemies, and the chiefs of the armed forces suggested to the Czar that he should resign, he realized that his prestige had fallen and his authority gone. As out of spite he abdicated not only for himself but for his heirs as well. And as it has already happened in Russia's past, when the central authority suffered defeat and loss of prestige, all seething internal forces of revolt, relieved of the controls that kept them under check, burst out in violent eruptions. In such circumstances everybody deserted the Czar, even the Orthodox Church:

> Even the Orthodox Clergy, that class that had been an integrated part of the Czarist system deserted the Czar in the hour of his doom. Showing as much lack of a sense of proportion as the other classes of Russian society the official hierarchy went as far as to pass a decision according to which all lines containing the word "king" in the Psalms of David were to be deleted.[13]

III

All these circumstances, combined with the extreme factionalism within the intelligentsia, greatly facilitated the seizure of the power by the Bolsheviks. All the four national *Dumas* which were convoked since 1905 were composed predominantly of the intelligentsia and semi-intelligentsia. The same situation existed in the leading circles of all political parties.[14] But in each party, self-centeredness and lust for power led the intelligentsia into constant bickering among themselves and neverending fighting for leadership, a situation that manifested itself in numerous party splits.

It was only in the Bolshevik Party that the Party's Central Committee was well disciplined and unified under one leader who had absolutist and dictatorial powers. This sitution spared the Party too many splits. This Bolshevik system favored the reduction of Party leadership to a rather small number of intellectuals who relied on the semi-intelligentsia and industrial workers in local Party work. It was this dictatorial, centralistic and "aristocratic" organization of the Bolsheviks, as well as the extreme ruthlessness and aggressiveness of its leaders and fanat-

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565 517 icism of its rank and file, that gave this Party an advantage over its main rival for power, the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, in the chaotic days of 1917.

727 669 565 Just as it had happened in the past, a weakening of the prestige of the ruling classes as a result of defeats on the battlefield led to peasant uprisings. Almost immediately after the Czar's abdication, that is, in March, 1917, peasant rebellions arose in 34 districts and by June spread to 325 districts. The distrubances were again especially intensive in the upper Don and in the middle Volga, the regions where the tradition of revolt was strong and the situation for revolt matured owing to unsatisfactory conditions within the land communes.

665 669 The chaos that ensued in the village was emphasized by factional strife and indecision in the center. As a result of the fall of the old Czarist regime, the two most extreme revolutionary parties, the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Bolsheviks, entered into a contest for power. While the Socialist Revolutionaries controlled the Provisional Government (since May, 1917), the Bolsheviks did everything to undermine their regime and to seize the power for themselves. In the question of rural policies, the government of Socialist Revolutionaries attempted to stop the outbreaks of lawlessness and disorder in the villages by promising an equitable solution of all rural problems on the basis of laws that were to be passed by a Constitutional Assembly.

[325] [565] But the Bolsheviks counteracted such policies by inciting the peasants to seize the lands at once. The Bolsheviks also deliberately sharpened the existing social cleavages in the villages by inciting the lower peasant strata against the upper. The Bolshevised soldiers, on leave or deserting the front, pushed more moderate elements into the background and led the peasant mobs not only against the landlords, but also against the more prosperous peasant classes. Hence, attacks on *Khutoryane* (hereditary peasant homestead owners) and *otrubniki* (peasant individual property owners) were as frequent as those against the manorial estates.

Many soldiers deserted the front because the Bolshevik agitators told them that the land was being distributed back home and that those who were present would get the choice grounds. The government, controlled by the Socialist Revolutionaries,

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appeared to be unable to solve these revolutionary outbursts, perhaps because the seeds of these revolts of the peasant masses had been sown by the revolutionary and terroristic propaganda of this same Party now in power. Moreover, this Party, though in power, was split into four factions which bitterly fought one another. Some of these factions allied themselves with the Bolsheviks to strengthen themselves in their internal Party fight. The ranks of the Bolsheviks therefore grew steadily from all sides. They had clearly defined aims and were well organized under the undisputed leadership of one man, whose unchallenged authority all Bolsheviks recognized. Their aim was to seize power at any cost and by any and all means.

In the face of an internally split and undecisive government which lacked authority, and in the midst of general chaotic conditions, the power of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the revolutionary bodies which were established throughout the country, steadily grew. The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in Petrograd was increasingly competing with the government for the control of the state. Because of their extremism, the influence of the Bolsheviks in these powerful revolutionary bodies soon became dominant. Thus, supported by bolshevised soldiers and proletariat and promising to bring peace, bread and equalitarian brotherhood to all, the Bolsheviks were enabled to seize power.[15]

In the civil war that followed between the Bolsheviks and anti-Bolsheviks, the dissatisfied military ranks, the lower urban classes, the national and religious minorities, and a large part of the peasantry took the side of the Bolsheviks, who promised an anarchic and egalitarian Utopia for each and everyone, just as many religious sects, leaders of peasant uprisings, Anarchists and Terrorists have done before them. All those who yearned for equality and acceptance at all levels of Russian society either actively helped the Bolsheviks against the White armies, or, fearing the return of the old regime, were unwilling to fight with the Whites against Reds. The attitudes of these people, combined with the ruthlessness and resoluteness of Bolshevik political and military leadership, were decisive factors in this final victory of Bolshevism.[16]

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V

Power and Personality in Soviet Russia

21
ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY AND REGIMENTATION

I

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642

BUILDING their rule on Czarist traditions and supported by Lenin's teachings and practices, the Bolsheviks undertook to perpetuate themselves in power by employing the same conspiratorial means which helped them to seize the control of the state. Such policies however were contrary to the expectations of those who yearned for an equalitarian brotherhood and demanded full political participation on equal terms for all. The Bolsheviks therefore had to elaborate on the theories which justified the "dictatorship of the proletariat." One of the fundamental ideological justifications which they put forward to explain their policy of self-perpetuation in power consisted of the claim that after the seizure of power by the proletariat, the class struggle does not cease or weaken, but on the contrary it "continues in new forms, and with even greater frenzy and ferocity, for the reason that the resistance of the exploiters to the fact of socialism is more savage than before."[1] Continued dictatorship

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is therefore said to be necessary as a means to completely eliminate "exploitation of man by man" and to bring about stateless and equalitarian society in the future.

In this manner any signs of opposition to the Party policies have been construed as "class struggle" and "counter-revolution" which made it possible for the self-seeking and mistrustful ruling faction of the Bolsheviks to eliminate all opposition to its rule, including the opposition within the Bolshevik Party itself. These means and justifications of self-perpetuation in power have been supported also by the contention that the counter-revolutionary schemes of the overthrown and dying classes are encouraged and fostered by foreign capitalist powers.

These imperialist states are said to tend to encircle the "only Socialist country" seeking to destroy it.[2] Contrary to the early Socialist promises that the state will tend to "wither away" after the proletariat had seized power, the Bolsheviks asserted that, after the proletarian revolution the state must become even more powerful because it must be used as a "special machine of suppresion."[3] Thus, instead of satisfying the traditional demands for acceptance in an all-human and stateless brotherhood, the Bolsheviks established relationships of absolute rule and unconditional obedience by monopolizing all social power in their hands. Each and every subject was made dependent for his life and livelihood upon the ruling faction. In this manner, planned economic regimentation, strict political conformity, control of thought and feeling, as well as police rule became intrinsic to the Soviet system of power.

In their compulsive drive to concentrate all power and all social control in their hands, the Bolsheviks dispossessed not only financial capitalists and large land owners, but even small farmers, fearing that these might eventually oppose and challenge their rule. "The medium peasantry is a self-sufficient class; the only one which, after the obliteration and expulsion of squires and capitalists, remains capable of opposing the proletariat," said Lenin.[4]

The need to regiment the peasantry, to break their group solidarity and make them completely dependent upon the government was supported also by other considerations. Owing to lack

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to force the peasants to join the collectives and the state farms. Those who opposed such policies were resettled or banished to convict labor camps. Many were massacred. According to Stalin ten million peasants became victims of this "class war."[5]

In order to insure their complete control over the farming population, the Bolshevik leaders sent the most trusted Party people from the city to the village to manage the newly formed *kolhozes*. These *novye bary* (new lords), as the peasants called them, installed themselves in the mansions of former estate owners and kept themselves at a considerable distance from the rural population, not unlike the former serf-owners. And not unlike the former gentry the new masters were also bent upon extracting maximum labor from the peasantry with minimum reward.

Under such conditions, the peasants, in the first outbursts of their reaction against this state of abusive submission resorted to outward aggression in the form of traditional uprisings. They burnt their crops and slaughtered their cattle rather than collectivize them. It is estimated that almost two-thirds of the entire livestock and a large part of the crops were destroyed.[6] Such a situation affected even the Ukraine, the "granary of Russia" and greatly contributed to the famine of 1932–33 in which hundreds of thousands of people died of starvation and epidemics. It was by such active rebellion that the peasantry forced the Party into a temporary retreat. The Party had to appease the peasants by giving each peasant household the right to retain in private use a small plot of land, and also in private possession a limited number of livestock. Also, private trade in agricultural products was restored in a limited degree.[7]

These were however only temporary concessions, since the Bolsheviks were determined to completely "industrialize" the peasantry as a means of political and economic control. Following such aims the highest possible degree of specialization in farm operation has been fostered and the members of the same family have been assigned to different, spacially separated activities. In this manner the agricultural brigade instead of the peasant family became the basic unit of agricultural production. For the same reason the highest possible degree of mechanization of

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upon the regime than the peasantry and industrial labor. The objective of this policy has been to prevent among the intelligentsia formation of an *esprit de corps* and opposition to Bolshevik rule, and to command the services and unquestionable obedience of every educated man. These are the political foundations of the growing and deliberately fostered stress on rank and distinction, on social differentiation, sense of superiority and inferiority, absolute superordination and blind subordination.

In the upper strata, much more so than in the lower classes, the process of hierarchal and functional differentiation is fostered and maintained not only by means of specialization of work and differences in rank, but also by means of sharply differentiated income, and by means of differential distribution of spoils, and of privileges. This sharp stratification of Soviet society, rooted in the traditions of the Czardom, in its own turn promotes power-seeking and domineering, dependency and subservience, as well as lack of social intimacy and lack of trust.

The highest privileges in the Soviet society are accruing to the top ruling faction of professional conspirators. But this group is itself internally sharply differentiated. It is headed by the Party Leader (*Vozhd*), and is divided into a number of policy making bodies, among which the Political Bureau (Politburo), now to be known as the Presidium,[1] is of foremost importance. Though the members of the Presidium and of other top policy making bodies, such as the Secretariat, are formally appointed by the Central Committee of the Party, they are *de facto* selected by the supreme leader and therefore depend upon him for their position. Such a situation fosters bickering among top ranking officials in their mutual struggle to win the favors of the head man, which in turn enables the supreme Party leader to play one faction of his camarilla against the other one or—not unlike in the days of the Czars—to select a more intimate inner circle of a few most trusted persons on whom to rely for advice and help. These then assist the leader in selecting and in eliminating the members of the top ranking hierarchy, according to expediency and circumstances.

This highly concentrated power structure is supported by a

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corresponding Party structure on the lower levels of the Party hierarchy where Party Secretariats hold the reins of power. In this system of political and social control it is the Party Secretariats on local, regional and republic levels that are of pivotal importance.[2] Through his control of the Central Party Secretariat, the supreme Party leader is enabled to select the most useful and the most trusted people for such offices.[3]

The top Party leadership is therefore in a position to direct the recruitment of Party membership. It is empowered to accept and to expel members. It directs the secretariats on the lower levels of Party hierarchy as to whom the Party shall "elect" as its officers and as its deputies to the higher Party bodies, or whom to delegate to the local or national Soviets, and other representative Party or non-Party institutions. It consults with the secretariats about the appointment of trusted Party members to responsible regional and republic government and managerial positions, and it checks on fulfillment of Party directives. This checking is done through the Committee of Party Control whose representatives function independently of local Party bodies.[4]

Stalin was well aware of the significance of the selection of leading Party personnel from the point of view of perpetuation of power when he said "Cadres decide everything." It was by his control of the top Party Secretariat that he himself was enabled to eliminate all his opponents in the hierarchy and to rise to undisputed and absolute leadership.

Since it is local, regional and republic Party secretaries who form the axis of this monolithic Party-state machine, the position of such potentates yields great power, and high material rewards. Such offices are therefore sought after by people of great ambition and lust for power, also by people of fighting, conspiratorial and domineering inclinations. Thus it is the zealous, the shrewd, the calculating and the career-minded people who are also efficient and hard-driving that tend to be picked out for these positions because it is such people on whom the Party can rely for a blind and unquestioning execution of all orders. The Party which has remained essentially a conspiratorial organization demands militancy and aggressiveness, a severe and exacting attitude toward subordinates, irreconcilability and lack of com-

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passion towards deviants and slackers, lack of intimacy among associates, complete dedication, and humbleness concerning one's own achievements.

Since the Party membership must assist the Party secretaries in the execution of Party policies, it is from among the same types of people that a significant part of the Party membership tends to be recruited. Such people form the hard core of the Party cells and the *aktivs* of Party and government institutions. They are likely to be distant and stern, critical and demanding; they watch over and feel responsible for the behaviour of others, but show no personal consideration or concern.[5]

Another part of Party membership is recruited from among the people who are not zealous, nor over-ambitious nor blindly submissive, but are especially useful to the Party because of their occupational or professional skills. Such people are likely to be competent, as well as humane, considerate, close to their subordinates and understanding in their relations with non-Party men. These people tend to alleviate the harshness of Soviet oppressive bureaucracy and perform therefore a function which is analogous to the role of the mother in the patriarchal Russian family.

It is however the hard core of zealots and careerists who are on the ascendancy and who direct Party work and control government administration and economic management with the help of the aktivs, that is, groups of selected and trusted persons formed within every organization to assist its leadership according to the Party directives. Aktiv is a cardinal agency of Party control. It is an institution of vigilance, supervision and intelligence, as well as an instrument of guidance and planned political manipulation. In the Party itself the role of the aktivs is of fundamental importance:

> Meetings of Party *aktiv* members play an outstanding role in the life of the Party organizations. It is at these meetings that the decisions of the Party and government as well as major problems in the life and work of the Party are discussed. The meetings of Party activists are a means of expression of Party public opinion; they are a forum for Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism.[6]

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By choosing the "right" people to fill the key Party positions, by using Party aktivs as an instrument of vigilance and political manipulation, and by systematic periodical purges of Party members and of Party officials who do not come up to the standards set up by the Party hierarchy, the whole Party is regimented and kept in submission according to the will of one man and his innermost circle. By an efficient control of such a regimented Party the life of the whole society is manipulated since the Party members are the "leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state."[7] It is also upon the Party's recommendation that all the important appointments in the government, managerial and military hierarchy and in learned professions are made. Hence by controlling the Party, the Party leadership is enabled to regiment the whole society and to make it dependent upon its will.

Such a Party, however, in order to perpetuate its leadership and to maintain its undisputed dominance, must preserve ideological and organizational unity, rigid discipline and *esprit de corps*.[8] These qualities can be best achieved if the Party is limited to a small membership consisting partly of professional conspirators, agitators and political organizers, and partly of the members of government, military and managerial hierarchies. In such a Party the zealots and the careerists, specialists in conspiracy, vigilance and violence, tend to take the lead. As a result, the Party which had been originally conceived as the "vanguard of the working people," which effectively "guides" a devoted proletariat,[9] remained instead an essentially conspiratorial institution and was bound to lose its initial intimate contact with the broad strata of the population.

II

A small faction of professional conspirators, which rules in opposition to the traditionally rooted demands for egalitarian acceptance and full political and social participation, must rely on active help of experts in all fields of political organization and social control to maintain its monopoly of all power. The top hierarchies of these various strata of specialists are all trusted

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Party members. Together with the policy-making Party bodies they form the ruling class of the Soviet society. This top Party-state governing class consists perhaps of about two hundred thousand people or one tenth of one per cent of the total population. They are often referred to as the *Partia i Pravitelstvo*—the Party and the government.

The middle and lower layers of government specialists are often referred to as the *Sluzhashchie*. This stratum includes the rank and file of the learned professions, the rank and file of the intelligentsia and semi-intelligentsia, the middle and lower professional military, the middle and lower government managerial ranks, the engineers and the technicians. According to the 1939 census the number of those in the sluzhashchie class, that is "all those who work in offices" was close to thirty million or seventeen per cent of the total Soviet population, as contrasted to the industrial labor (*rabochie*) which formed thirty-two per cent and the peasantry (*krestiane*) which formed forty-six per cent of the total.

The more one goes down this social scale, the smaller becomes the proportion of Party members to non members and of the privileged to the non-privileged. One's position in this caste-like pyramid determines his status expressed not only in the form of income, but even more so in the extent to which he gets the benefits of various social services, the extent of appurtenances,[10] the amount of freedom of personal movement, and the degree of superordination and subordination.

The privileged position of the educated and semi-educated classes is well manifested in the internal structure of the Bolshevik Party. As late as 1930 about 65 percent of Party members were workers or recruited from the working class, about 20 percent were peasants or of peasant background, and less than 15 percent belonged to the white collar class. But by 1941–42 the composition of the Party was reversed and apparently at present more than 70 percent of the new candidates and members are recruited from among the educated and official classes.[11] The Party rules, which in the first years of Bolshevik regime had favored the industrial proletariat, and to a certain extent the soldiers and the collective peasants, had to be revised in order to

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ease the entrance of the upper classes into the Party ranks. This was done in 1939.[13] According to Pravda's figures, in 1947 out of five to six million Party members and candidates, about one-third had university or middle school education (1,700,000).[15] The extent to which these upper classes imposed their dominance over the Party is indicated by the figures according to which at the Eighteenth Party Conference in 1941, the percentage of delegates with a complete college or university education was 41.8 as against only 6.5 percent of the voting delegates with higher education at the Party Congress in 1924.[14]

Such a Party structure is very much out of proportion to the general ratio of educated to non-educated classes in the Soviet Union, since at least four-fifths of the Soviet subjects have less than high school education. The Bolshevik Party structure is also greatly out of proportion to the vocational composition of the Soviet Union where still about three-fourths of the population belong to the strata of peasants and of industrial labor. The conspiratorial nature of the Party, the complexity of the Soviet system of rule and the need for increasing specialization of Party members in activities on which the Bolshevik power rests, favor limitation of Party membership to the educated and ruling classes.

The meaning of education and specialization in Soviet power structure becomes clearer if the system of controlled schooling in the Soviet Union is kept in mind. Both university and middle school education are mainly within the reach of higher classes.[15] It is extremely difficult for the average industrial wage-earner or peasant to send any of his children to more than elementary school because the tuition fees and the living costs in educational centers are above his income. The low wages of the industrial labor and the peasantry make it necessary for all family members, including mother and young children, to contribute to the family income by full time or part time work. Also the government conscripts youths for labor reserve battalions mainly from these strata. The children and youths from these strata depend therefore entirely upon the government stipends if they have any ambition and necessary pretraining for higher education. However in selecting candidates for schooling at govern-

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Building on the traditional role of the Father in the Russian family the Party portrays the Party Leader as a strict and distant but also watchful and solicitous man who takes good care of his family. Following the traditional image of God and of the Father, the Party Leader is pictured as being benevolent toward those who submit to him unconditionally, but as being wrathful and merciless toward his foes and all those who disobey. And just like the members of the Great-Russian family, the Soviet people are expected to show "filial gratitude" to their Elder for his care and vigilance. Hence the supreme Party Leader is addressed as "our own father" (*rodnoy otets*), teacher (*uchitel*), leader (*vozhd*), friend (*drug*), and feeder (*kormilets*). Articles and letters of gratitude published daily in the Soviet press invariably mention his fatherly solicitude (*otecheskaya zabota*), his wise (*mudry*) plan and his genius (*geny*). Without fail they thank him ardently (*goryachee spasibo*) for what he has done for the well-being (*blago*), happiness (*schastie*), and world mightiness of the Soviet state (*velichaishaya derzhava mira*). On the occasion of the Leader's birthday numerous songs and musical compositions include titles which convey the idea of dependence upon and filial gratitude to an All-Powerful and All-Wise Vozhd.

It is expected that such identifications will reinforce in the Soviet people the feeling of guilt and make them redouble their efforts in building and supporting the Soviet system. Thus in the letters which various institutions, organizations and associations write to Vozhd, pledges are given to fulfill and overfulfill their quotas and to improve quality of products in gratitude for his unceasing "paternal care" and solicitude. And if they have failed, stayed behind, or have not come up to the expectations of their "father and teacher," they admit their guilt and promise to spare no efforts to improve, and thus arrest his wrath and rejection.[39] Not only lowly and humble folk from the bottom of the Soviet social pyramid, but men and women on the lofty peaks of Soviet arts and sciences, write such letters to Stalin in the same tone of religious reverence and humility, that strongly remind one both of the servility of Czarist official classes and of the prayers to an All-Mighty and wrathful God in the Russian Orthodox Church.

The ruling hierarchy realizes, however, that deification of the

665 The ruling hierarchy realizes, however, that deification of the
208 Party leader would not produce desired effects unless supported by rewards, that is, actual gains or hopes of gains ascribed to his wisdom. It is for this reason that Stalin's name is invariably linked with and symbolically attached to all the outstanding accomplishments of the Soviet system. Stalin is also pictured as incorporating in himself longings and aspirations, dreams and yearnings both of the Soviet people and of all the oppressed and humiliated in the world, of all those who are rejected and deprived of good things in life. Such an image of Stalin strengthens culturally and structurally rooted identification with suffering. He is therefore represented as a symbol of the interests and hopes of all hard-working and suffering mankind. Hence the epoch in which we live, the epoch that is renowned for the strivings of the working masses (of those who suffer), for acceptance in an equalitarian society is to be known as "Stalin's Epoch" (*Stalinskaya Epokha*).

869 643 But even this linking of Stalin's name with all significant achievements of Soviet society in the field of economy, government, science, and art is not considered sufficient to prevent doubts and skepticism. Deep faith in the Vozhd and identification with him which will be so strong that it will endure most adverse circumstances and make people ready for great and supreme sacrifices must be instilled early in childhood. Thus already in nurseries the children were given toys on which it was inscribed "Thanks to Comrade Stalin for happy and joyful childhood" (*Spasibo tovarishchu Stalinu z schastlivoe i radostnoe detstvo*). Small children are taught to recite stories which emphasize the dependence of the whole country upon Vozhd who is compared with the rising sun. The Soviet children are told that no child and [illegible] youth is so fortunate in any other place in the world. They are assured that Vozhd is doing everything in his power to make their lives prosperous and happy. The children are expected therefore to show a feeling of gratitude toward Vozhd, the Party, and the government and must grow up as worthy fighters to take the place of the present leaders:

> We, the children of the Soviet Union, the happiest country in the world, feel the constant solicitude for us by the Party, the government, and our beloved leader, comrade Stalin.

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Comrade Stalin is the best friend of us children, of all the children of the world. It is he who builds for us the best schools, palaces of culture, stadiums and camps, where we can become strong and healthy, so that we can study more and better in the winter time, when we go to school. We must grow up as fighters worthy to take the place of those now present here (*Applause*)—as fighters devoted to the cause of the Party, devoted to the cause of the Communist International (*Applause*). Long live our beloved Stalin! (*Applause*).[40]

Accordingly the study and imitation of the life of the two deified Soviet leaders, Lenin and Stalin, is considered to be one of the primary duties and a sacred obligation of every Pioneer and Komsomol. The aim of the Party is to form the conscience of the young according to an idealized image of Lenin and Stalin. Young people are told to think constantly of their leaders, to be inspired by them, to follow them, and to love them. It is often pointed out that the reason that Stalin became so great and achieved the leading position in the Party was because he was such a faithful follower and loyal disciple of Lenin. "We must do everything so that our life is such as the unforgettable Iliich wanted it to be."[41] "In the soul of each one of us there is one and only one image which governs all of us. That is the image of the great Stalin."[42] And if a Pioneer or Komsomol is relaxing in his duties and vigilance, he is instantly reminded: "Comrade Iliich would not have approved of you." Stalin himself in his speeches often stressed the need to imitate Lenin:

> Remember, love, study, Iliich, our teacher, our leader. Fight and defeat enemies, internal and external—like Iliich. Build a new existence, a new mode of life, a new culture—like Iliich. Never refuse to do even the smallest jobs, because out of little things the great things are constructed—this is one of the important legacies of Iliich.[43]

IV

The apotheosis of Stalin did not seem to have sufficient appeal among sophisticated and disaffected intelligentsia, nor among dissatisfied and apathetic laboring masses who tended to blame Stalin for their ills. Nor was the identification of the Party with Mother sufficient to inspire faith in Bolshevik system. It was

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The wording of the Soviet armed forces oath bears witness to the vigor of this discipline and the strength of social pressure brought to its support. In addition to the punishment that may be expected by the Soviet soldier who did not fulfill his duty as expected, or who did not promptly sacrifice his life for the country is, according to this oath, "hatred and contempt of the working people" (*nenavist i prezrenie trudyashchikhsya*).[65]

At the same time the moral authority of the commander has been enhanced by a great amount of educational work and political agitation. The commander's unconditional authority is also consolidated with the help of an elaborate system of ranks, medals, and uniforms, and by the introduction of caste-like relations between the officers and the rank-and-file, a situation which is supported by the general trend in the Soviet society toward differentiation, superordination and subordination, and sharp social stratification.

Accordingly, Soviet practices in military education and training favor different types of schools according to the rank and the class. In the school for commanders the admittance practices favor children of professional army officers. In this manner Soviet military schools tend to solidify the present military caste system and to develop professional classes of hereditary warriors. Following Czarist traditions there is much pomp, ritual and ceremonial in the armed forces. There is also a certain emphasis on mysticism manifested in kneeling, bowing of heads in silence and stress on holiness. All these are means of appealing to emotions, of emphasizing the sacredness of military duty, and of developing loyalty and dedication to the colors.

As a means of political control the armed forces of the Soviet Union are completely centralized and thoroughly infiltrated by Party men. The strength of Party control of the Soviet armed forces is best seen in the degree of Party infiltration of its commanding personnel. By 1934 the percentage of Party and Party-affiliated persons in the commanding positions of the Soviet Army was about 72. The percentages were even greater in the branches which are considered especially crucial from the point of view of security, such as the tank divisions and the air force. In these two branches the percentage of Party and Party-affiliated

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701 members was close to 85 percent. And as to the top level of the 665 army command by 1941 this top military hierarchy was one hundred percent Communist.[66]

To maintain ideological purity among the armed forces and to strengthen the Party's control is the specific function of the political officer and of the Partorg (Party organizer). The political officers have now regular army training and in the actual fighting, the political officer becomes "the commander's substitute or takes his place when the commander is disabled."[67] It is this ability of the Party to replace any army commander by an army trained but Party devoted man, that is expected to insure absolute control of the armed forces by the Party even in times of greatest stress and defeat. The duty of the political officers is [703] not only to interpret and to propagandize the latest utterances of the Party leaders or the decisions of the Politburo, but to watch for any weakening of enthusiasm, for any pessimism or gloomy views that may be noticed and to combat vigorously any signs of demoralization. The most important task of the political officers, however, is to cultivate martial spirit and to build up morale, thus creating "a psychological condition which sets up resistance to fear of discomfort, pain, or death."[68]

701 The goal of the Party is to infiltrate with martial spirit not 157 the armed forces alone, but the whole Soviet population as a 208 means of bolstering the morale of the Soviet masses behind the Bolshevik regime. This is being achieved by means of militarization of all public activities. The Bolshevik leaders consider that militarization is the only morale builder in a situation in which the laboring masses tend to become lethargic, apathetic and disinterested in their work. Speaking of the experiences in World War II, Stalin said that in that struggle people got transformed and acquired new qualities which strengthened the power of the [461] Bolsheviks: "But the people themselves in the rear have been transformed, they have been more efficient, less slipshod, more disciplined; they have learned to work in wartime fashion, and to realize their duty to our motherland."[69] Stalin looks at sports and athletics from the same point of view:

> We stood for five hours on the tomb while the show went on. The Generalissimo showed no sign of fatigue. On the contrary, he ap-

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peared to enjoy every minute of the show . . . A final remark of the Generalissimo's while we were watching the sports spectacle was that mass athletics and exercises were fine because of their effect upon the populace. He said, "This develops the war spirit."[70]

In accordance with the Bolshevik need for morale building most Soviet institutions have been militarized, including the Party. Thus when a Soviet subject leaves his school and his Pioneer or Komsomol organization and enters a factory, a kolhoz, an office, a research laboratory, or becomes a Party worker, he has been already trained for work in a society which is in most of its aspects organized along military lines. Anywhere where he is assigned a job he might find military discipline and military relationships. In a number of civilian jobs he will wear a uniform with badges of his rank. In his factory or kolhoz he may become a member of a "shock brigade" or a "hero of labor" and therefore an important link in an all-embracing Five-Year-Plan whose main emphasis is on military preparedness. As a Party member he will take his position in the Party pyramid as a common soldier, as a petty officer, or as a higher officer:

> Three or four thousand men of the high command—the generals of our Party. Then 30 to 40 thousand intermediate commanders; these constitute the officers' corps of our Party. And further, 100 to 180 thousand of the leading elements of our party—these are, so to speak —the subaltern officers of the Party.[71]

In a militarized society military language is used in all activities. Military language has always been a tradition in the Bolshevik Party and has been always widely employed by Lenin, Stalin, and other Party leaders. Therefore when addressing a meeting, or when writing in a newspaper or in a literary or scholarly periodical a Soviet subject is expected to employ military phrases, and use analogies taken from military campaigns and military experiences. He will speak of "reconnoissance," "skirmishes," "encounters," "operations," "outposts," "fortresses," "citadels," "maneuvres," "camps," "cadres," etc. and he will be expected to do his duty on his own "battle post." If he rises to the top of the Party hierarchy and if he especially distinguishes himself in his civil activities he might be endowed

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with the real rank and uniform of general or perhaps even with that of marshal.

24
FAMILY BACKGROUND OF PERSONALITY IN SOVIET RUSSIA

I

PROMPTED by drives of destructive aggression and
594 supported by the ideological traditions of Nihilism and Anarch-
829 ism, the Bolsheviks were determined to destroy the family in order to have unchallenged control over the training of children and the molding of their personalities. Their view was that there was not much that they could do with the parents, but that "the children belonged to the Party." Such a trend of thought was supported also by an intense reaction of many people against the old patriarchal and despotic family pattern which existed in the Czardom. There was a strong desire on the part of many family members to liberate themselves from the old practices of parental and marital authority and discipline. It was in such an atmosphere that the Bolshevik Party at first introduced a series of decrees and measures which greatly facilitated the dissolution of family ties.[1]

The Bolsheviks, however, soon realized that the family could not be allowed to disintegrate without dire consequences for their regime which was bent upon rapid industrialization and militarization and was in great need of manpower. Also as a
[736] result of wars, famines and a growing number of broken families, there were hundreds of thousands of homeless and neglected children and aged people. Care for these proved too great a burden for an economy which had to use all its available resources primarily for state security and war preparedness. Thus instead of destroying the family the Bolsheviks decided to maintain it but to manipulate it so as to use it as an instrument

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strengthen the control of the Party over that fundamental social institution. This intent to completely subject the family to the Party's aims is expressed in Bolshevik ideological parlance as "the cultural-educational influence of the socialist state upon family relationships in the direction of strengthening socialist principles."[21]

II

Following Russian traditional attachment to the Mother Country, Soviet pedagogical principles demand that love for the *Rodina* should be emphasized in the training of children. Building on traditional mother-child attachment in the Russian family, the Party instructs teachers to point out to their pupils how Lenin was attached to his mother.[22] It also emphasizes the tender relations between Stalin and his mother. Teachers are told that this natural attachment of a child to his mother should be used as a means to instill in the child love for his Mother Country.[23]

At the same time in the school textbooks, in the daily press, in the speeches of Party leaders and all other means of mass communication, it is the Bolshevik Party that is represented to be the Mother of the Komsomols, Pioneers, and Octobrists, and the "mother of the Soviet people." The love for the Rodina is, therefore, interpreted as being conditioned by and subordinated to the primary duty of love for the Party or the Leader with whom the Party is identified. Hence, even when mother-attachment remains strong in a Soviet child, the attempt is made to transfer that attachment to the Party and to raise loyalty to the Leader and to the Party above loyalty to the country. Thus Party loyalty precedes both family and national loyalty in the Soviet educational philosophy. "Party is above everything else," the Bolsheviks say. And it is this loyalty to the Leader, Party or Cause which precedes all other loyalties that forms the core of Bolshevik internationalism and the basis of its world appeal, not unlike the appeal of a universal church.

Most children of elementary school age and a greater part of those on secondary school level belong to Party auxiliary organizations, the Octobrists, the Pioneers and the Komsomols. In the great variety of activities in which these organizations are ex-

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pected to help the Party "at all times," there is always a possibility of conflict between the demands of the Party and those of the family. Also, owing to a great shortage of manpower and a very low standard of living, most women, with the exception of those from the upper ruling strata, are forced to work long hours outside the home. Many of them have to engage in heavy physical labor. Such mothers are not only physically exhausted at the end of the day, but are often disillusioned, bitter, as well as critical of the system, a fact which is confirmed by a rather high percentage of women in convict labor camps. Such mothers cannot pay sufficient attention to their children.

At the same time great demands and responsibilities placed on parents in regard to the discipline of their children and the interference of the Party and the government in family affairs often causes harshness in treatment of children. Hence overstrictness as well as negligence of children is the result.[24] Such a situation favors both feelings of rejection and revolt, as well as extreme self-concern and destructive aggressiveness on a larger scale and in a more intense way than in the days of Czardom. And since the Soviet system of vigilance encourages family members to inform on one another, mutual suspicions, fears, and hostilities rooted in patriarchal traditions are greatly magnified. Training in self-confidence and trust, and in group attachment cannot thrive in such circumstances. But it is exactly self-concern, mistrust, and destructive aggression that are so instrumental in the perpetuation of the Bolshevik rule.

Unstable political and economic conditions, together with consequences of wars, depletion of rural areas of adult men, famines, convict labor camps to which millions of parents have been confined, have resulted in an unprecedented number of broken families and a growing number of neglected, illegitimate and delinquent children. A number of such children, especially orphans of war heroes, at the age of nine are sent to military schools. Many neglected and delinquent children at the age of 3 to 13 are sent to special homes for children which are in charge of the secret political police.[25] The increasing stress on internal vigilance, together with the pressing need of the political police to feed their vast economic enterprises with cheap

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[Ivan the Terrible]

convict labor, indicate that the number of such children will not decrease in the foreseeable future.[26]

Such children are considered to have an ideal background for their training as future specialists in conspiracy, vigilance, and violence. Therefore the children who have been raised in a tense family atmosphere or who have been rejected and neglected by their families form a fertile ground from which the Bolshevik rulers recruit a significant part of their future followers and leaders. But what is the future of a society whose ruling classes are being formed out of persons who have been raised in the midst of harshness, brutality and lack of human warmth or whose desire for emotional attachment has been thwarted?

By the middle of the sixteenth century Ivan the Terrible, who himself was left motherless early in his childhood and was exposed to great instability in his emotional attachments, became a victim of ideas of persecution and of boundless and insatiable thirst for power and self aggrandizement. Driven by such compulsions he undertook to organize a body of fanatical devotees who were bound by oath to forswear association not only with "friends and brethren" but even with their own parents, and to serve the Czar blindly and unconditionally. These *Oprichniki* became renowned in history as a brotherhood of brigands who lived separated and isolated from the rest of society—"men vile and filled with every sort of cruelty."[27] Throughout the day they indulged in savage torturing and killing of suspects after they had attended the morning liturgy. In their wild outrages they terrorized peaceful citizens immediately after their brow-beating prostrations before the Altar.

In the same manner in the Ottoman Empire, the elite militia of the Sultans, known as the Janizaries, were recruited from among the children who were often early in their childhood or boyhood taken away from their parents to be raised and trained in loyalty to the Sultan only. Still earlier in the society of Eurasian steppe warriors want of bonds of human attachment brought about instability and explosiveness of Asiatic empires. Both the Asiatic conquerors and the Janizaries became renowned in history for their recklessness and barbarism. They also rebelled and excelled in insubordination to established

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There is also a deliberate policy on the part of the ruling class
177 to prevent personal contact and exchange of ideas between the
626 Soviet subjects and the foreigners. In this way the Bolshevik
609 Party is performing the same role in the social and psychological development of Russia as the Orthodox Church has done in the past. Xenophobia and a deliberate avoidance of strangers easily develops in such circumstances, traits which have been noticed by all the observers of Soviet society. Xenophobia is so outstanding in the Soviet world that it has been noticed even by the most casual and most friendly visitors. Soviet authorities have done their best to encourage this feeling. "We were completely cut off
[625] from the great bulk of the Russian people by constant police surveillance, by propaganda and by the threat of punishment."[7] "The air itself was clothed with hate and suspicion . . . penetrated even to the child world. . . . Our next door neighbours, too, were grilled, and though we had known them for years, they took to avoiding us utterly."[8] As a rule, only police informers are assigned to foreigners as servants because everyone else is afraid to work for them.

517 In such conditions original ideas and independent intellectual
647 pursuits are fraught with great risks and it is often the less original, the mediocre, the cynical, the shrewd and the unscrupulous that take the lead. Some independent and creative people in such circumstances tend to become apathetic, to withdraw, to sever social contacts and put an end to their creative activities.[9] Others tend to seek safety in bureaucratic routine and in avoidance of initiative and responsibility. For each decision they tend to cover themselves by presenting the matter to various committees, or by seeking the Party's advice, thus letting others shoulder the responsibility.

517 The social consequences of such a development are then
● 665 manifested in a pronounced anti-intellectualism, bureaucratism and vigilantism. The ascendancy of anti-intellectualistic and watchdog trends in Soviet society is well expressed, for instance, in the change in the composition of the membership of the Politbure. In this topmost ruling body the more intellectual types of revolutionaries have been gradually purged and replaced by the activists, the semi-educated professional conspirators, Party organizers, agitators and former security officials.

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nology opponents are referred to as the "enemies of the people." They are said to be "groups of spies," "traitors to the country," "dregs of humanity," "fiendish criminals," "pigmies," "useless rubbish," "hordes of barbarians," "hangmen," "cannibals," "enemies of humankind."[18] These "instruments of oppression of the proletariat," full of "falsehoods and perverse lies," "narrow-minded petty-bourgeois with sickly mentality," have to be mercilessly "smashed," "annihilated," "crushed," "destroyed" with an "ever greater frenzy and ferocity."[19] They have to be "cleansed" from the Soviet society in order to ensure the consolidation of the rule of the Bolsheviks.

It was in order to justify ruthlessness in dealing with the opposition that labelling, denouncing and name-calling has become prominent in Bolshevik practices. Any softness toward the "enemies" is denounced as bourgeois "sentimentalism."[20] Instead, *besposhchadnost* (mercilessness), *surovost* (ruthlessness), *besstrashie* (fearlessness), and *zheleznaya volia* (iron will) are said to be the "Lenin ways" by which the political workers are to deal with all the "opponents, slackers, and deviants."

If in this "life and death fight," ruthlessness, pitilessness, and mercilessness have to be applied then also cunning, guile, craft, ruse and deceit are equally welcome as useful means. Lenin is often quoted as saying that the Communists, when necessary, must "resort to strategy and adroitness, illegal proceedings, reticence and subterfuge,"[21] that they must use any trick and veiling of truth; that they must dodge and maneuver. They must be ready in the interest of final success to suffer humiliation and self-abasement. In the interest of the cause and of final victory, they must know how to retreat and how to "crawl in the mud on their bellies."[22] According to the Bolshevik teaching, there is not an "absolute ethic." Every act is measured by how it corresponds to the interests of the group.[23]

III

Emphasis on extreme hatred, on ruse, and on mercilessness against those who do not conform is not new in the history of Russian society. Destructive aggression formed an aspect of the Czarist rule; it was manifested in the persecution of religious

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has been made between "imperialist war of aggression" and "national and class liberation." The first is said to be an "unjust war" of imperalists, exploiters and war mongers, the latter is a movement of the peoples to liberate themselves from the capitalist yoke or from colonial oppression. It is said that in this "just struggle" of the peoples of the world against oppressors the Soviet Union will unselfishly interfere with its armies to help the people to liberate themselves and also to protect liberated peoples from counter-revolution. It is therefore the duty of the working class and of "progressive-minded people" all over the world to strengthen the might of the Soviet Fatherland as "the center of international revolution":

> Being the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of Socialist construction, the land of great working class achievements, of the union of the workers with the peasants, and of a new culture marching under the banner of Marxism. . . . the USSR inevitably becomes the base of the world movement of all oppressed classes, the center of international revolution, the greatest factor in world history. In the USSR, the world proletariat for the first time acquires a country that is really its own, and for the colonial movements the USSR becomes a powerful center of attraction.[32]

In order to make Communist parties a tool of this new "Third Rome" ideology all these parties had to follow in their internal organization the Bolshevik pattern of rigid centralism and of unconditional obedience of all the subordinate organs to the higher bodies.[33] Each local Party had to be centralized in such a manner that its leadership was "endowed with complete power, authority, and ample rights" which would enable it to impose "an iron discipline" over its members.[34] All members were expected to accept such centralized Party leadership with absolute power and to "submit to its dictates."[35] This was possible only if "the strictest military discipline" and "unconditional subordination" were established within the ranks of each Communist Party:

> . . . The Communist Party should be organized on the basis of strict proletarian centralism. In order to lead the working class successfully during the long, stubborn civil war, the Communist Party must

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establish the strictest military discipline within its own ranks. The experience of the Russian Communist Party . . . has proved that the victory of the worker is impossible without a severe discipline . . . and unconditional subordination of subordinate units to the decision of those above them, and a strong Party central organ, whose decrees are binding upon all the leaders of Party life . . .[36]

In this manner, the principles of absolute dominance, unconditional obedience and ruthless discipline rooted in the political traditions of Russian society and reinforced by the structure of Bolshevik power were extended to all the parties on which the Bolsheviks imposed their control. In the same manner, also, the traditional filial attitudes of reverence, gratitude, love and humility have been established in relations of these parties to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Accordingly also, destructive aggression became one of the fundamental orientations of these parties. The Communist parties have been encouraged to use all means at their disposal, "including force of arms" in order "to overthrow the international bourgeoisie,"[37] and to "lay low the exploiters . . . completely defeat them . . . crush their resistance. . . ."[38]

As a result, the language of these parties, like that of Bolshevism, stresses hatred, destruction and war. For instance, in the Theses and Statutes and in the Program the emphasis is on extreme hostility expressed in many stereotyped phrases, such as "hatred and relentless aggression," "pitiless struggle," "persistent and merciless denunciation," "merciless contempt," "stubborn, armed and ruthless fight," "fierce and decisive battles," "ruthless war." These means against the "mortal enemy" are said to be necessary in order "to destroy the apparatus of the bourgeoisie," and to bring about the "violent overthrow" of bourgeois power, "at whatever cost." Each Communist party is expected to foster hatred and destructive aggression by all means of propaganda and agitation. The Communist press in all countries and popular Communist songs are especially significant in this respect.

Since the Communist parties outside the Soviet Union, just as the Bolshevik Party itself, stress hatred, pitilessness and destruction, they tend to attract into their ranks people who for one

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reason or another feel rejected, non-accepted, humiliated, oppressed or ostracized in their own society and who find in these parties an opportunity to vent their accumulated grievances and pent-up hostilities. But they also tend to attract people who for idealistic and humanistic reasons seek Utopias of all-human brotherhood. They attract ambitious and talented intellectuals and semi-educated people who have been thwarted in their professional and political expectations; also intellectuals and semi-intelligentsia with mediocre abilities but strong urges for self-assertion and desire for leadership and domination. They also attract many patriots belonging to oppressed nationalities or races, who have identified themselves with their nation, race or ethnic and cultural minority and seek acceptance of their group in a Communistic millenium. In times of social upheavals these parties attract also many adventurers, criminals, vagabonds, and other deviants and offenders.

It is, however, people overcharged with destructive aggression who in these parties tend to climb toward the top levels of Party leadership, because it is such people to whom the Party offers great opportunities for their destructive urges and who therefore tend to be unconditionally loyal to Moscow as contrasted to the more moderate and more humane and patriotic elements, who for one reason or another might not want always to accept Moscow's dictate. As a result of such internal conditions the history of all Communist parties has been a history of internal intrigues, splits, purges, and frequent bloodshed which in turn made it easier to completely subdue these organizations to the will of the Kremlin:

> . . . those who disorganize the Party are to be flayed without mercy. Championing as we do working class unity, we shall with so much more energy and irreconcilability fight for unity within our Parties. There can be no room in our Parties for factions, or for attempts at factionalism. Whoever will try to break up the iron unity of our ranks by any kind of factionalism will get to feel what is meant by the Bolshevik discipline that Lenin and Stalin have always taught us (applause) . . . *The Party is above everything else!* (Loud applause) To guard the Bolshevik unity of the Party as the apple of one's eye is the first and highest law of Bolshevism![50]

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It was such thoroughly regimented and indoctrinated Party organizations whose leaderships comprised a hard core of violent and unscrupulous fanatics without bonds of personal or local attachment but unconditionally subservient to the Kremlin, that became a powerful instrument in the international aggression of Bolshevism. Promising Utopias to all disgruntled, rejected and disaffected, such parties became the main instrument of the Soviet Union in its territorial annexations, as well as in the formation of a ring of satellite states. The objective of this expansion was always the same: to turn outward the internal tensions, to enhance the economic, the strategic, and the military potential of the Soviet Union, and to increase the power and influence of the Bolshevik hierarchy at home and abroad.

V

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New modifications in Bolshevik ideology were necessary to explain such policies. The Communist parties in the capitalist countries are now said to be unable by themselves alone to overthrow local bourgeoisies or to prevent a counter-revolution after capitalism has been overthrown. These parties therefore need active help of the Soviet armed forces not only to overthrow the capitalist class, but also to eliminate the possibility of counter-revolution and to protect the national independence of the newly formed Communist controlled states—the "People's Democracies." This "liberating" and "protecting" role of the Soviet Army and complete dependence of liberated states upon the Soviet Union is a replica of the dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships on which the Soviet Union itself has been founded. The dependent states are expected to be ready to defend and protect the Soviets "unconditionally and without hesitation." Such a system of Moscow-satellite relationships is considered so overwhelmingly important by the Kremlin rulers that they demand that their satellite leaders constantly emphasize even in fundamental state laws their dependency upon and subordination to the Soviet Union:

> The armed might of the great Soviet Union liberated our country from the yoke of German fascism, smashed the landlords and the capitalistic anti-popular state powers, and opened to our working

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people the road to democratic development. Coming to power after severe struggles with the lords and defenders of the old order, the Hungarian working class, in union with the working peasants, rebuilt our war-destroyed country with the unselfish support of the Soviet Union. Under the guidance of the working class hardened in decade long struggles, benefiting by the experience of the 1919 social revolution, depending on the Soviet Union, our people began laying the foundations of socialism.[40]

To emphasize the superiority of the Soviet Union, its undisputed leadership and dependence of the satellites upon it in the struggle for world revolution, an important distinction has been made in regard to the social and political structure of the dependencies in comparison with that of the Soviet state. Though both are said to be the "dictatorships of the proletariat,"[41] the Soviet state is said to be carrying out the transition from Socialism to Communism; the "people's democracies," on the other hand, are said to be carrying out only the transition from capitalism to Socialism.[42]

Complete political and economic dependence of the satellites upon the Soviet Union is ideologically justified by the claim that the general objectives of world revolution presuppose an industrially as well as a militarily powerful Soviet Union as a base. To this primary objective of all Communists local interests of the satellites must be subordinated. Therefore, any opposition to such plans or any hints that the "fraternal assistance" offered by the Soviet Union in the interest of the revolution might not be completely unselfish is immediately castigated as "nationalism," as "opportunism," and as "treason":

> The essential task, that of laying the foundation of Socialism in Poland, can be carried only in close alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union . . . Any tendency to weaken cooperation with the Soviet Union is directed against the very foundation of the People's Democracy . . . Anyone who imagines that the people's democratic state can be formed merely as a self-sufficient body, on a national scale, isolated from the class struggle on an international scale . . . will inevitably sink into the slough of nationalism and treachery.[43]

This system of political, military and economic dominance of the dependencies implies an elaborate system of watching, super-

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vising, checking and controlling. Accordingly just as in the Soviet Union in each satellite country primary attention is paid to the personnel policies. "Department of Cadres" and "Personnel Bureaus," headed by people who are trusted friends of the Soviet Union and advised by Soviet experts, supervise the political reliability and the labor efficiency of all. Observers of these agencies and Soviet experts are at work in every Party organization, every office and every factory shop. The hiring, releasing, and transferring of personnel rests with these bureaus.

In all these considerations political reliability and not professional competence is of foremost importance, a situation that favors the rise of professionally incompetent zealots and careerists ahead of people who are professionally able but more cautious and moderate, or more independent.[44] In consequence, just as in the Soviet Union, there is a keen struggle for positions and ranks and there is a premium on specialists in political organization and violence, a great demand for watchdogs, agitators, overseers and labor-drivers. Unconditional faith in and devotion to Russia is considered, however, to be the first and primary prerequisite for advance in satellite political, military and managerial hierarchies.[45] Hence periodical purges or "verifications" of Party members are undertaken to insure that only sufficiently Russified people remain in the Party.

The need of total control of dependencies dictates also a divide and rule policy among the satellites. In accordance with such policies the Kremlin instigates and encourages local nationalisms, regionalisms and separatisms and external aggressiveness of the satellites while at the same time it must prevent pan-movements and excessive territorial ambitions which might challenge the dominance of Moscow. Thus while instigating Asiatic nationalism the Soviet Union must prevent the championship of the Pan-Mongolian idea by Mongolia or Communist China. While encouraging various Balkan nationalisms it had to prevent the formation of a South Slav Federation.

Another means of promoting effective control of and dominance of the satellites is isolating these vassal countries from the West and therefore preventing any Western influence to undermine Bolshevik rule. This aim is achieved by deliberately pro-

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voking tension between these dependencies and the Western world, and by promoting anti-cosmopolitanism and castigating satellite intellectuals who show pro-Western attitudes.[46] The control of the Church and persecution of Church leaders, especially those with strong Western ties such as the Catholic hierarchy, serves the same purpose.

In order to strengthen this system of total regimentation and control of its dependencies the Soviet Union formed in 1947 an over-all agency as an instrument of coordination of its major policies toward these states, the Cominform. This over-all agency of conformity and vigilance which took the place of the old Comintern is designed by the Soviet Union to bring about a concerted pressure upon any eventual signs of resistance to the policies dictated by Moscow.

The third meeting of the Cominform (November, 1949), for instance, was especially concerned with means to increase "revolutionary vigilance," to detect "deviationism, opportunism, sectarianism" within Communist parties and to wage an "irreconcilable struggle" against all manifestations of "bourgeois nationalism" and against the "provocations and intrigues of the American imperialists." The Communists who did not unconditionally submit to the wishes of the Kremlin were denounced as "imperialist agents and spies," as the "splitters" in the ranks of the working class, as "tools of imperialists," as "traitors," "reactionary nationalists," "clerical and fascist elements," "counter-revolutionaries," "slanderers," "provokers," "fabricators of foulest lies borrowed from the arsenal of Hitler."[47] In this manner the "Party line" laid down by the Kremlin is universally and unquestioningly adopted by all.

VI

The difficulties of control which arise within such a system of vassal dependencies are well exemplified in the relationships between Soviet Russia and Communist Yugoslavia. In the latter country, the Communist-led Partisans were placed in power when the Red Army took Belgrade, but the quick withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the territory of Partisan-controlled Yugoslavia did not allow the Bolshevik Party sufficient time to place

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its own appointees and trusted agents in all the key positions in the Yugoslav Communist Party and in the Yugoslav state administration.[48]

Even during this short stay of the Red Army in Yugoslav territory, the relations between Communist-Partisan rulers of Yugoslavia and their Soviet liberators became tense. The tension resulted from the "haughty attitude" of the liberators and the hostility that this attitude provoked among the liberated.[49] And later when the Soviet Union attempted to infiltrate Yugoslavia with advisers and experts, the Yugoslav officers began "to abuse" the Soviet military advisers[50] and Yugoslav authorities showed such a "lack of hospitality and lack of confidence" that their security organs "controlled and supervised the Soviet representatives in Yugoslavia."[51] The Yugoslav Communist authorities also refused economic information to the Soviet trade representatives and resented the Soviet Ambassador in Yugoslavia collecting information about the conditions within the Yugoslav Communist Party. And when the Yugoslav Communist leaders and their agents prevented the attempt of the Soviet Union to establish a net of its intelligence agents in the country and within the Yugoslav Communist Party,[52] the final break could not be avoided any longer.[53]

Two totalitarian controls cannot exist in one and the same territory. Thus, when the Soviet Union had realized that Yugoslavia was under the firm control of the Yugoslav Communist Party and police. that they could not liquidate its leadership which became too challenging and could not therefore bring the country to a state of complete dependence, subordination and vassalage, the next alternative left was to expel Yugoslavia from the Cominform.[54] A Communist state out of the Kremlin's hold, if allowed to remain within the Soviet orbit, could undermine the very foundations of the Kremlin's dominance over other satellites.

Similar resentment, antagonism, and lack of trust that developed between the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the Russian Politburo has always existed in all other satellite states in various degrees and forms.[55] Many Communists, particularly the "idealists" and patriots resent the presence of Russian

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experts, advisers, representatives, and agents occupying positions of power and control in each satellite country, especially their haughty and insulting behavior, constant tutoring and sermonizing on the part of Moscow and need to accept the Kremlin's dictates with humility and gratitude. Also economic exploitation of the vassal countries in the interest of the Soviet Union, the imposition of Russian language and Russian culture, the danger of military occupation and the threat of resettlement of whole sections of the population to Siberian mines and lumber camps, all of these cannot but provoke anxieties, fears, and hatreds on the part of the subjected peoples:[56]

> We are finding out that not only lack of knowledge and ability is displayed in the Czech Army toward the Soviet military science and Soviet war experiences, but that we encounter even a direct distaste and resistance based on hatred toward everything Soviet.[57]

For this reason "Titoism" in one form or another has appeared in all satellite countries. A "Titoist crisis," for instance, took place twice in Outer Mongolia, in 1924 and in 1930–32.[58] In other satellite states the same crises were manifested in a number of "spy trials" and execution of outstanding satellite leaders. But purges and trials do not eliminate the sources of dissatisfaction and hostility. Since the causes remain and constantly generate new feelings of destructive aggression, Bolshevik leaders have to constantly increase measures of security, vigilance, and control in all their dependencies. The Kremlin is therefore increasingly forced to rely on power-seeking careerists, on members of minority groups, on Russian subjects, and on children from dependent states taken to Russia and trained as "New Janizaries" to rule their own countries in a "Rokossovsky way."[59] The patriots and the humanists among the Communists have to make room for violent zealots and cynical careerists, "for such men who would not scruple any means in carrying out the orders. . ."[60] The leaders who fought with their people in underground movements against Nazi invaders have to give way to "a few individuals who spent the wartime in Moscow [and] were installed in a 'Rokossovski way' in the top positions . . . lacking the contact with the population and knowledge of its wishes, they mechani-

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cally apply methods which are in flagrant contradiction to our traditions and incompatible with them."[61] Such policies in turn only emphasize the feeling of insecurity, isolation and mistrust; they cause apathy and a slowing-down in economic and intellectual advance.[62]

In this manner the pattern of Bolshevik expansion which was designed to release and redirect the hostilities accumulated within Soviet society has only extended the area of strains and tensions. The addition of each new dependency therefore adds fresh pressures for more aggression directed outward. In such circumstances the Bolshevik leadership is forced not only to instigate its satellites toward external aggression but also to deliberately provoke and perpetuate international tension. By such means the Bolsheviks expect to maintain a constant external pressure that would work toward unity of the Soviet orbit and rallying of all dependencies behind Moscow.

In the meantime, however, such growth and expansion of Soviet power and Communist fomented unrest could not have failed to provoke increasing anxieties and fears in the countries which consider themselves threatened by Bolshevik advance. War preparedness in the West and formation of anti-Soviet military alliances has been the result. Mutual suspicions and international tension which have developed in these circumstances have increased to a point which has already taken the form of a "cold war" and of scattered localized warfare. Thus growing friction between these two increasingly hostile and aggressive worlds might eventually break into an all-out fighting on a global scale.

On the other hand increasing resistance to Soviet expansion on the part of Western powers might eventually completely seal the outlets for Soviet outward aggression. In such a case accumulating internal complexities and stresses generated by the structure of Soviet power might get out of the Kremlin's control and bring about disintegration of Bolshevism through internal conflicts, especially if these are widened and sharpened by means of planned external economic and psychological pressures.

[CONSTITUTION as of 1949]

646 Art. 36. A member of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR may not be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, or, when the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is not in session, without the consent of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

643 Art. 37. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of
644 the Russian SFSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR orders
[643] new elections to be held within a period not exceeding two months from the date of expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 38. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR retains its powers until the newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR shall have formed a new presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 39. The newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is convened by the outgoing Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR not later than three months after the elections.

645 Art. 40. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR appoints the Government of
[641] the Russian SFSR, namely, the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter IV. The Organs of State Administration of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

Art. 41. The highest executive and administrative organ of state power of the Russian SFSR is the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 42. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR is responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, or, in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 43. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation of the USSR and the Russian SFSR, and of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and verifies their execution.

Art. 44. Decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR are binding throughout the territory of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 45. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR:

a) Coordinates and directs the work of the Ministries of the Russian SFSR and of other institutions under its jurisdiction; coordinates and verifies the work of the authorised representatives of the all-Union Ministries;

b) Adopts measures to carry out the national-economic plan;

c) Adopts measures to fulfil the state and local budgets of the Russian SFSR;

d) Adopts measures for the maintenance of public order, for the protection of the interests of the state, and for the safeguarding of the rights of citizens;

e) Directs and verifies the work of the Councils of Ministers of the Autonomous Republics, directs and verifies the work of the Executive Committees of territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies;

[Constitution as of 1949]

641 [687] Art. 137. To defend the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR. Treason to the country -- violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the State, espionage - is punishable with all the severity of the law and is the most heinous of crime.

Chapter XII. The Electoral System

● 666 Art. 138. Elections of deputies to all Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies, Supreme Soviets of Autonomous Republics, Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions, Soviets of Working People's Deputies of National and administrative Areas, districts, cities and rural localities (stanitsas, villages, hamlets and auls) are chosen by the electors on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Art. 139. Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the Russian SFSR who have reached the age of 18, irrespective of race, or nationality, sex, religion, educational or residential qualifications, social origin, property status or past activities, have the right to vote in the election of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of insane persons and persons who have been convicted by a court of law and whose sentences include deprivation of electoral rights.

[641] Every citizen of the Russian SFSR who has reached the age of 21, irrespective of race, or nationality, sex, religion, educational or residential qualifications, social origin, property status or past activities may be elected as a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 140. Elections of deputies are equal: each citizen has one vote; all citizens participate in elections on an equal footing.

[92] Art. 141. Women have the right to elect and to be elected on equal terms with men.

[641] Art. 142. Citizens serving in the ranks of the Armed Forces of the USSR have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

Art. 143. Elections of deputies are direct: all Soviets of Working People's Deputies from the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of villages and cities to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, inclusive, are elected by the citizens by direct vote.

Art. 144. Voting at elections of deputies is secret.

Art. 145. Elections to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Russian SFSR are held by election districts on the following ~~bases~~

in elections to territorial and regional Soviets - one deputy for every 1,500 to 60,000 of its population, depending upon the size of the territory or region;

in elections to the regional Soviets of Autonomous Regions - one deputy for every 1,500 to 3,500 of its population, depending upon the size of the Autonomous Region;

in elections to ~~Area~~ Soviets of National Areas - one deputy for every 300 to 8,000 of its population, depending upon the size of the National Area;

in elections to area Soviets of administrative areas - one deputy for every 500 to 10,000 of its population, depending upon the size of the administrative area;

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[Constitution as of 1949]

666 in elections to district Soviets - one deputy for every 1,000 of its population; a district with a population below 25,000 elects 25 deputies; a district with a population above 60,000 elects no more than 60 deputies;

In elections to city Soviets or city district Soviets - one deputy for every 350 to 1,000 of the population depending upon the size of the city; in a city or city district whose population does not exceed 12,000 35 deputies are elected;

in elections to the city Soviets of Moscow and Leningrad - one deputy for every 3,000 of their population;

elections to village and settlement Soviets - one deputy for every 100 of the population; rural localities (stanitsas, hamlets, auls) and settlements with a population below 1,000 elect 9 deputies; those whose population exceeds 2,500 - no more than 25 deputies.

The basis of representation for each Soviet of Working People's Deputies of territory, region, Autonomous Region, National and administrative Area, district, city, village and settlement is fixed in the Ordinance concerning Elections to Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Territories, Regions, Areas, Districts, Cities, Villages and Settlements of the Russian SFSR within the range of the bases of representation indicated in the present article.

Art. 146. Candidates for elections are nominated according to electoral districts.

The right to nominate candidates is secured to public organizations and societies of the working people: Communist Party organizations, trade unions, co-operatives, youth organizations and cultural societies.

Art. 147. It is the duty of every deputy to report to his electors on his work and on the work of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies, and he is liable to be recalled at any time upon decision of the majority of the electors in the manner established by law.

Chapter XIII. Arms, Flag, Capital

186 Art. 148. The arms of the Russian SFSR are a sickle and hammer of gold placed crosswise, handles down, against a red background in the rays of the sun and surrounded by ears of grain, with the inscriptions "RSFSR" and "Workers of All Countries, Unite!"

Art. 149. The state flag of the Russian SFSR is of red cloth with a gold sickle and hammer and the gold letters "RSFSR" placed in the upper corner near the staff.

Art. 150. The capital of the Russian SFSR is the city of Moscow.

Chapter XIV. Procedure for Amending the Constitution

642 Art. 151. The Constitution of the Russian SFSR may be amended only by decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the Supreme Soviet.

000 This translation was made from a Russian text, with amendments through March 13, 1948, published by the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR in 1948. Additional amendments were incorporated from texts published in Izvestia through May 27, 1949.

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[XIX century]

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to undermine the existing Church, State and family system based on self-abnegation and on unconditional submission.

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As a result, a number of raznochintsy intelligentsia, freed of fear and awe before God, the Czar and the Father, but feeling thwarted in their political ambitions and socially rejected, expressed their dissatisfaction and their hostility toward the existing conditions of inequality and oppression by developing ideologies of denial and destruction. Their aim was to reject and to annihilate all the basic institutions and authorities on which Czardom rested: the family, religion, property, the power of the Father, the authority of the Church, as well as the rule of the Czar. These revolutionaries denied God and conscience as well as any existing ethics or rules of conventional conduct. They sought to destroy Czardom "root and branch" and to seize power for themselves by all and any means. Their professed objective was to establish on the earth an all-human stateless society of totally free men living in a system of equalitarian justice and fraternal love.

Thus, while seeking to reestablish the anarchic and group-oriented values of the early Slav folk and of the Russian peasant commune, these revolutionaries exhibited also Messianic power-centered urges and destructive drives common in the ruling classes of Czardom. Hence a number of these people became professional conspirators, advocating establishment of an underground organization with rigidly centralized total power commanding expendability of its members, and demanding their complete dedication to the cause of the revolution. They considered this system of organization to be the only effective way to fight the Czarist rule. In this "mortal struggle," these dedicated young men and women tolerated no opposition or differences of opinion, propagated extreme hatred and pitilessness in dealing with all adversaries, organized assassinations, mutinies, strikes and mass risings, thus preparing the ground for the ascendancy of Bolshevism.

The Bolsheviks were a group of professional conspirators. In common with Messianic and power-oriented aims of all raznochintsy, the Bolsheviks endeavored to seize absolute and total power exclusively for themselves, by any and all means, as a way

1 [i.e. of undermining due to penetration of western influences -- Analyst]

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to bring about an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men on a global scale. Seeking to realize these bi-polar objectives, the Bolsheviks have inherited and reinforced the basic contradictions and conflicts between the aspirations of the rulers and those of the subjects which have throughout centuries undermined the stability of Czardom.

In their effort to perpetuate themselves in power, the Bolsheviks had to remain organized as a ruling elite of professional conspirators and to reinforce dominance-submission relationships in a system of total power concentrated in their hands. To maintain such a political rule, the Bolsheviks had to introduce a system of total dependence of all upon the holders of power and thus to reinforce the attitudes of self-effacement. They also established a planned system of social differentiation and isolation to prevent social intimacy and group solidarity and hence the potentiality of organized opposition to their rule.

In such conditions, feelings of rejection and traditional longings for an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men have been greatly strengthened among the subjects. It is this situation that points out the fundamental weakness of the Soviet system. To counteract the effects of this basic vulnerability of their regime, the Bolsheviks have endeavored to deify the Soviet rulers, have resorted to the damnation and anathema of the Western world, and have embarked on a propaganda campaign for a Messianic redemption of all suffering and exploited humanity. In this manner, the Bolsheviks have been able to appeal to supra-ethnical and supra-personal loyalties and to all-human longings, not unlike a universal church.

The Bolsheviks have also endeavored to build up the morale of their subjects by means of prestige projects, by mythical undertakings, by mass pageantry, mass unanimous voting and large scale militarization. All these devices are conceived as ways to provoke emotional identification of the masses with the Soviet State and to find in this identification a substitute for their yearnings for a community of free and equal men.

Total dominance and total submission relationships which have to be maintained to perpetuate this conspiratorial system of power have introduced other basic strains and stresses in the

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[Herzen]
[Sophia Perovskaya]

with all his fellow creatures . . . I felt intense pity for the old man, but I could do nothing—he was inaccessible.[3] 159

The liberalizing influences which were penetrating Russia from the West reinforced urges of revolt against despotism as well as feelings of identification with suffering masses. By the second part of the nineteenth century the reaction against the tyrannical family environment and oppressing political system took often an extreme form. It is common knowledge that many Russian terrorists and assassins of the second part of the nineteenth century grew up exposed to constant family tensions and personal humiliations, and sought total destruction of society. Others were inclined to identify themselves with all who were abused. Thus we find the urge for destruction and identification with suffering as fundamental aspects of the ideology of Russian revolutionary movements. For instance, Kropotkin, the outstanding Russian Anarchist directly related his revolutionary activities to his identification with all those who were persecuted. He appealed to all who were exposed to maltreatment to rise against their oppressors: 593 [77] 154 [68]

Ay, all of us together, we who suffer and are insulted daily, we are a multitude whom no man can number. We are the ocean that can embrace and swallow up all else. When we have but the will to do it, that very moment will justice be done; that very instant the tyrants of the earth shall bite the dust.[3]

Or take, for instance, Sophia Perovskaya, one of the plotters in the assassination of Czar Alexander II. According to her biographers her father was a willful despot "such as the patriarchal system alone could have produced," and her mother, "constantly humiliated and insulted," remained at home to protect the children. Thus, in her own family Perovskaya learned to hate oppression and developed her love for the oppressed and weak. For her mother, one of the down-trodden, she had a love "bordering upon adoration."[4] Catherine Breshkovskaya, another outstanding Russian revolutionary, who became known as the "little grandmother of the Russian revolution," tells us in her reminiscences and letters how her childhood experiences affected her feelings, thoughts, and actions throughout her life: 668 154 159

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[Catherine Breshkovskaya]
[Bakunin]

How many times, stupefied and shocked, I have been the witness of such humiliating, degrading, excruciating things! How many times I have thrown myself at my father's feet to implore pardon for a so-called culprit, whose only fault, perhaps, was to have fallen asleep while herding the sheep! How many times I have been indignant to see how hundreds of peasants would be kept waiting in the courtyard, bare-headed and shivering with cold, waiting for the master to appear, after making them wait all day, would send them off without a word, so taken up was he with gambling at cards with other lords, who in their turn were making their coachmen wait on the carriage box till their hands were frozen! These things tormented my childish mind, and pursued me even into my bed, where I would lie awake for hours, unable to sleep for thinking of all the horrors about me. Child as I was, I could not understand why these honest folk should bear the entire burden of work and of taxes. I saw that my father, good though he was, put much more heart into looking after his own interests than the interests of his serfs, and I was shocked at the inequality between the rich and the poor. From the age of eight, how to find justice was the question that troubled me.[5]

Identification with suffering is outstanding in the literary works of Dostoyevsky. Influenced by religious feelings, he considered his own sufferings as a blessing. He identified Russia with crucified Christ and regarded the sufferings of the Russian people as a means by which the wrongs of all mankind will be expiated so that a new and better order will prevail on the earth: "All men will be holy and love one another, and there will be no more rich nor poor, no exulted nor humbled, but all will be as the children of God, and the true Kingdom of Christ will come."[6]

II

Not in all families of Russian intelligentsia was the situation alike. There were families in which harmonious relations prevailed. There were also families in which reaction developed not against the despotism of the father but against the tyranny of the mother. Bakunin, for instance, describes his mother as "a vain, egotistical woman and none of her children loved her."[7] According to Carr, Bakunin "attributed his passion for destruction to the influence of his mother, whose despotic character

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[Bakunin]

[Saint Theodosius]

593 159 [668]

inspired him with an insensate hatred of every restriction on liberty."[8]

Identifying himself with all the oppressed, this leading Russian anarchist revolted not only against the family and the state, but against God as well, because God was a symbol of authority and fear. To Bakunin the concept of a God of fear implied abdication of reason and of justice, and was the negation of human liberty. He expounded therefore the overthrow of God as a necessary precondition of human liberation.[9] To Bakunin the revolt of Satan against God was the first attempt of free thought, of science, and of human freedom.[10]

[538]

Not unlike this was the reaction of Turgeniev toward the despotism of his mother. This outstanding Russian novelist apparently developed a great compassion for the Russian serfs and became a champion in the struggle for freedom and for the emancipation of the peasants because he identified his own sufferings with the plight of the muzhiks on the estate of his mother. Turgeniev's mother apparently gave vent both on her son and on her serfs for the sufferings of her unhappy married life, and in bringing up her own son she made few concessions. The same excessive strictness that she applied against serfs she exercised also against her own son. "I was flogged almost every day for merest trifles," says Turgeniev.[11]

593 159 792

An earlier case of reaction against a despotic mother and resulting identification with those who are humiliated is that of Saint Theodosius. This Russian saint was one of the founders of Russian monasticism in the eleventh century. According to Fedotov, the main theme in the hagiography of Theodosius is the "strife with his mother . . . the cruel treatment he endured, and his threefold escape. Many scenes are painted with truly artistic skill, particularly the portrait sketched of the mother, with her passionate transitions from outbursts of anger to caresses, with her appearance as a virago: 'She was strong in body, vigorous as a man: anybody who would not have seen her but only heard her voice would believe it was that of a man.' "[12]

Theodosius reacted to the despotism of his mother by wearing "uncouth and patched garb" like the poor and the beggars to the dismay of his parents, who were well-to-do people and felt hor-

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[Saint Theodosius]

593 159 792 rified by such behavior. After his father's death, Theodosius used "to go to the fields with the slaves and work humbly."[13] Later when Theodosius finally escaped from his mother's tyranny by entering a monastery, he became the founder of that school of Russian monastic philosophy which emphasizes self-abnegation and meekness, as well as charitable love and compassion for those who suffer. In that manner Theodosius identified himself and his Church with all those who were tyrannized. But he was also active in protecting those to whom injustice was done. He became "intercessor for many before judges and princes, rescuing people."[14]

152 695 Deep sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them might explain why the Russian juries and the peasant courts were so ready to acquit the repentants. Juries and courts would often set free criminals who were found guilty by well established evidence. The verdict in such a case might be "not guilty" because of "commiseration for the poor murderer." A jury sitting through Holy Week would tend to acquit everybody, because "at the time of our Lord's Passion, it does not become Christians to condemn their brethren."[15]

152 538 Sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them is an outstanding trait of Russian literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Russian writings of those days exhibit a preoccupation with great social, political, religious and psychological problems of mankind. They picture a gloomy, painful, and tragic world, full of misery, injustice, blood and death. In the same manner the school textbooks of those days contained many heartbreaking stories full of compassion and commiseration for the suffering, unprotected, weak.

152 783 538 668 When identification with suffering is a manifestation of revolt or is combined with the urge for revolt, strong feelings of guilt might develop. On such grounds compulsion to suffer and to be persecuted might thrive. This "Russian Kenotism" is found among the early Russian monastics[16] as well as among the Russian nineteenth century revolutionaries and men of letters. Some Russian revolutionary factions, for instance, emphasized sacrifice and martyrdom to the point of self-destruction.[17] In the like manner Count Leo Tolstoy claims in his diary that he, "often

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wanted to suffer, wanted persecution."[18] A number of heroes in Dostoyevsky's novels show the same urge.

Undoubtedly such feelings contributed to that tone of fanaticism and that readiness for self-sacrifice which was characteristic of many Russian revolutionaries and conspirators of pre-Soviet days and which gave a special vigor and intensity to their activities. Such extremes in emotional reactions were supported also by another trait in these people, that of emotional instability.

13
EMOTIONAL INSTABILITY

I

FEAR and awe (*strakh*), submission (*povinovenie*), and sense of guilt (*sovest*) are rooted in the structure of the Great-Russian society and are supported by its traditions. But so is compassion (*zhalost*), humility (*smirenie*), demand for truth and justice (*pravda*) and for egalitarian acceptance, as well as revolt and terror (*ustrashenie*), lack of trust and urge to destroy (*unichtozhenie*). It is the propensity to experience such contrasting sentiments that causes behavior which is alternatively bent in opposite directions. A person's behavior which has been conditioned by an environment which fosters such feelings and attitudes might show a lack of sense of moderation and a tendency toward extremes in responses to his social milieu.

It is such unbalanced peculiarities of behavior that have drawn the attention of many students and observers of Russian society.[1] A tendency toward diametrically opposite extremes, and frequent alternation between these poles has been often noticed. Kindliness and gentleness have alternated with lack of consideration, excessive severity, brutality and cruelty. Rebelliousness has been followed by resignation. Periods of feverish energy and confidence have been superseded by spells of inertia, languor and despair. Extremes in feasting have alternated with extremes in fasting. Tyrannical rule had its counterpart in demands for

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IV

Ideologies and Movements

14

REVOLT OF THE LAND-OWNING INTELLIGENTSIA (WESTERNISM AND SLAVOPHILISM)

I

IN CONSEQUENCE of the reforms of Peter the Great the dvorianstvo obtained hereditary rights on their lands. At the same time their service to the state ceased to be obligatory. But the traditions of this class consisted of warfare and ruling, not of land cultivation. Thus when this newly formed landed gentry did not have to serve the state, many of them became a leisure class of people who occupied themselves by visiting Western lands, cultivating Western languages and fine arts and studying Western political and social ideologies. Few among these people were inclined to retire to the country and dedicate themselves to the management of their estates. The result of such a trend of events was that a large part of this leisure class people Europeanized themselves and developed high educational and intellectual standards. And it was from this group of a well educated landed gentry who were losing their

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former role as main instruments of the Czar's power to a parvenu bureaucracy and military that leaders of first opposition movements were recruited.

Even before and during the French Revolution a number of Russian landed nobility became aware of the ideas of the Revolution. They were also becoming increasingly interested in constitutional forms of government in which they could take part in their own right, not depending upon the whims of a despotic monarch. Some of these people even became dissatisfied with serfdom because of its economic inefficiency. They were also becoming increasingly impatient with absolutism because of its oppressive and degrading aspects.

Such ideas and feelings penetrated the officers' corps and a number of this military intelligentsia organized themselves into a secret society and formulated a concrete program for constitutional changes.[1] Some of these people came from high nobility. Others, especially those from the South, were impoverished nobles living on meager officer's salaries. In December, 1825 these people attempted to seize power. However, owing to ideological differences and the traditional factional splits within the dvorianstvo, the attempt of this faction of military intelligentsia to gain power was thwarted.[2] Nevertheless, this uprising of the "Decembrists," though abortive, was the beginning of increasing revolutionary activities of the intelligentsia[3] which finally brought about the overthrow of the Czardom in the Revolution of 1917.

The revolt of the Decembrists was a sign that the Czardom had already gone through such changes in its social structure that a change in its political system was overdue. The most important change in this structure was the formation of a class which, for the first time in Russia's history, became economically independent of the Czar, and which, though economically idle and not always prosperous, became intellectually very alert and also very sensitive to Western ideas.

In accordance with the traditional behavior pattern of Russian nobility, their reactions to the conditions at home and to Western thought tended to develop in the direction of two opposite extremes. One was that of the "Westerners" who were

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According to Slavophils the doom of the Western civilization was sealed when rationalism was allowed to destroy faith. It was then that the human spirit became divided against itself, which meant its disintegration. God and man, intuition and reason, beauty and truth are one, they claimed. As soon as man does not possess such a mystic unity with the absolute, he is plunged into skepticism and disbelief, his reason is separated from his soul and he becomes a "split man."

Owing to the organic totality of his body and soul, of his faith and reason, the Russian man possessed the "inner truth," which is the real truth, as against the "outer truth" or superficial truth of the Westerner, the Slavophils said. Therefore in contrast to the "split man" of the West, the Russian man was a "total man" (*vsechelovek*).[8] In this manner, the Russian man who has achieved his unity with God has achieved also the unity of his nation with God. The Russian nation is therefore a "God-bearing" nation (*Bogonosets*):

> . . . do you know who are the only 'god-bearing' people on earth, destined to regenerate and save the world in the name of a new God, and to whom are given the keys of life and of the new world . . . Do you know which is that people and what is its name?[9]

Aware that without strong religious feelings such a man and society could not exist, and fearing the decline of the old Orthodox-patriarchal values in a bureaucratized and secularized Russia, the Slavophils demanded a return to the old pre-Petrine theocratic system, one in which the Church would absorb the state. In accordance with such an ideology the Slavophils asserted that when the Church has absorbed the state, then the state will ascend and become a Church over the whole world, a Church kingdom ruling over all the earth which is the "glorious destiny ordained for the Orthodox Church."[10]

The Slavophils asserted that the political organization as developed in the West was a system of conquest and force. Being therefore an instrument of oppression, such a political organization was foreign to the Slavs and to the Russian people, and it should not be maintained.[11] In accordance with the anarchic and egalitarian traditions of the Old-Slavonic society, the Slavophils

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claimed that the commune should be the main unit of social organization of mankind. In the commune, it was not force or external coerciveness, not the minority or majority rule, but the collective mind, the inner motivations, the principle of unanimity and organic totality that prevailed.[13] It is only by being completely rooted in his own community and completely identified with his own people that man can be creative and can reach all-human ideas, they said.

In such a society in which the state disappears in the Church and in which the commune becomes the basic unit of social organization, instead of external and formal law and authority imposed from above, emotional bonds of unity, self-discipline, informal egalitarian justice and charity will prevail.[13] It is only in such an integrated community which has been fused with the Church and in which the total and organic unity of all members is established that real freedom of the individual can be realized,[14] according to Slavophilism.

Slavophil ideas exerted considerable political influence in Russia and in the rest of the Slav world. Exposed to the growing pressure of imperial designs of Western powers, and embarked on a program of their own imperial expansion in the direction of the Mediterranean and the Pacific, some of Russia's political circles welcomed Slavophil ideas as an ideological justification of Russia's foreign policies. Thus the idea of protection of Orthodox and of Slav peoples,[15] the idea of defense of the Slavs against the encroachments of the Germans and the idea of uniqueness and superiority of Slav culture played an important role in a series of nationalist movements and wars in which Russia became involved since the middle of the nineteenth century.

According to this Pan-Slav movement Russia was the only Christian land, the world outside Russia was "the land of the anti-Christ," the "incorporation of Satan." Accordingly, struggle with the West was not only inevitable, but necessary and salutary, both for Russia and the rest of humankind. And the victory will be undoubtedly on the side of Russia.[16]

For the continuance of its organic life the world required a centre. This centre must be found in a single nation able to

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lead the others. Russia was therefore predestined to fulfill this world mission. Hence the Pan-Slavs looked to Moscow, the ancient Russian capital, not the Westernized "City of Peter" (Petersburg) as the heart of Russia[17] and of mankind of the future—the Third Rome.

15
REVOLT OF THE RAZNOCHINTSY INTELLIGENTSIA (NIHILISM AND ANARCHISM)

I

BY THE second part of the nineteenth century, new changes were taking place in the economic relations as well as in the political and class structure of the Czardom. First of all, the process of disintegration of the old order under the impact of the industrialization and bureaucratization was rapidly coming to an end. Serfdom was abolished and with it there came the disastrous ruin of manorial estates which were not prepared to cope with the difficulties of a money and market economy. The result was that the number of impoverished and pauperized gentry was greatly increased.

At the same time the new laws tended to place emphasis on property. Thus, for instance, in the local assemblies of the noblemen the elective franchise was granted only to noblemen possessing a certain amount of land or a certain value of industrial establishment. This difference in civil rights according to the amount of property introduced a sharp cleavage into the gentry class. Earlier all dvorianstvo and all chinovnichestvo were considered equal in rights and had at least theoretically an equal chance to rise in power or to win the favor of the Czar. But now the new laws disfranchised and declassed a large part of the gentry. Similar laws favored the richer class among the merchants which meant that even in municipal affairs birth and education decreased in value in comparison with wealth.[1]

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It was this contrast between the alleged lofty calling of the minister of a privileged Church and his sad fate that must have depressed many a priest and made him bitter and resentful. Even before he became priest, while still a student in the divinity school, where he was educated at the government's expense, he was exposed to abusive treatment at the hands of his superiors. He was ill-fed, insufficiently clothed, and frequently beaten with the rod or lash. At one time these Church seminaries were so unpopular that children of the clergy had to be forced into them with the help of the knut and of the police. Embittered because of bad treatment, many of these young men nursed a grudge against their disciplinarians, as well as against the Church, the state, and the society at large. The instructors in these institutions, ill-paid and badly treated by their own superiors, were often as wretched and as discontented as their pupils.[2] In this manner the conditions in these institutions tended to reinforce feelings of rebellion which were nursed in the family.

As a result of such circumstances, Russian-Orthodox seminaries became a fertile ground for revolutionary political propaganda which was spreading with an increasing intensity in all the middle schools and universities of the Czardom ever since the abortive uprising of the Decembrists.[1] In this manner many Russian-Orthodox seminaries became hot-beds of subversive radicalism. Mutinies occurred and even attempts to assassinate rectors.

In the meantime, however, that is since 1869, services other than priesthood were opened to a priest's son. Since then the most rebellious youths from divinity schools and priestly families tended to leave church calling and engage in other activities. It was from among such rebels that many Russian revolutionaries were recruited. Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov among the "Nihilists," Nechaev among the Terrorists, Stalin among the Bolsheviks, are only a few outstanding examples in a long list of Russian professional conspirators and revolutionaries. Said Stalin:

> In protest against the humiliating regime and the jesuitical methods that prevailed in the seminary, I was ready to become, and eventually did become, a revolutionary, a believer in Marxism . . .[3]

[1] [i.e. in December, 1825 -- Analyst]

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In a similar manner revolt was brewing in the bureaucracy and the armed forces. In a system which was founded on the principles of absolute dominance, subservience and unconditional submission, it is to be expected that the civil service employees as well as many officers would be often exposed to caprice, arbitrariness and wrong doings on the part of their superiors. These, too, were left without possibility of redress as were the clergymen. Strong sense of rank and social distance were as marked in these strata as among the clergy.

The lay schools were not much different in strictness and discipline from the priests' seminaries, and students in these schools were often as ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and as exposed to the rod and other degrading treatment. The student's parents, who were often impoverished gentry, petty chinovniks, or small traders with meager incomes and big families, were not always able to support their children throughout long years of schooling. At the same time in an economically and technologically undeveloped society with strong traditions of service nobility, there was nothing that young people from such families could do but to enroll at a university or a military academy in order to obtain government office, or to engage in free learned professions. In Russian society of those days these were the only possibilities of obtaining positions of some prestige. Many of these students from impoverished strata had therefore to depend upon public or private munificence to finish their studies. Some of them became police informers to secure a meager income and to finish schooling. Many had to drop out of school because of lack of financial resources.

All Russian schools, therefore, on the middle as well as on the university level, became centers of revolt against an order which exposed them to humiliating treatment, but did not offer them opportunities in accordance with the established traditions of higher classes. Hence the higher the school, the more it was imbued with the revolutionary spirit. And the words "student" and "revolutionary" became synonymous.

When new laws were introduced and these ambitious and rebellious young men and women finally entered state service they found that in addition to being ill-treated and ill-paid, a

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large part of them were disfranchised as well, because in municipal self-government and in district and provincial assemblies even persons holding university degrees, if they did not own a sufficient amount of property, were devoid of the right of suffrage.[4] And it was this underprivileged group of declassee nobility, of priests' sons, of former clerics, of sons and daughters of lower government employees, of unemployed professionals, of students and of former students who never had a chance to finish their studies, that became known as the *raznochintsy*.

The raznochintsy intelligentsia tended to lead a bohemian life and to engage in literary activities and journalism. But these vocations were greatly limited because of strict censorship laws. When the bar was established some raznochintsy practiced law as barristers, though they were very restricted in their activities because of traditional extra legal practices of the police. When under local self-administration (*Zemstvo*), a health, educational, and economic program for the improvement of rural areas was developed, a number of raznochintsy were employed by the Zemstvo as physicians, veterinarians, agronomists, teachers and bookkeepers. At the same time, their traditions and training, and especially their ambitions and expectations had conditioned the raznochintsy for intellectual pursuits and political leadership, not for routine administrative work or for business promotion and enterprise.

In such a situation the deeply rooted feeling of rejection which had been developed on the family level was greatly magnified.[5] Accordingly, self-centeredness, power-seeking, lack of trust, destructive aggression, as well as identification with suffering which were developed on the family level were heightened in these circumstances and found expression in ideologies which manifested extreme hostility and an urge for universal destruction. Many of these young rebels, for instance, denied all existing social institutions, conventions and restrictions, and demanded their total obliteration.

This ideology of extreme negation and destruction ("Nihilism") manifested, perhaps, the feelings of utter despair of the ambitious and self-seeking raznochintsy who felt impotent before the God-like power of the Czar and his omnipotent police.

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Thwarted in their drive for power and political leadership, these young men and women gave vent to their feelings of deprivation in phantasies and plans of destruction and death.

Much of the sadness, tragic sarcasm, morbidity and preoccupation with death and suffering which dominated Russian literature in the second part of the nineteenth century reflects such moods of despair. The predominance of social and political themes in the literary creations of these people and the insistence of literary critics of those days on literary "realism," that is, that a work of art should be judged not by artistic and esthetic criteria but by its portrayal of existing life and its faithfulness to reality, especially the brutal and dark reality, manifested the same feelings.

Pisarev, describing this psychological reaction of impotence and the urge for destruction before seemingly uncontrollable forces, stated that when men "find it impossible to transform life, their anger at their own impotence makes itself felt in the sphere of thought, where the destructive work of criticism proceeds unceasingly."[6] That the basic drive behind this urge for negation and destruction was extreme self-seeking is witnessed by some other ideas of the same writer. "Every living being," said Pisarev, "is for himself the center and the meaning of the universe . . . his personal joys, vexations, aspirations, and cares, are more important than universal revolutions. . . ."

Starting with such premises, some of the Nihilists refused to recognize any regulation, any moral law, any principle, whether above, external, or within a person as being "absolute." The result was preaching of extreme materialism and individualism, and denial of all "absolute" ethics, of duty and of responsibility, of ideals and of social values.

II

In the meantime, however, the effects of European revolutions of 1848 and the defeats of the Russian armies in the Crimean War (1854–1856) led some of the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia to the belief that the Czarist system was not as invulnerable as generally accepted. These people proposed direct and organized action against the Czarist regime in order to raze it to

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the ground together with all its fundamental institutions. Such plans for direct action aimed at total destruction of the existing order were developed by the Anarchists ("Our task is terrible, total, inexorable, and universal destruction".)[7]

Not unlike the Slavophils and the Nihilists, the Anarchists revolted against the existing formal law which was abused for personal gains of those in power. Just as the Nihilists, the Anarchists revolted against the family institution whose sacredness in Russian society often veiled arbitrariness, cruelty, injustices, and humiliations imposed by the elders upon the weak and unprotected. Like the Slavophils and the Nihilists, the Anarchists revolted against private property, the official Church, and the state because these institutions in the Czardom joined hands in supporting the system of serfdom and bureaucratic regimentation. "The only revolution which can do any good to the people is that which destroys, from top to bottom, every idea of the state, overthrowing all traditions, social orders, and classes. . . ."[8]

The Anarchists demanded a return to an anarchic and equalitarian brotherhood that strongly reminds one of the Old-Slavonic world. But following the patriarchal and Czarist traditions of unconditional power and dominance, the Anarchists, just as the Nihilists, usurped for themselves the right to cheat, to steal, to lie, to destroy, and to kill, as a means to do away with "deceit, cunning, exploitation, depravity, vice," of the ruling classes. Said Kropotkin:

> I will be immoral to snap a weapon abused by religion; I will do it, were it only to protest against the hypocrisy imposed on us in the name of a word to which the name morality was given.[9]

"The revolutionary defines as moral only that which assists the revolution, and defines as immoral and criminal that which stands in his way," says the *Catechism of Revolution*. In the same manner, Kropotkin, speaking of the Russian terrorists who assassinated Czar Alexander II, said that "these men and women . . . had conquered the right to kill. . . . 'They have the right to steal' . . ."[10]

In order to be able to destroy, to cheat, and to kill the exploiters and the representatives of the government, it was neces-

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sary to know how to hate them. The Anarchists therefore undertook to find ways by which extreme hatred could best be promoted. This, they said, should be done first by arousing passionate and uncompromising love for equality and freedom and becoming ready to suffer and to sacrifice oneself for these ideas; then by instilling burning hatred and urge of destruction of those who stand in the path of these objectives. "The terrorist," said Stepniak, "is noble, terrible, irresistibly fascinating for he combines in himself two sublimities of human grandeur: the martyr and the hero."[11] Such a revolutionary will "not hesitate to destroy any position, any place, or any man in this world. He must hate everyone and everything with an equal hatred."[12]

Ambivalence of hatred and love and justification of violence for the sake of salvation of others had their roots in the family and were reinforced by conditions in the society at large. Identification with suffering, guilt feelings, desire for martyrdom and self destruction had the same roots and reinforcements. On the ideological level of Anarchism these feelings and attitudes were formulated into principles of thought and action:

> . . . we do not forego our own capacity to love what seems to us good and to hate what seems to us bad. Love and hate, for only those who know how to hate know how to love . . . We only ask one thing, e.c. to eliminate all that impedes the free development of those two feelings in the present society, all that perverts our judgment: the state, the church, exploitation; judges, priests, government, exploiters . . .[13]

But since the primary sources of this ideology and conduct were feelings of rejection, hate and killing took the upper hand over love. Accordingly the Anarchists demanded severance of the relations with the rest of the society and complete dedication to destruction. "The revolutionary has broken all ties with society." He "should have no . . . attachments, no property and no name. All these must be wholly absorbed in the single thought and the single passion for revolution."[14]

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Detachment from the rest of the society promoted self-pity and therefore reinforced destructive aggressiveness both against the others and against the self. Renouncement of all ethical, moral or other consideration in dealing with adversaries, pitiless-

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ness and ruthlessness both toward themselves and toward those who were not with them became in this manner an integral part of the revolutionary movement in Russia.[15] On such foundations a "science of merciless destruction" was developed:

> The revolutionary is wholly dedicated. He must show no mercy to the State or towards the civilized classes of society; nor does he ask for mercy for himself. Between him and society there is waged a mortal war declared or concealed, a relentless and irreconcilable fight to the death. He must accustom himself to torture.
>
> Tyrannical towards himself, the revolutionary must be tyrannical towards others. All the emotions that move human beings, all the soft and enervating feelings of kinship, love, friendship, gratitude and honor, must give way to a cold and single-minded passion for revolution. For him there exists only one pleasure, one consolation, one reward, one satisfaction—the success of the revolution. Night and day he must have but one thought, but one aim—merciless destruction. Coldly, relentlessly, he pursues his aim, and he must be prepared to perish himself, as he must be prepared to destroy with his own hands those who stand in his way.[16]

A revolutionary organization engaged in a life and death struggle with the rest of society precluded any internal disagreement. Bakunin, for instance, conceived a secret organization with a disciplined membership, a system of strict control of its members, and a rigidly centralized authority vested in one man only. Bakunin's secret society was to consist of three separate and independent groups which would function under different names and would be unacquainted with one another. Each one of these three groups was to operate in a different stratum of society. But each group was to be subject to a rigid hierarchy of power and each member of the group subjected to unconditional obedience to his superiors.

These secret societies were to be limited to a small number of people and were to include, as far as possible, only able, experienced, energetic, and influential men, professional conspirators, who, in strict obedience to a central control would lead the masses. All three secret societies were to be coordinated by a central committee which would have consisted of Bakunin and of three or four other members selected by him. Bakunin wanted

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668 to be sure that by means of such a "Politburo" he would be able to dictate the "Party line": "all the chief threads of the movement would have been concentrated in my hands, and I could have been sure that the intended revolution would not stray from the line I had laid down for it."[17]

The top revolutionary body was to regard all those below them as expendable in the interest of the revolution, "as revolutionary capital placed at their disposal."[18] This idea of a revolutionary elite leading expendable masses was justified by the Anarchist claim that masses are by themselves unable to achieve radical social changes. The Anarchists believed that only a minority consisting of professional conspirators, wholly dedicated to ruthless terror and destruction, can accomplish social revolution.[19]

This "science of revolution" had to be based on a thorough knowledge of a society which had to be infiltrated before it was destroyed.[20] *Catechism* had therefore classified all people into definite categories and had prescribed the attitude and the behavior of revolutionists toward each one of them. In the first two groups were the people who had to be immediately assassinated if the revolution were to be successful and counter-revolution prevented. ". . . their violent and sudden death will put fear into the heart of the government, break its will, and deprive it of its most energetic and intelligent agents."[21]

Next came the "highly placed beasts," that is, wealthy but not dangerous individuals with connections, influence and power; also ambitious careerists and "liberals of varying shades." All these were to be compromised and then blackmailed and compelled to serve the interests of the revolution. Finally came the categories of the intellectual "doctrinaires" who had to be "liquidated" unless won over to the cause of the revolution. "The majority of these will disappear but of the rest we shall make genuine revolutionaries."[22] Particular attention was paid [562] to women. Those completely won over to the revolutionary cause were considered "the most precious of our treasures."

Other methods in this "science of revolution" consisted of frightening the enemies, of cowing the neutrals and of terrifying their own followers. To that end assassination of members of

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revolutionary organizations was approved whenever such an act was considered necessary to strike terror into the hearts of the followers or to knit them more closely together.[23] Equally good was considered to be the method of deception, not only of the public, but also of the followers. Moreover, in order to achieve revolution and destroy the existing order, it was considered necessary to increase the existing evils. "The society will use all its resources to increase and intensify the evils and miseries of the people . . ."[24] so that the people would lose patience and be stimulated to a mass rising.

III

The extent to which Nihilist and Anarchist ideas had penetrated into various strata of Russian society by the middle of the second part of the nineteenth century may be indicated by the police records revealed during the many trials of Anarchists and Terrorists. Thus in a trial of a group known as the "Nechaevtsy," out of approximately 150 conspirators, about 30 of them or 20% were classified as nobles, about 50 or 33% of the accused were classified as students and former students. About 20 or 13% were sons of priests and divinity students. About 40 or 26% belonged to the class of bureaucrats and the military. About 15 or 10% belonged to the class of merchants and petty traders. There were five peasants, one artisan and one janitor in the group. There were also about ten women, married and single. The overwhelming majority of the conspirators were between 20 and 26 years of age, the median age being 22.[25]

As a result of Anarchist propaganda and agitation a number of secret revolutionary groups were organized and became known collectively as *podpolie* (underground).[26] One of them was *Zemlya i Volya* (land and freedom), organized in the early seventies. This society split a few years later into two factions, a moderate one, and an openly terroristic group known as the *Narodnaya Volya* (the people's will).[27] The *Narodovoltsy* initiated a series of terroristic acts and assassinations of high officials, including a number of attempts on the life of Czar Alexander II.[28]

The Czarist police fought back with the same weapons. The

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secret police had completely free hands in hunting down the members of the Terrorist movement, using the same cunning means as the terrorists did. Each party relied on terror, based on the principle that all means were justified. One of the principal victims in this struggle was Czar Alexander II whose ideas and policies were aimed at liberalizing the Russian society and raising it to the economic and educational level that had been achieved in the European West.

As a reaction against this event, Alexander's son and successor, Alexander III, instituted officially a regime of terror and declared a ruthless war of extermination of all terrorists and other subversive elements. The Russian public opinion, too, shocked by the assassination of Alexander II, was becoming alert to the dangers of terrorist practices.[29] Such circumstances had a disheartening effect on terrorist plans. A number of revolutionaries found it expedient to move the center of their activities to European capitals. Other young malcontents endeavored to "go among the people" (*iti v narod*) and start mass agitation and propaganda. These *Narodniki* wanted also to raise the educational and economic standards of the lower strata of the Russian society, particularly the peasants who were to play a significant role in the coming events.

16
THE STRUCTURE OF VILLAGE COMMUNITY

I

BEFORE serfdom, the land commune (*mir*) whose function was to distribute land periodically, to collect taxes and maintain order, was also an institution which protected its members from outside interference. It was an institution made up of peasants who were not differentiated economically and who knew their own needs and capacities. In such village communities the Old-Slavonic traditions of mutual aid and egalitarian

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peasants. Such a situation in many cases bred extreme antagonism against the priests, especially when hostility against the priests was stirred up by systematic agitation, as in the case of various sects of Dissenters (*Raskolniki*). This agitation often took the form of folk songs:

> hairy ones . . . the beasts:
> These beasts are the priests
> They howl, like wolves. . . .
> • • •
> In the churches they praise the Lord hypocritically,
> And ensnare innocent people with their words;
> In the churches they offer glory to God,
> And send the Uryadniks to hunt innocent people;
> • • •
> And they drive innocent people to Siberia.
> In the churches they open their mouths,
> But before the government they keep silent.
> Their hair is long like women's,
> But their brain is a great deal shorter.
> • • •
> They howl like beasts;
> • • •
> They extort from all.
> Wicked hairy priests . . .[2]
> • • •

The peasants were attracted to numerous sects of the Dissenters which were spreading in Russia, especially since the seventeenth century when the great movement of the Old Believers (*Starovery*) began. In these sects and their ideologies the peasants protested against the conditions of serfdom. The teachings of a number of these sects expressed yearning for a new life, and for an anarchic brotherhood of men in which nobody would be rejected and everybody accepted on equal terms. Peasant Sutayev, for instance, who founded the Sutayevtsy sect in 1880, was considered to be one of the most pious churchgoers before he revolted against the official Church. He rebelled when he was over fifty. The occasion was a dispute that he had with his parish priest over a fee for the burial of his grandson. It was after this quarrel that he stopped going to

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church claiming that " . . . one is not better for going there . . . because everything there has to be paid for. Besides, I have the Church within myself."[3]

Sutayev then started a religious crusade aiming at "a new life, the organization of a Christian life." He preached that "the nobles and the rich must give back the land to those to whom it of right belongs." He disapproved of commerce, of money, of private property, of violence, and of any form of coercion. He claimed that if commerce, money and violence were eliminated, then the courts and the tax collectors would disappear too. The tax collectors and all the functionaries who live on the people will not be necessary any more, he said. The army and the war will be suppressed since "all men are brothers." "The Kingdom of God must be brought here on the earth," he asserted.[4] Similar protest against the existing conditions of serfdom and rejection, and demand for an all-human equalitarian brotherhood were expressed in many songs of the Dissenters:

All kinds of ignorance,
Moral wretchedness,
Falsehood and inconsistency,
Baseness, hypocrisy,
Coarse superstition,
Are contrary to Christianity!
Slavery, oppression,
Violence, constraint,
Every sort of pressure against people—
All this—
Is abomination before God,
Transgression of his commandments.
All people on earth
Are the children of one mother,
And above God there is no power.
And all without regard to standing in society,
Should be equal
And free in their conscience.
Everyone can pray,
According to what seems to him,
To be his obligation in relation to God.

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could be achieved only if Russia was to change radically its economic structure. As a result of such a trend of events and of thought the government passed a decree in 1861 according to which the peasants were set legally free from their masters.

As a consequence of his legal emancipation, the peasant found himself in the possession of less arable land than before, and he was still bound to it. He was overburdened even more than before because he was obliged to pay high redemption dues in addition to the heavy taxes that were imposed on him. Moreover the peasants in land communes not only remained jointly responsible to the government for the payment of taxes, but they were also made jointly responsible for redemption payments. The commune's authority over the peasants was increased and the peasant found himself under an even more exacting and more despotic commune regimentation than the one that existed before the "Emancipation Act."

At the same time the peasant still did not have sufficient arable land. He also lacked pasture grounds and timber which were of special importance in his technologically backward and extensive agricultural economy; most of such land was left in the hands of his former masters. The acuteness of land shortage was especially felt because of lack of artificial fertilizers, need for draught animals, and primitiveness of farm equipment. Many peasants did not even possess a wooden plow.

But though the emancipation act of 1861 still kept the peasants bound to the land, and did not provide them with sufficient land, it did open up opportunities for their economic advance and political activation. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, the peasantry became generally recognized as a potentially very significant force, both politically and economically. It was this prospect of the peasant masses as the leading political power of the future in combination with the Slavophil idealization of the peasantry that gave rise to the ideology of *narodnichestvo* (populism). This ideology idealized the virtues and the creative potentialities of the peasantry, and just as the Slavophils, the narodniki claimed that the reconstruction of Russian society, even of the whole world, will come from Russian peasantry.

By the end of that century a faction of Russian radical intel-

By the end of that century[1] a faction of Russian radical intelligentsia fused the Russian Narodnik and Anarchist ideologies and practices with those of Western Socialism and formed the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries. The program of this Party was agrarian socialism and terrorism. They published leaflets and manifestos, and spread their ideas in the villages. The Socialist Revolutionaries preached open violence as a means of overthrowing the Czarist regime. They relied on the peasantry to start uprisings against the landlords and government officials, and to commit individual acts of terror to achieve their ends. Just as earlier, the Anarchists and Terrorists, the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, had a separate organization which specialized in perpetrating acts of terror:

> Where the lash and the whip are, there are also the bomb and the revolver! So has it been, so is it now, and so shall it be. When public indignation and hate become centered upon an agent of the regime whether he be placed high or low; when that agent becomes a symbol of violence and despotism; when his activity becomes harmful to the commonweal; when no means are available to render him harmless and his continued existence represents an affront to the social conscience, then is the door open to terror in the executor of the sentence pressed from the hearts of public-minded citizens.[7]

The terroristic organization of the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries enjoyed complete autonomy within the Party. It had its own sources of revenue and was independent in selection of prospective victims. In the course of a few years of its existence it perpetrated more than two hundred acts of terror. Most of these consisted of assassinations or of attempted assassinations of highly placed officials of the government, including a member of the Imperial Family, two Ministers of Interior, thirty-nine governors, seventy-four ranking officers of the army and the navy, and fifty-two high police officials. Seventy percent of these acts of terror were perpetrated by workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors.[8]

The Socialist Revolutionaries relied mainly on middle and poor peasant strata. They attempted to widen the gap between the better-off and the poor, to set up the lowest strata against the upper, to stir class hatred against the kulaks. In their manifestos, leaflets, and speeches, the Socialist Revolutionaries harangued

[1] [i.e. 19th century -- Analyst]

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665 565 668 the peasantry, and appealed to their deeply rooted hostilities against the ruling classes, and against all people of means. In their proclamations to the peasantry they stated that "the land belongs to those who till it." They incited the peasants to appropriate by force hay, pasture, and timber. They also encouraged violence and murder against all those whom they held responsible for their plight.[9]

[579] 669 As a result of such propaganda and agitation combined with economic and social difficulties, peasant disturbances were renewed and increased in frequency and intensity. They led to the events of 1905. That year the government suffered a considerable [727] loss of prestige because of the defeat on the battlefield (the Japanese War of 1904–1905). In such circumstances (the same as after the Crimean War), fear and awe and unconditional obedience—the foundations of Czarist rule—were shaken, internal disturbances ensued and threatened the existence of the Czardom. By this time the revolutionary eruptions of the peasantry were combined with those of the industrial proletariat. Between [468] January and April, 1905, there were about 660,000 workers on economic and political strikes.[10] In October of the same year there was again a general strike.

In that month also a general peasant rising took place embracing three hundred districts in 47 gubernias. Again it was the central and southern regions that took the lead;[11] and again the gubernias in which the landlords suffered the heaviest losses were predominantly those where the system of repartitional land tenure prevailed over the system of individual peasant households and of hereditary holdings. In the communities with communal land holdings the dissatisfaction was greatest and violence ran especially high.

665 668 The activities of the Social Revolutionaries in the village were joined by those of the Bolsheviks. By the beginning of the twentieth century a wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party, the Bolsheviks, who earlier scorned the peasants and worked exclusively among the urban proletariat, began to pay more attention to the Russian village. They became impressed by the frequency and the intensity of the peasants' disturbances and realized that the peasantry presented potentially very ex-

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plosive revolutionary material. Hence the Bolsheviks began to send their agitators into the village.

There was no tendency among these extremists and maximalists to make use of peaceful means which had now been made possible by the Czar's Manifesto of October, 1905. In this manifesto legislative powers were given to Duma (house of representatives) and a certain degree of political, cultural and personal freedom was introduced. On the contrary these professional conspirators, following Anarchist precepts and practices, took advantage of increased opportunities for political agitation. That year the Socialist Revolutionaries in one of their proclamations stated: "If you need more land, hay, pasture, timber, take it from the landlord. Do not pay taxes. Drive evil priests out of the villages, boycott the courts, replace bad officials by good, throw out the police!"[12] In the same year the Bolsheviks, struck by the increasing restlessness in the village, called upon the peasants and the village proletariat for a "collective refusal to pay taxes, refusal to furnish recruits, refusal to fulfill the orders and commands of the government and its agents."[13]

III

Such revolutionary ideas which were infiltrating the villages not only confirmed the peasants in their beliefs and dispositions; they also tended to promote their feelings of rebelliousness, to radicalize them in the extreme, and push them toward excesses. In common with most tillers of land, the Russian peasants were convinced that the land by "natural right" belonged only to those who cultivate it, and that somehow, sometimes in the past, the land was taken away from them by force and trickery, not by right and justice.

The question of ownership of land was closely related to humiliating subservience to the landlords, the commune and the state. Ownership of land meant the regaining of self-respect. The peasants were therefore inclined to believe that they never lost the right to the land and that someday, somehow, all the land would have to be given back to them. "We are yours, but the land is ours" (*My vashi a zemlya nasha*), the peasants would say to the pomeshchiks. The speeches of the peasants' deputies

565 The speeches of the peasants' deputies
423 in the second Duma unmistakably show that the peasants con-
[646] sidered that the land belonged to them and to nobody else and that the times of degrading oppression were over. They declared themselves in favor of the free distribution of all the land that was in the possession of the nobility, the Church, and the state:

> We are talking of land these days as of nothing else. We are told it is a sacred, inviolate possession. I think if the people want it, there can be no inviolateness about it. Gentlemen of the nobility! You think we have forgotten the time when you used us as stakes in playing at cards and exchanged us for dogs! We know we were your sacred inviolate property. But the land has been stolen from us. The peasants who have sent me here have said that the land is ours! We have come here not to buy but to take it.[14]

• 669 Because of such beliefs and ideas which were intensified by
565 systematic revolutionary propaganda of professional conspirators
425 and agitators, any rumors concerning the land always found a
627 ready response among the peasantry. It is for the same reason that often only a vague rumor about a government land decree was sufficient to convince the peasants that the land was given back to them by the Czar, but that it was the lesser government officials, bribed by the landlords, who kept the land out of their hands. Such land-hungry peasants, already inclined to rebel against age-long and humiliating dependency, were ready to take the law into their own hands, to seize the manorial lands, to loot the estates and to kill the landlords whenever they felt that the power of the existing authorities was crumbling.

178 The professional conspirators among the Russian revolution-
565 ary intelligentsia took full advantage of such inclinations. Their revolutionary plans were especially favored by the growing differentiation in the Russian villages. In the first decade of the twentieth century economic and social differentiation in the Great-Russian village was already well advanced. It was favored by a series of government measures (Stolypin reforms)[15] which were aimed at developing a stratum of independent and prosperous peasantry and destroying the system of communal landholding. As a result of such measures the Great-Russian village became by the first decade of this century composed of a number

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of strata, whose interests were often conflicting. There were the *obshchiniki* (the communal landholders), the *otrubniki* (the peasant private property owners), the *khutoriane* (isolated homestead owners), the *bednyaki* (the poor and indebted peasants), the *serednyaki* (the middle peasants), and the *kulaki*. Finally, there were still the pomeshchiki who owned manorial estates with arable lands, timber-forests and pasture grounds. These were, however, gradually selling their land to the better-off peasants.

The peasant private landholders prospered better than those in the communes. The yield per acre on communal lands has always been much lower than on the private lands. The communal landholders had to rely for a part of their income on wages. These they got as seasonal industrial workers or as agricultural laborers on the lands of the landed gentry. They also worked on the lands of better-off individual peasant property owners whom they resented and called *"novye pomeshchiki"* (the new squires). The poor, landless, and indebted peasants antagonized the better-off peasants. The lower and the middle peasants resented the kulaks and the pomeshchiki.

At the same time the individualization of the Great-Russian peasantry was proceeding very slowly in spite of government help and encouragement. By 1912 the proportion of consolidated peasant holdings, as compared to those remaining in the communal system, was less than 11 percent. Between 1907 and 1915 only about 20 percent of the peasants left land commune.[16] This slow decommunalization did not, however, indicate lack of desire for private land ownership. The reasons for the persistence of the old communal land system lay in the shortage of land, in peasant poverty, in vested interests within the village commune, and finally in traditional lack of self-reliance among the peasants.

As long as a large part of the Great-Russian peasantry remained in the system of communal landholding where lack of initiative and primitive techniques of cultivation prevailed, no great general improvement in land cultivation and in the standard of living of the peasantry could have been expected in spite of all government efforts. Thus, economically insecure and

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241 hungry for land, resentful of degrading dependency and inclined
511 to be hostile to the existing authorities, many peasants were
668 ready to follow the leadership of professional conspirators and demagogues who incited them to revolt and promised them "land and freedom." Such feelings and attitudes were of decisive importance in the revolutionary days of 1917, as well as later in the civil war.

20
ASCENDENCY OF BOLSHEVISM

I

178 WHEN the Czardom in the eighteenth century
464 embarked on its policy of industrialization, the newly built industries, both those state owned and those owned by the landed nobility, were based on serf labor. Also the non-noble entrepreneurs purchased or rented serfs to work in their mines and factories.[1] In such conditions the technical equipment and the production output of Russia's industries remained at a very low level. There was no incentive to introduce technological improvements as long as the labor was abundant, and its cost low. Only a few industries, such as the cotton industry which was in the hands of non-noble owners, and which from its start was based on free labor, had introduced modern machinery.
[652] Thus since the Russian industries did not advance technologically and were unable to compete with the European industrial products, they had to be protected by high tariff barriers, by
434 grants and subsidies. This situation kept the level of prices of manufactured goods high in comparison with the buying power of the industrial workers, of peasants and of middle urban strata.
178 The resulting lack of buying power of these broad strata of the
458 population made the progress of industrialization in Russia very slow, uneven, unstable, and chronically affected by crises

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and unemployment, a situation that was well exploited by the professional conspirators, particularly the Bolsheviks.

By the end of the nineteenth century the first wave of strikes swept the country.[4] At first the strikes were spontaneous, local and purely economic in character. The workers wanted higher wages and better working conditions. But since many industries were located in Petersburgh which was the center of heavy industry, and in Moscow which was the center of the railroad system and of the textile industry, the revolutionary intelligentsia and professional conspirators and agitators who were also concentrated in these two capitals could not fail to see great political opportunities, both in the concentration of the industrial proletariat, and in its economic plight. But there were differences among the revolutionary factions of the intelligentsia in regard to revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

The ideological differences as to propaganda policies and revolutionary strategy was one of the factors which led to the split of the Socialist Democratic Party into two factions, the *Bolsheviks* (the majority), and the *Mensheviks* (the minority). Being mostly of urban middle class origin the Mensheviks were inclined to advocate gradual advance of the country toward democratization. They also proposed an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie. Accordingly also in internal Party organization the Mensheviks were in favor of a policy of liberalism and democracy. The Bolshevik faction, on the other hand, was recruited from among the raznochintsy who were affected by Anarchism and were inclined toward extremist solutions and recognized no compromise. They proposed an alliance with the revolutionary peasants and an armed rebellion staged by the workers and peasants as the most effective means of seizing power.

Following the ideas and practices of the Anarchists and the Terrorists (Narodovoltsy), the Bolsheviks claimed that the immediate seizure of power was of paramount importance while the work of educating the masses could begin later. That end, the seizure of power, to the Bolsheviks no less than to their political predecessors, the Anarchists, sanctified everything. Deliberate instigation of hatred, planned deceit, individual killing, armed uprising, and systematic terror were all equally approved

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These feuds did not affect only the relations between local lords; intense strifes and vendettas were flourishing within the family of each one of the princes. Struggle for power and expansion often caused fratricidal warfare among the brothers after the death of their father. The old chronicles and other historical documents are full of examples of such family feuds. Murder, torture and blinding among the brothers and even between fathers and sons apparently were frequent.[20] The life of each one of these local potentates was spent in perpetual warfare, in feuding, and in plundering adventures.[21]

Power-thirstiness, factionalism, and rule of crude force prevailed among these petty rulers in no lesser way than among their nomadic predecessors and overlords. The internal system of rule on the domains of each prince was not more advanced. As the Russian written laws of that period testify, the killing of prince's representatives on the part of the peasants must have been frequent. City populace often rose in riots and revolutionary outbursts against the oppressive conditions imposed by these lords.[22] It was such conditions of physical, social and emotional insecurity that favored perpetuation of the institutions, practices, and other behavior traits which were introduced by the nomadic invaders and conquerors.

III

The changes that in the course of several centuries were taking place in social and psychological structure of the Old-Slavonic world as a result of the imposition of the rule of the nomadic warriors seem to have been well reflected in the Great-Russian folklore, especially in its epic legends. The military, the peasants, the burghers, their conflicts and their character traits are personified in these narratives by a number of popular heroes.[23]

The general picture which these folk documents present shows that the social stability which existed in the Old-Slavonic society was completely shattered as a result of nomadic invasions and conquests. The invading warriors not only caused great havoc but they provoked rapid and fundamental changes in the structure of the old society. Moreover the social disorganization and the political and economic instability that resulted out of these

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where true Christianity was preserved. In the official statements. in the prayers, in the Church sermons and school textbooks, the Russian Empire was represented as a Holy Land (*Sviataya Rus*).

Accordingly, official geographic studies and statistics tended to magnify everything within the frontiers of the Empire. Russian possessions and might, the resources and riches of the Czar, the progress and virtues of the country were pictured in the school textbooks in a fabulous way. A steady and imposing territorial growth of the Czardom in the course of many centuries at the expense of the East and the West undoubtedly supported these feelings of greatness. In this manner successes in policies of external expansion promoted desires for further conquests.

As long as the authority of the Church remained unshaken the power of the Czar rested on solid foundations. The Czars were able to increasingly concentrate and monopolize all social power while the Czardom expanded territorially in all directions, in spite of all its internal weaknesses.

In the meantime, however, the economic, educational and religious reforms introduced since the eighteenth century tended to undermine the sacredness of the Church as well as the power of the Czar. It was in such circumstances that feelings of revolt bred on all levels of social organization had an opportunity to come into the open, challenging the Czarist regime and all the institutions on which it was based. The people who were treated like wards and minors and were kept in oppressive dependency in the family, in the local community and on the state level rebelled against the system which kept them in perpetual bondage, a trend of events which finally brought about the downfall of the Czardom. The family roots and the development of this personal and social revolt which had shattered the Czardom will be discussed on the following pages.

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women as stupid and nasty, conceited and licentious, and as the mainspring of all calamities of the world.[10] But Tolstoy, too, like the Russian popular view of life, did make a distinction between the woman and the mother.[11]

Hostile drives, mistrust and destructive aggression might be revealed also in attitudes towards strangers. These are sometimes likened to animals, especially dogs. Comparing people with beasts indicates an inclination to abase them and to mistreat them. Such an attitude is shown especially toward those who are considered to be "enemies." When talking about the Tartars, the people would say "the dog of a Tartar." In a like way, xenophobia was manifested in the attitudes toward the "thrice accursed Latins," that is, the Western, non-Orthodox peoples.

Perhaps this need to abuse and to destroy in order to demonstrate one's power was manifested also in treatment of those who were abandoned and helpless, such as prisoners in foreign wars, as well as prisoners in rebellions and civil wars at home, or convicted criminals. In the rebellions and civil wars atrocities were committed by both sides, the government troops and the rebels, the Orthodox and the Dissenters, the Whites and the Reds. In a similar manner convicted criminals, domestic servants and serfs were often used as targets of destructive aggression.

Tendency to abuse was manifested also in the relations between merchants and customers, capital and labor. In the lowest strata ruthless self-seeking took also the form of begging. There was a great number of beggars; begging became a widely spread business. Some of the beggars became people of considerable means. Leaders among the beggars would mutilate, deprive of eyesight, and deform healthy men and boys to use them as their instruments in begging. Entire villages, and even some regions were said to have made begging their regular profession.[12]

II

In circumstances where power-seeking, destructive aggression and mistrust prevail any accident may be interpreted as a sign of another person's hostile intentions. The other person tends to be looked upon as a potential enemy. "You mustn't stroke anyone's head—you might get your hand bitten off," said Lenin.[13] And as

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former role as main instruments of the Czar's power to a parvenu bureaucracy and military that leaders of first opposition movements were recruited.

Even before and during the French Revolution a number of Russian landed nobility became aware of the ideas of the Revolution. They were also becoming increasingly interested in constitutional forms of government in which they could take part in their own right, not depending upon the whims of a despotic monarch. Some of these people even became dissatisfied with serfdom because of its economic inefficiency. They were also becoming increasingly impatient with absolutism because of its oppressive and degrading aspects.

Such ideas and feelings penetrated the officers' corps and a number of this military intelligentsia organized themselves into a secret society and formulated a concrete program for constitutional changes.[1] Some of these people came from high nobility. Others, especially those from the South, were impoverished nobles living on meager officer's salaries. In December, 1825 these people attempted to seize power. However, owing to ideological differences and the traditional factional splits within the dvorianstvo, the attempt of this faction of military intelligentsia to gain power was thwarted.[2] Nevertheless, this uprising of the "Decembrists," though abortive, was the beginning of increasing revolutionary activities of the intelligentsia[3] which finally brought about the overthrow of the Czardom in the Revolution of 1917.

The revolt of the Decembrists was a sign that the Czardom had already gone through such changes in its social structure that a change in its political system was overdue. The most important change in this structure was the formation of a class which, for the first time in Russia's history, became economically independent of the Czar, and which, though economically idle and not always prosperous, became intellectually very alert and also very sensitive to Western ideas.

In accordance with the traditional behavior pattern of Russian nobility, their reactions to the conditions at home and to Western thought tended to develop in the direction of two opposite extremes. One was that of the "Westerners" who were

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19
PEASANT UPRISINGS

I

EVER since the establishment of serfdom, slaves and serfs would free themselves from oppressive bondage by joining the gangs of vagabonds, fugitives from justice, army deserters, malcontents and escapees of all kinds, many of whom lived by theft, robbery, and begging. These victims of oppression, as well as many adventurers, gathered along the frontiers of the empire in "no man's land" where they would organize themselves as bands of freebooters, guerillas, and mercenaries, ready to enter the service of rival powers.

In the regions of the lower Don and Dnieper these communities of fugitives of all social classes and occupations and of many races formed elective military governments, known as the Cossack republics. Once they were established, these free Cossack communes served as a place of attraction to all who longed for freedom from oppression or who sought adventure. In these free societies no one was asked any question about his passport, his identity, his domicile, his faith, or his belongings. Everyone willing to fight and loot was welcome, but none was forced to come or stay.[1]

However, by the middle of the seventeenth century in these Cossack commonwealths, there appeared a social differentiation between the old settlers and the newcomers. The older settlers formed a property-owning class known as the "house-owners," and the newcomers became known as the *golytba* (the naked). And it was these unsettled and restless Cossacks of the "naked class" that played an especially prominent part in the uprisings of the seventeenth century and later.[2]

The first part of the seventeenth century, known in the history of the Czardom as the "Period of Trouble," was characterized by the lack of an established authority. The old dynasty had

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ended in a violent and mysterious way and a number of pretenders arose to take its place. It was in this interval between the fall of the former authority and the relative consolidation of a new one that the oppressed strata of the Czardom saw an opportunity to rebel against a state of humiliating bondage and economic misery. Seeking relief from their burdens and yearning for social acceptance in a system of equalitarian relationships, the poorer burghers, homeless Cossacks and runaway peasants and slaves flocked into the camp of Bolotnikov, himself an ex-slave and adventurer who marched at the head of this strange army upon Moscow. From his camp near Moscow he distributed proclamations inviting slaves and serfs to slay their masters, commanding all of his followers to rise against the voevodas and others in authority, and exciting them to rob and beat traders. In return he promised the slaves and serfs the wives and the property of the serf-owners. To all his followers he pledged honors, riches and the status of boyars.[8]

Search for security in a system of protection-dependence relationships manifested itself in a need for pretenders. If only a rumor started about the appearance of a pretender, whole provinces would rise to greet him. Sometimes a pretender had to be subsequently found to lead these masses of discontents who rose to follow a fancied liberator and benefactor. Such conditions only contributed to the prolongation of the troubled times and prevented an early establishment and consolidation of a new authority. It was in such a way that most of the seventeenth century became a century of riotings and rebellions which climaxed in the great rising under Stanka Razin in 1670–1671. Originating among the Don Cossacks, this movement soon spread to the Volga regions and developed into a general war of the lower strata against the upper classes. In this, as in the other uprisings of that century, many excesses were committed by both the rebels and the government forces. The same features of social struggle were repeated in the eighteenth century, in the great peasant rebellion that was led by Pugachev, another Cossack chieftain.

Also the nineteenth century witnessed a number of peasant rebellions. In the beginning of that century the peasants of the

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Pensa gubernia rose against the landlords with the slogan "Liberty and Land" (*Zemlya i Volya*).[4] Ever since they had been enserfed and bound to the land, the peasants kept in cherished memory the *Yuriev den*, St. George's day, the day when in earlier times each peasant was allowed to leave his landlord (*vykhod*). The peasants' demand for freedom from bondage was as strong as their demand for land. When the ideas of personal, economic and political freedoms started to penetrate Russia from the European West, also, the Russian peasants, owing to a growing contact with the city and the intelligentsia, became affected by them and in consequence revolts were increasing in number. Between 1826 and 1830 there were 41 cases of peasant rebellions and between 1858–1860 there were 284 such uprisings.[5]

It is significant to note that these peasant rebellions became especially prominent and especially widely spread each time the ruling class had suffered loss of prestige, such as in case of defeat on the battlefield. During the Crimean War in 1854 and 1855 widespread peasant uprisings took place on the shores of the Volga, and in central and southwestern gubernias, the Vladimir, Ryasan, Tambov, Pensa, and Voronezh.[6] In these provinces the mir institution prevailed and periodical redistribution of land was practiced. Here also reaction against abusive and humiliating conditions of serfdom was very intense and demand for land became very strong. In these provinces the traditions of earlier revolts were fresh in the memory of the peasantry. In addition, growing density of population and increasing land shortage tended to strengthen the revolutionary attitudes of the peasants. Their hostilities turned against the landlords whom they blamed for all their ills and misfortunes.

II

The defeat in the Crimean War and the internal disturbances which followed that war forced the Czarist government to undertake measures to reorganize its armed forces and to stabilize the regime internally. After being defeated by technologically and politically superior enemies, the Czarist government finally realized that in order to improve Russia's fighting effectiveness vis-a-vis the West, higher state revenues were needed and these

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the peasantry, and appealed to their deeply rooted hostilities against the ruling classes, and against all people of means. In their proclamations to the peasantry they stated that "the land belongs to those who till it." They incited the peasants to appropriate by force hay, pasture, and timber. They also encouraged violence and murder against all those whom they held responsible for their plight.[9]

As a result of such propaganda and agitation combined with economic and social difficulties, peasant disturbances were renewed and increased in frequency and intensity. They led to the events of 1905. That year the government suffered a considerable loss of prestige because of the defeat on the battlefield (the Japanese War of 1904–1905). In such circumstances (the same as after the Crimean War), fear and awe and unconditional obedience—the foundations of Czarist rule—were shaken, internal disturbances ensued and threatened the existence of the Czardom. By this time the revolutionary eruptions of the peasantry were combined with those of the industrial proletariat. Between January and April, 1905, there were about 660,000 workers on economic and political strikes.[10] In October of the same year there was again a general strike.

In that month also a general peasant rising took place embracing three hundred districts in 47 gubernias. Again it was the central and southern regions that took the lead;[11] and again the gubernias in which the landlords suffered the heaviest losses were predominantly those where the system of repartitional land tenure prevailed over the system of individual peasant households and of hereditary holdings. In the communities with communal land holdings the dissatisfaction was greatest and violence ran especially high.

The activities of the Social Revolutionaries in the village were joined by those of the Bolsheviks. By the beginning of the twentieth century a wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party, the Bolsheviks, who earlier scorned the peasants and worked exclusively among the urban proletariat, began to pay more attention to the Russian village. They became impressed by the frequency and the intensity of the peasants' disturbances and realized that the peasantry presented potentially very ex-

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and unemployment, a situation that was well exploited by the professional conspirators, particularly the Bolsheviks.

By the end of the nineteenth century the first wave of strikes swept the country.[2] At first the strikes were spontaneous, local and purely economic in character. The workers wanted higher wages and better working conditions. But since many industries were located in Petersburgh which was the center of heavy industry, and in Moscow which was the center of the railroad system and of the textile industry, the revolutionary intelligentsia and professional conspirators and agitators who were also concentrated in these two capitals could not fail to see great political opportunities, both in the concentration of the industrial proletariat, and in its economic plight. But there were differences among the revolutionary factions of the intelligentsia in regard to revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

The ideological differences as to propaganda policies and revolutionary strategy was one of the factors which led to the split of the Socialist Democratic Party into two factions, the *Bolsheviks* (the majority), and the *Mensheviks* (the minority). Being mostly of urban middle class origin the Mensheviks were inclined to advocate gradual advance of the country toward democratization. They also proposed an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie. Accordingly also in internal Party organization the Mensheviks were in favor of a policy of liberalism and democracy. The Bolshevik faction, on the other hand, was recruited from among the raznochintsy who were affected by Anarchism and were inclined toward extremist solutions and recognized no compromise. They proposed an alliance with the revolutionary peasants and an armed rebellion staged by the workers and peasants as the most effective means of seizing power.

Following the ideas and practices of the Anarchists and the Terrorists (Narodovoltsy), the Bolsheviks claimed that the immediate seizure of power was of paramount importance while the work of educating the masses could begin later. That end, the seizure of power, to the Bolsheviks no less than to their political predecessors, the Anarchists, sanctified everything. Deliberate instigation of hatred, planned deceit, individual killing, armed uprising, and systematic terror were all equally approved

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means if they led to the final goal, revolution and the overthrow of the Czarist system. Thus even at that time the Party was placed above everything else and the interests and the rights of the individual had to be subordinated to the Party and to its supreme objective, the revolution. At the second congress of Russian Social Democrats, which took place in London in 1903 where the final split between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks occurred, Pasadovski, one of Lenin's aassiciates declared:

> There is no doubt that we do not agree on the following fundamental issue: should our future policy be subordinated to some kind of basic democratic principles, or should all democratic principles be subordinated exclusively to the advantages of our party. I decidedly advocate the latter. There is nothing among the democratic principles that we should not subordinate to the advantages of our Party. . . . Yes, also the inviolability of the individual. As a revolutionary party striving for its ultimate aim—social revolution, we should consider the democratic principles exclusively from the standpoint of the advantages of our party.[3]

This idea of supreme Party interests to which everybody and everything was subordinated was closely associated with the principle of centralistic and dictatorial party organization which was earlier conceived by Bakunin and later advocated by Lenin, and finally adopted by the Communist International.[4] Lenin said that the organizational principle of revolutionary social democracy demands the enlargement of the rights and plenary powers of the central body against the parts.[5] Just like Bakunin, Lenin advocated the need of a "close circle of professional revolutionaries"[6] who would compose a stable and continuous Party leadership. He claimed that in a country with despotic leadership, in a life and death struggle with Czarist police, a small but stable and continuous revolutionary committee at the top of the Party would be more efficient to lead a mass movement and therefore better equipped to seize power.[7]

This principle of centralized and autocratic Party leadership which had its roots in the self-seeking drives of the raznochintsy led eventually to the dictatorship of one man. Just as Bakunin saw only himself at the top of his revolutionary hierarchy, so did Lenin. Early in the history of the Party it was noticed that

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565 517 icism of its rank and file, that gave this Party an advantage over its main rival for power, the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, in the chaotic days of 1917.

727 669 565 Just as it had happened in the past, a weakening of the prestige of the ruling classes as a result of defeats on the battlefield led to peasant uprisings. Almost immediately after the Czar's abdication, that is, in March, 1917, peasant rebellions arose in 34 districts and by June spread to 325 districts. The distrubances were again especially intensive in the upper Don and in the middle Volga, the regions where the tradition of revolt was strong and the situation for revolt matured owing to unsatisfactory conditions within the land communes.

665 669 The chaos that ensued in the village was emphasized by factional strife and indecision in the center. As a result of the fall of the old Czarist regime, the two most extreme revolutionary parties, the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Bolsheviks, entered into a contest for power. While the Socialist Revolutionaries controlled the Provisional Government (since May, 1917), the Bolsheviks did everything to undermine their regime and to seize the power for themselves. In the question of rural policies, the government of Socialist Revolutionaries attempted to stop the outbreaks of lawlessness and disorder in the villages by promising an equitable solution of all rural problems on the basis of laws that were to be passed by a Constitutional Assembly.

[425] [565] But the Bolsheviks counteracted such policies by inciting the peasants to seize the lands at once. The Bolsheviks also deliberately sharpened the existing social cleavages in the villages by inciting the lower peasant strata against the upper. The Bolshevised soldiers, on leave or deserting the front, pushed more moderate elements into the background and led the peasant mobs not only against the landlords, but also against the more prosperous peasant classes. Hence, attacks on *Khutoryane* (hereditary peasant homestead owners) and *otrubniki* (peasant individual property owners) were as frequent as those against the manorial estates.

Many soldiers deserted the front because the Bolshevik agitators told them that the land was being distributed back home and that those who were present would get the choice grounds. The government, controlled by the Socialist Revolutionaries,

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appeared to be unable to solve these revolutionary outbursts, perhaps because the seeds of these revolts of the peasant masses had been sown by the revolutionary and terroristic propaganda of this same Party now in power. Moreover, this Party, though in power, was split into four factions which bitterly fought one another. Some of these factions allied themselves with the Bolsheviks to strengthen themselves in their internal Party fight. The ranks of the Bolsheviks therefore grew steadily from all sides. They had clearly defined aims and were well organized under the undisputed leadership of one man, whose unchallenged authority all Bolsheviks recognized. Their aim was to seize power at any cost and by any and all means.

In the face of an internally split and undecisive government which lacked authority, and in the midst of general chaotic conditions, the power of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the revolutionary bodies which were established throughout the country, steadily grew. The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in Petrograd was increasingly competing with the government for the control of the state. Because of their extremism, the influence of the Bolsheviks in these powerful revolutionary bodies soon became dominant. Thus, supported by bolshevised soldiers and proletariat and promising to bring peace, bread and equalitarian brotherhood to all, the Bolsheviks were enabled to seize power.[15]

In the civil war that followed between the Bolsheviks and anti-Bolsheviks, the dissatisfied military ranks, the lower urban classes, the national and religious minorities, and a large part of the peasantry took the side of the Bolsheviks, who promised an anarchic and egalitarian Utopia for each and everyone, just as many religious sects, leaders of peasant uprisings, Anarchists and Terrorists have done before them. All those who yearned for equality and acceptance at all levels of Russian society either actively helped the Bolsheviks against the White armies, or, fearing the return of the old regime, were unwilling to fight with the Whites against Reds. The attitudes of these people, combined with the ruthlessness and resoluteness of Bolshevik political and military leadership, were decisive factors in this final victory of Bolshevism.[16]

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to force the peasants to join the collectives and the state farms. Those who opposed such policies were resettled or banished to convict labor camps. Many were massacred. According to Stalin ten million peasants became victims of this "class war."[5]

In order to insure their complete control over the farming population, the Bolshevik leaders sent the most trusted Party people from the city to the village to manage the newly formed *kolhozes*. These *novye bary* (new lords), as the peasants called them, installed themselves in the mansions of former estate owners and kept themselves at a considerable distance from the rural population, not unlike the former serf-owners. And not unlike the former gentry the new masters were also bent upon extracting maximum labor from the peasantry with minimum reward.

Under such conditions, the peasants, in the first outbursts of their reaction against this state of abusive submission resorted to outward aggression in the form of traditional uprisings. They burnt their crops and slaughtered their cattle rather than collectivize them. It is estimated that almost two-thirds of the entire livestock and a large part of the crops were destroyed.[6] Such a situation affected even the Ukraine, the "granary of Russia" and greatly contributed to the famine of 1932–33 in which hundreds of thousands of people died of starvation and epidemics. It was by such active rebellion that the peasantry forced the Party into a temporary retreat. The Party had to appease the peasants by giving each peasant household the right to retain in private use a small plot of land, and also in private possession a limited number of livestock. Also, private trade in agricultural products was restored in a limited degree.[7]

These were however only temporary concessions, since the Bolsheviks were determined to completely "industrialize" the peasantry as a means of political and economic control. Following such aims the highest possible degree of specialization in farm operation has been fostered and the members of the same family have been assigned to different, spacially separated activities. In this manner the agricultural brigade instead of the peasant family became the basic unit of agricultural production. For the same reason the highest possible degree of mechanization of

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[CONSTITUTION AS OF 1949]

642 Art. 15. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic reserves the right freely to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Art. 16. The territory of the Russian SFSR may not be altered without its consent.

[701] Art. 16a. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic has its own Republican military formations.

[649] Art. 16b. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them.

● [671] Art. 17. The laws of the USSR are binding within the territory of the Russian SFSR.

[640] Art. 18. Every citizen of the Russian SFSR is a citizen of the USSR.

Citizens of all other Union Republics enjoy on the territory of the Russian SFSR equal rights with citizens of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 19. The jurisdiction of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, embraces:

a) Adoption of the Constitution of the Russian SFSR and control over its observance;

b) Confirmation of the Constitutions of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics;

c) Submission of the formation of new territories and regions and also of new Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for confirmation.

d) Establishment of boundaries, and of the division into districts, of Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics and of Autonomous Regions;

e) Establishment of the boundaries, and of the division into districts, of regions and territories;

f) Legislation of the Russian SFSR;

g) Maintenance of public order and safeguarding the rights of citizens;

h) Approval of the national-economic plan of the Russian SFSR;

i) Approval of the state budget of the Russian SFSR and of the report on its fulfilment;

j) Determination of state and local taxes, imposts and non-tax revenues in conformity with the laws of the USSR;

k) Direction of the fulfilment of budgets of Autonomous Republics and of local budgets of territories and regions;

l) Direction of insurance and savings;

m) Administration of the banks, industrial, agricultural and trading enterprises and organizations subordinate to the Republic, as well as direction of local industry;

n) Control and superintendence of the condition and administration of enterprises subordinate to the Union;

o) Establishment of the procedure governing the use of land, mineral wealth, forests and waters;

p) Direction of dwelling houses and the municipal economy, dwelling house construction and the modernization of cities and other inhabited places; road building; direction of local transport and communications;

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were directed not only against this cult, but also against that of the Fire and of the Sun.[25] There was no cult of war-gods in the mythology of the Old Slavs nor was there any epic poetry in their folklore.

Unlike the patriarchal, rigidly stratified and dualistic religious system of steppe nomads which was full of tensions and struggles, the supernatural world of the Slavs of Polesie was anarchic, equalitarian and peaceful. Apparently projecting their own social organization into the supernatural world, the Old-Slavonic plowmen conceived it as being composed of both sexes but without a hierarchy of power among themselves. The deities that inhabited that world were neither arbitrary nor corrupted, nor did they fight among themselves for the control over man. Festivals in their honor were celebrated with the accent on drink, song, dance and lovemaking.

Accordingly the Slavs of Polesie did not have to appease their deities nor try to be on good terms with both the bad and the good ones. They believed that after death bad and wicked people would roam the earth in the form of werewolves and vampires; but, they also possessed simple means of protection against these evil ghosts, such as pieces of torn clothes, which were accessible to everyone.[26] There were always persons of both sexes who maintained contact and control over the spirits of evil and were willing to help anyone in distress. Hence the Old Slavs trusted their wizards, the *veshchy*.[27]

According to the religious and social philosophy of the Slavs of the Dnieper, there are some general all-embracing rules of behavior to which all people, all the universe as well as all the deities, are subjected. In such a religious and philosophical system, the deities could not be capricious. They could be relied upon to behave according to commonly accepted rules of conduct and should not therefore be distrusted and feared. It is this optimistic view of destiny and of the universe, in which order and anarchic equity, not sword or might nor caprice prevail, that perhaps had found expression in the Old-Slavonic concept of law which was identified with truth and justice (*pravda*). The same view of life had perhaps found expression also in the Old-Slavonic concept of judgment which was identified with destiny

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brotherhood could still be maintained. Since the seventeenth century, however, expenditures for military campaigns and for growing ranks of salaried bureaucrats necessitated increasing state incomes which could be obtained without much delay. Since the state was industrially and commercially undeveloped, the only way to increase revenues was in finding new means to squeeze out of the peasantry a still larger part of its produce. Therefore the old system of direct tax collecting from the mir was found to function inefficiently on the estates of the nobility, and laws were passed which made the landowners responsible for the collection of state taxes from the peasantry. In this way ties between the manorial peasants and the central government were severed.[1]

As a result of such a change in the political structure, the manorial serfs became now entirely dependent upon the owners of the manorial estates. There was no more possibility for the peasants to appeal directly to the government. Between the government and the manorial peasants stood now the landlords to whom the peasants became exclusively responsible as a final authority in all matters, administrative as well as judiciary.[2] *Pomeshchik* was now looked upon as the "natural protector of people, their local judge, the guardian of their welfare, their tutor, the trustee of poor and orphans, observer of good order and law."[3] He was considered as the Czar's overseer and watchdog.[4] The patriarchal dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships which existed between the Czar and his subjects were now extended to the landlord and his serfs. Both the Czar and the landlord were addressed as *batyushka* (father).

The position of the serf, however, was now so much more precarious because in new relationships the power of the landlord was absolute. A life-long banishment to Siberia awaited him who lodged a complaint against his master. And since there were neither written laws nor any established customary law to regulate the relations between the serfs and the manorial lords, the serfs were completely dependent upon the degree of moral or ethical standards of their masters for their lives and well-being. These were often very low. Hence unprotected either by

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Great-Russian peasant saw the need to keep on good terms with this ruler of the underworld.

Since the Czar was identified with God, the peasant's feeling toward the Czar was like his attitude toward God. He knew that the Czar was as omnipotent as God. "Everything is in the power of God and the Czar," he would say. Therefore, he feared the Czar like he feared God, he felt an awe before the Czar as before God, and he hoped for the best, but it can hardly be said that he had much love for him. "Czar is not fire, but if you come close to him you will burn yourself," he would say. His idea was also that "Where there is Czar there is fear and dread," and that "Czar's rage spreads death." Since God was so far away, detached, neglectful, and implacable, it was the Czar's fearful power that mattered. "God's is the will, but the court is Czar's," he would say.[5]

The peasant's feelings toward the supreme power of the world and of the universe reflected only his bitter experiences with the representatives of these powers on the earth with whom he had to deal in local affairs. Often these did not bring justice, but venality, arbitrariness and persecution. "The court is founded on untruth and injustice"; "Where there is court there is chicanery," he would say. And since the judges were corrupted, the only way to get anything from them was to bribe them. "The judge is useful as much as the pocket is helpful," he would say. Such action, however, was not always advisable because of greediness of the judges. "You will never fill a judge's pocket"; "Do not litigate, you will strangle yourself."[6]

Because of his traditional distrust of authorities the peasant showed also a profound lack of trust in all written laws. He likened the law to the cobweb whose purpose was to catch the small and helpless, not the big and powerful ("The bumblebee will break through, the fly will get stuck."). He also compared the law to a tool that could be used arbitrarily by those who held it in their hands ("The law is like shaft, you turn it wherever you want it."). He noticed that "those who write the laws also break them," and concluded that "It is in vain to write laws if they are not carried out." In accordance with the Old-Slavonic anarchic and equalitarian traditions he was inclined to believe

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that "If all laws perished the people would live in truth and justice."[7]

The peasant realized that there was sharp differentiation in economic status in his society as well as in his own local community. But what he especially resented was that the men of wealth took advantage of their position to oppress the weak; and that the poor had to be utterly submissive and subservient to the well-to-do. "The one who is better off has long hands," the peasants would say, meaning that the men of wealth had control over others. And he would compare the arbitrariness of the man of power with the craftsman who handles his material according to his will. "The master is like the carpenter: he cuts the way it pleases him." He would also say that the rich man has all the space he wants "as much as the pike in the water," but as "for the poor there is nowhere any room." He resented the fact that though "Poverty was not sin, yet the people laughed at it." He also objected that the poor were forced to repress their real feelings and cringe before the rich. "The poor are angry at the rich, yet they find themselves in their trail with cap in hand," he would complain.[8]

The peasant therefore grew distrustful and resentful of everyone who was in one way or other above him. He could not depend much upon God and Czar, and he mistrusted the bureaucrats, the landlords, the priests, the judges, the police, and even the better-off people of his own strata. He was particularly distrustful of cities and city folk, of Moscow and Moscovites especially. From ancient times he looked upon Moscow, the seat of the Czar's government, as heartless and deceitful, and as the source of most of his troubles. "In Moscow," he thought, "you find everything except own father and mother." He also considered that his capital city was so corrupted that, "If you go to Moscow you must take there your last penny."

The peasant therefore lived in an environment in which he felt deserted by the powers of heaven and oppressed by their representatives on earth. He therefore felt unprotected, isolated, friendless, lonely, and insecure. His idea was that both God and man were against him. "If God attacks you, good people will attack you too," he would complain.

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ment expense the Party recruits these in the first place from among specific categories of children, such as war orphans, illegitimate and delinquent children, and children of Party functionaries. Such children are considered to be most promising from the point of view of Party objectives.

It is mainly from the university student body that the new ruling classes and all needed experts of the Soviet Union are being recruited.[16] It is therefore of paramount importance that this reservoir of the ruling strata is kept well under control and that it is thoroughly ideologically indoctrinated and trained in unswerving loyalty and conformity to the Party. "Ideological training of Soviet students is a vital and integral part of all the work of district, city, province, and territory party committees."[17] It is therefore imperative that this body is highly selective and not overcrowded. Recruitment of university students from among higher classes and from selected categories of children serves well the Party objectives to perpetuate its power and to command unconditional submission of all to its will. Such policies also tend to solidify Soviet social structure along caste lines.[18]

III

The Bolsheviks have also employed other means to establish their absolute dominance. Following Anarchist precepts and practices, and driven by power-seeking and destructive aggression, they have justified a number of oppressive measures as being necessary "to hasten the liquidation of the capitalistic elements and to organize defense against capitalist encirclement which is as yet far from being, and will not soon be destroyed."[19] Their objectives were to be achieved not only by means of economic dependency, systematic indoctrination, planned social isolation and lack of trust, but also by means of relentless vigilance and systematic terror.

One of the most important instruments of such policies have been the courts of law. Soviet socialist law is defined as the "totality of the rules of conduct, established in the form of legislation—to the end of annihilating, completely and finally, capitalism and its survival in the economy, manner of life,

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and consciousness of people. . . ."[20] The Soviet court is to accomplish this task "by destroying without pity all the foes of the people in whatsoever form they manifest their criminal encroachments upon socialism."[21]

One of the chief watchdogs in such use of the law and of the court is the Prosecutor General of the USSR. In this function as the main overseer in the application of Soviet law the office of the Prosecutor General is empowered "upon its own initiative" to interfere on all the levels of juridical procedure, including even the decisions of the Supreme Court. The Prosecutor's office is therefore defined as "Inseparably integrated with the court—an organ of state authority obligated to oversee that socialist legality is observed."[22] The Prosecutor's office initiates criminal proceedings and has also the right to initiate a civil court proceeding. It also supervises the fulfillment of court sentences.

In this manner the office of the Prosecutor General has become the main instrument in preventing any local opposition to or local deviation from the application of law. To best perform this role of strict legal uniformity the office of the Prosecutor General had to be highly centralized, made independent of local organs of authority, while in close contact and under the strict supervision of the highest organs of the Party's hierarchy.[23] In this way the Public Prosecutor has become a means of the "uniform conception of justice" (*edinoobraznoe ponimanie zakonnosti*), "an instrument of political power" (*orudie ukreplenia gosudarstva*), and an agent of "moral-political unity" (*moralno-politicheskoe edinstvo*).[24] By enforcing strict application of the letter of the law, the top Party leaders have been enabled to keep the republic, the regional and the local government agencies, the municipal bureaucracies, and the industrial and farm managements from any deviations in the application of law.[25]

Another significant instrument of political conformity in Soviet society is the institution of the political police. In accordance with its tradition this institution specializes in intelligence, vigilance and violence. It complements all other instruments of conformity and functions as an omnipresent and omniscient power which sleeplessly watches over the private and the public life of every Soviet citizen at home and abroad. The

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II

The Slavonic soil cultivators, depending upon economic self-sufficiency and cooperative effort in marshy and forest regions, as well as in the steppes, practiced a system of joint-family ownership of land (zadruga system). But when nomadic warriors imposed their rule over the tillers of the soil, the invaders considered the land over which they ruled to be their property and forced the peasants who were settled on it to pay them tribute in grain and other agricultural produce. According to the expanded version of the *Pravda Ruskaya,* for instance, after the death of a *smerd* (peasant) his sons would inherit the land, but if there were no sons the property went to the prince.

It is possible that already at that time some of the Asiatic conquerors occasionally divided and redistributed the land among the peasants according to the changing size of their families, the ability to till it and pay taxes and tithes. This might have been the most expedient way by which the conquerors sought to increase the income from the lands which they controlled. At the same time the peasants that formed a land commune were held jointly responsible by their over-lords for a predetermined amount of tributes, as well as for criminal acts committed on their territory.

The system of joint community responsibility was a well-known practice in the society of steppe nomads. It was especially applied as a means to procure fines and force the payment of debts. In that social system if a wrong-doer was unable to pay a fine, his nearest relatives, and failing them, the whole camp, had to provide it.[10] Therefore when these predatory herdsmen imposed their rule over the farming folk, they might have introduced the principle of joint responsibility as the most expedient way to collect the tributes and to exploit economically the subjected peoples.

It was by such social processes that the non-warlike and stateless society of the Old-Slavonic agricultural folk was incorporated into a military society of power-oriented horsemen of the Eurasian steppes.

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failures and their sins would fall upon him. He was emotionally and socially dependent upon the members of his family, yet he had to be stern and distant to maintain his authority.

At the same time, the family members were expected to completely identify themselves with the family as a whole. This submerging of the individual in the family collective was manifested, for instance, in the ideas of common family good, rooted in the Old-Slavonic principles of mutual reponsibility and mutual aid of all community members ("all for one, one for all"). The elder brothers were expected to take care of their minor brothers and of their unmarried sisters; the aged or disabled parents were in the care of their children; the father was expected to maintain his daughter-in-law if she lost her husband or if her husband were away.[1]

Earlier, following Mongol traditions, the family was collectively responsible for the misdeeds or crimes of any one of its members.[2] In early Russia, according to the Expanded Version of the *Pravda,* "if anyone attacks and kills another without the slightest provocation, the inhabitants of the district do not make payment for this kind of a murderer, but they shall surrender him, with his wife and children, for sentencing to banishment or imprisonment, and his home shall be given up for plundering."[3] Also later in Muscovite Russia all members of a family were considered involved in the offense of a member.

This complete identification with one's family and this penal philosophy of collective responsibility, of implied collective culpability and family hostages (retained in Russian police practices until nowadays) favored family self-centeredness and self-concern. There was therefore a tendency to draw a curtain of secrecy around the family in order not to expose it to accusations and to protect it from defamation. In the urban strata the master of the household was very much preoccupied with this problem. "Your neighbors will reproach you, and your enemies will rejoice at your misfortune," warns Domostroy. Such family centeredness, which was a result of the ascendency of an autocratic state, favored social isolation and lack of intimate contact with neighbors; hence, it fostered also lack of social trust.

Family centrism, family isolation, and lack of trust in one's

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could be achieved only if Russia was to change radically its economic structure. As a result of such a trend of events and of thought the government passed a decree in 1861 according to which the peasants were set legally free from their masters.

As a consequence of his legal emancipation, the peasant found himself in the possession of less arable land than before, and he was still bound to it. He was overburdened even more than before because he was obliged to pay high redemption dues in addition to the heavy taxes that were imposed on him. Moreover the peasants in land communes not only remained jointly responsible to the government for the payment of taxes, but they were also made jointly responsible for redemption payments. The commune's authority over the peasants was increased and the peasant found himself under an even more exacting and more despotic commune regimentation than the one that existed before the "Emancipation Act."

At the same time the peasant still did not have sufficient arable land. He also lacked pasture grounds and timber which were of special importance in his technologically backward and extensive agricultural economy; most of such land was left in the hands of his former masters. The acuteness of land shortage was especially felt because of lack of artificial fertilizers, need for draught animals, and primitiveness of farm equipment. Many peasants did not even possess a wooden plow.

But though the emancipation act of 1861 still kept the peasants bound to the land, and did not provide them with sufficient land, it did open up opportunities for their economic advance and political activation. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, the peasantry became generally recognized as a potentially very significant force, both politically and economically. It was this prospect of the peasant masses as the leading political power of the future in combination with the Slavophil idealization of the peasantry that gave rise to the ideology of *narodnichestvo* (populism). This ideology idealized the virtues and the creative potentialities of the peasantry, and just as the Slavophils, the narodniki claimed that the reconstruction of Russian society, even of the whole world, will come from Russian peasantry.

By the end of that century a faction of Russian radical intel-

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625 political police is under direct supervision of the supreme Party leader himself and is always headed only by one of his most trusted advisers. In a system of prison-like regimentation of all the subjects, a distrustful and fierce ruling faction of professional conspirators can never relax in their watchfulness and must act swiftly and without regard for legal formalities, or for personal or human considerations in stamping out and annihilating all signs of opposition to its rule.

Early in the history of the Bolshevik regime the secret Political Police came to be so indispensable that this institution was identified with the Party. "Every good Communist should be a good Chekist," said Lenin. By the end of 1918 the Cheka (*Chrezvychaynaya Komissiya*) had been reorganized from an organ of investigation into an organ that also resorted directly to "extra judicial measures of coercion, assuring swift and of necessity, cruel repression of the enemies of the Soviet state." In 1922 Cheka, whose terror became too odious, was abolished and supplanted by the G.P.U. which was characterized by Stalin as "the indefatigable guardian of the Revolution, the unsheathed sword of the proletariat."[26] To inform not only on non-Communists but on the members of his own Party and even on the members of his or her own family, became one of the first duties of every Party member.[27] Refusal to inform came to be considered as conspiracy against the Party and the state. A dense net of secret agents and informers became instrumental in preventing social intimacy and strengthening lack of trust.

625 ●672 Following age-long practices of Czarist rule and traditions of mutual responsibility of family members the Soviet political police uses the family members of political suspects as hostages.[28] Any person who had any dealings or connection with a political suspect, even in a most casual or incidental way, becomes *ipso facto* himself a suspect.[29] In Soviet police philosophy and practice every subject is a suspect as an offender or potential criminal unless he proves his innocence. A distrustful and violent ruling clique which is determined to perpetuate itself in power by all and any means must stamp out any opposition regardless of how many non-guilty ones might suffer. An important objective of the political police is therefore to instill fear and terror in the

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hearts of the Soviet subjects and to exert unremitting pressure on them, so that they never relax in their striving to conform to the Party's will. The secret police, in Lenin's words, is "our weapon of assault upon innumerable conspiracies . . . innumerable attempts against Soviet authority."[30]

23
CONTROL OF THOUGHT AND FEELING

MONOPOLIZATION of all social power by the Bolshevik rulers and their failure to satisfy the traditional demands for equality and acceptance has been breeding both apathy and latent rebellion in Soviet society. Realizing that such a development might eventually undermine their power, early in their rule the Bolsheviks proceeded to indoctrinate the thoughts and to control the feelings of their subjects. It became imperative to evoke identification of the masses with Bolshevik leadership and gain their faith, enthusiasm and willing self-sacrifice in support of the Soviet system.[1]

In order to justify this need for ideological and emotional conformity, it became necessary to monopolize the Truth. The Bolsheviks therefore stated that all problems, those of the past and of the present, as well as those of the future, have found their answer in Marxist-Leninist theory. They asserted, however, that since this theory "is not a dogma, but a guide to action,"[2] the Bolshevik leadership is "able to enrich this theory with the new propositions and conclusions, . . . to *develop it and advance* it" and "to replace such of its propositions and conclusions as have become antiquated by new ones corresponding to the new historical situation."[3] And just as earlier the Russian Orthodox Church had claimed to represent the "true Christianity" centered in Moscow, the Third Rome, so now the Bolshevik rulers have usurped for themselves the right to represent the "true Marxism," centered in the Kremlin:

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of the new order. The family, therefore, as all other institutions of the Soviet society, was to be reconstructed and regimented in such a way as to best serve the purposes and the objectives of the new ruling class.

As a result of such a change in attitude and reversal of policy the Bolsheviks have introduced laws and decrees whose aim has been to impose mutual responsibilities and obligations on family members. The new laws have also favored "indissolubility" of marriage ties and encouraged large families. At the same time, however, the family has been placed under the guidance, control and overseeing of the Party and of the government authorities. In consequence of a series of laws and decrees, the Soviet family has been given the task of training children in discipline, in collective responsibility, in obedience to authorities and in faith in Bolshevism. Just as the Soviet school, the Soviet family has been given the task of helping to train willing toilers, zealous labor drivers and agitators, and fearless fighters for the cause of world Communism.[2]

Following the traditions of the Russian patriarchal family and in order to make the parents an instrument of the training of children in obedience to authorities, parents have been made legally responsible for the behavior of their children. Prosecution by civil and criminal law, administrative fines and prison terms[3] have been established against the parents whose children came into conflict with administrative regulations or existing laws. Just as in the Domostroi the parents are encouraged to be strict and non-indulgent, and to rely on frequent punishment as a means of correction; they are also encouraged to be authoritative and to keep a necessary distance from children so that their authority is not undermined by unnecessary intimacy. The parents have been given joint rights of discipline but subjected to government and Party control.[4]

This interference of the Party-state into the family relationships has been backed also by another law according to which parental rights have been subordinated to the interest of children. The "interests of children" are determined according to the Party interests and views; the court has been empowered to deprive the parents of their parental rights whenever the Party

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chooses to consider that the interests of the children have not been safeguarded.[5] In such cases parental rights might be lost for up to five years.[6] According to the Soviet educational philosophy it is expected that the parents will *rear* the children, but that the public organizations under the Party's supervision will instruct and supervise parents in the ways of *Communist upbringing* of children.[7]

The Party considers it to be its duty to arouse antagonism of children against parents when such action is necessary in the interest of the survival of the Soviet regime. As mentioned earlier, planned rift between fathers and sons was, for instance, employed to speed up the process of collectivization. Commissar of Agriculture Jakovlev, speaking before a Party congress on the struggle against the kulaks, stated that "In a number of cases, the children of the kulaks are made to revolt against their parents, and thus the kulak families are divided and the kulaks still more isolated." The Party has also been known to take advantage of family conflicts to encourage the children to spy on their parents and to denounce them to the political police:

> Russian parents had to be very careful of what they said in the presence of their own children, and even of how they disciplined their children. One boy, Pavlik Morosov, was built up as a hero among youth because he had denounced his father who was organizing resistance against the kolhoz. Great propaganda was made about this boy. A book was written about him. Actually he became a hero to most children.[8]

In times of political "purges" there were frequent notices in the Soviet papers in which the children of the parents who were politically persecuted publicly renounced their parents.[9] That was the only way they could escape the vengeance of a regime which had revived the tradition of family hostages and used it as an instrument of political conformity.

The Bolsheviks consider that since "one's way of life is a social matter . . . a matter of national policy,"[10] the Party has the right to interfere even in pre-marital and extra-marital sex relations, as well as in the relations between the spouses. "Young Communist organizations cannot remain neutral when the con-

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do specify the cases in which the state wishes to facilitate divorce and dissolve marriage. Such cases are for instance, "a court sentence depriving either spouse of his or her liberty for no less than three years," and "the absence with no news of either spouse."[18] In such cases the party seeking divorce is exempted from the payment of fees and also from the requirement that a public notice be put in the local newspaper. These provisions are in accordance with the principle of family hostages and the well known practice of the Soviet political police to persecute the families of political offenders. Divorce from such a person may in some cases rehabilitate one in the eyes of the Party. The police as a rule exert pressure on the spouses of political culprits or suspects to seek divorce, and the law provisions are such that the court may facilitate divorce in such cases.

The Bolshevik regime depends to a great extent upon the available large contingents of manpower for its armed forces and for its industrial enterprises whose labor efficiency is very low. In accordance with such needs a series of measures was introduced designed to encourage large families, such as strict laws against birth control, maternity leaves, safeguards for employed pregnant women, monthly cash payments for children, reduced fees in nurseries, advantages in income tax payments, medals, awards, citations, and titles for mothers bearing and raising a certain number of children.[19] At the same time special taxes were imposed upon bachelors, childless couples and couples with only one or two children. Also suits to establish paternity were abolished and an unmarried mother was given the option to accept a modest allowance or to place the child in a public institution where the state takes care of it.

The recognition on the part of the Bolshevik rulers of the significance of the family as an institution of early training of Soviet subjects in discipline, subordination to the group, and obedience to authorities is manifested in the inclusion of family legislation within the jurisdiction of the central government of the Soviet Union. The constitution of the Soviet Union itself was amended for this purpose in 1947.[20] Thus the trend of Soviet legislation in the matters of family relations in the course of over thirty years of Bolshevik rule tended to increase and

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000 authorities as soon as these showed signs of weakness and defeat.

Could it be that lack of acceptance, thwarted and unstable attachments in the Soviet system of rule will bring about the same results? And will the fanaticism, cynicism, and extreme self-concern cause the Soviet "Oprichniki" to play as fateful a role in their own day as their predecessors did in theirs? Will such "Janizaries" become the spearheads of a new plan for world conquest, in the name of a new Allah? Or will they bring about internal chaos and anarchy as soon as their personal power is imperilled? Increasing complaints against misappropriation of public funds and properties, venality of government officials and Party members indicate such possibilities. Disrespect for personal rights on the part of the government bureaucracy and the military, emphasis on hatred in the educational system and the press, and inhuman practices of the political police point in the same direction.

593 On the other hand, the same pressures that work in the direc-
•[672] tion of family tension and of breaking up of family ties might, in certain circumstances, strengthen family attachments and family solidarity. In the police practices of the Soviet Union all those who had any ties (*svyaz*) with a political culprit are suspected of the same crime. It is this philosophy of implied culpability that leads to the principle of joint family responsibility and family hostages in case of political offenses by one family member. It appears that a number of "confessions" in the political trials were the result of a promise on the part of the secret police that the family members of the victim will be spared. Such conditions of consistent external threat if combined with indifference toward Soviet efforts might foster the tendency to withdraw within one's own family circle, to keep the outside contacts to a minimum, and to strengthen the intimacies of the home.

In those cases when changes in family relations take such a trend, the status of the father apparently assumes a different position and function from that which was typical of the Great-Russian patriarchal family system in the past. Instead of the strictness and detachment which characterized the father's role

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standards of formal education, low level of agricultural technology, undeveloped means of transportation and too many idle days handicapped the advance of agriculture. In such circumstances the peasants[1] did not even produce sufficient food to nourish themselves, much less a surplus to exchange for manufactured products. As a consequence the peasants were exposed to periodical famines during which many died of starvation.

Periodical epidemics of cholera, typhus, small pox, and other diseases took a toll as high as famines. A low degree of personal hygiene in crowded living conditions also increased the death rate. In addition there was a great dearth of doctors, nurses and hospitals, and no measures of preventive medicine. Equally ruinous were the periodical cattle epidemics due to primitive techniques of cattle raising. One should add to these misfortunes the figure of more than one hundred thousand peasant homes destroyed each summer by fires, many of them the result of arson. And if one considers the widely spread robbery, theft and murder that went undetected and unpunished, one gets an idea of the distressing personal and social conditions in which the Russian peasant lived. It was in such circumstances, left entirely to his own resources, that he developed an ideological, emotional and symbolical world of his own.

17
THE ATTITUDES OF THE PEASANTRY

I

STUNNED by the magnitude of the inimical and arbitrary social and physical forces which surrounded him and completely controlled his life, the Great-Russian peasant felt impotent and helpless. In the family circle if he had to be submissive and he was exposed to arbitrariness of the elder, he also might have enjoyed a certain degree of protection and succor.

[1] [i.e. in second half of XIXth century--Analyst]

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demand for the witches (*vedma*) and wizards (*znakhar*), persons who dealt in black magic. One bought their services both as protection from his enemies and as a means of attack on them. In this manner the dealers in black magic who were a means of protection and attack were also an added threat in life. Some knowledge of defensive and offensive magic became therefore indispensable for everybody.

Destructive urges which developed in such conditions were manifested also in the idea that it was possible for one, if he so wished, to turn into vampire in order to bring evil upon his enemies or to suck their blood. Any wizard or witch by using a spell (*zagovor*) was able to transform a man into a vampire. Such men, transformed into ghost-beasts, would then deal their terrible blows on their enemies, slaking on their victims their thirst for blood.[16]

These same conditions fostered crime, particularly theft, robbery and murder. Some of the sayings, for instance, condone theft and even robbery, particularly if they were done cleverly and the perpetrators escaped being caught. That crime was not only a means of personal gain but also a means of protest against existing conditions is witnessed by those folk proverbs which rationalize or justify theft on the ground that those from whom it was stolen were likely to be much more guilty than the thieves themselves. "He who stole sinned once; those from whom it was stolen sinned ten times." The same motivation might be seen in the inclination to put the blame on the informers more than on the thieves. "Not he who steals, but he who leads is a thief," they would say.[17] Backed by such philosophy of life and favored by existing conditions, crime became widespread. And since in that society force was identified with law, violence was often justified as a means to secure the property of others, especially in times of war. "What is taken by force is sacred," the people would say.

Since the conditions in the patriarchal family and in the stratified local community fostered destructive aggression, and since violence was widely used by all the authorities, the peasant manifested a strong inclination toward violence, whenever this expression of his protest could go unpunished. On the family

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failures and their sins would fall upon him. He was emotionally and socially dependent upon the members of his family, yet he had to be stern and distant to maintain his authority.

At the same time, the family members were expected to completely identify themselves with the family as a whole. This submerging of the individual in the family collective was manifested, for instance, in the ideas of common family good, rooted in the Old-Slavonic principles of mutual reponsibility and mutual aid of all community members ("all for one, one for all"). The elder brothers were expected to take care of their minor brothers and of their unmarried sisters; the aged or disabled parents were in the care of their children; the father was expected to maintain his daughter-in-law if she lost her husband or if her husband were away.[1]

Earlier, following Mongol traditions, the family was collectively responsible for the misdeeds or crimes of any one of its members.[2] In early Russia, according to the Expanded Version of the *Pravda*, "if anyone attacks and kills another without the slightest provocation, the inhabitants of the district do not make payment for this kind of a murderer, but they shall surrender him, with his wife and children, for sentencing to banishment or imprisonment, and his home shall be given up for plundering."[3] Also later in Muscovite Russia all members of a family were considered involved in the offense of a member.

This complete identification with one's family and this penal philosophy of collective responsibility, of implied collective culpability and family hostages (retained in Russian police practices until nowadays) favored family self-centeredness and self-concern. There was therefore a tendency to draw a curtain of secrecy around the family in order not to expose it to accusations and to protect it from defamation. In the urban strata the master of the household was very much preoccupied with this problem. "Your neighbors will reproach you, and your enemies will rejoice at your misfortune," warns Domostroy. Such family centeredness, which was a result of the ascendency of an autocratic state, favored social isolation and lack of intimate contact with neighbors; hence, it fostered also lack of social trust.

Family centrism, family isolation, and lack of trust in one's

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brotherhood could still be maintained. Since the seventeenth century, however, expenditures for military campaigns and for growing ranks of salaried bureaucrats necessitated increasing state incomes which could be obtained without much delay. Since the state was industrially and commercially undeveloped, the only way to increase revenues was in finding new means to squeeze out of the peasantry a still larger part of its produce. Therefore the old system of direct tax collecting from the mir was found to function inefficiently on the estates of the nobility, and laws were passed which made the landowners responsible for the collection of state taxes from the peasantry. In this way ties between the manorial peasants and the central government were severed.[1]

As a result of such a change in the political structure, the manorial serfs became now entirely dependent upon the owners of the manorial estates. There was no more possibility for the peasants to appeal directly to the government. Between the government and the manorial peasants stood now the landlords to whom the peasants became exclusively responsible as a final authority in all matters, administrative as well as judiciary.[2] *Pomeshchik* was now looked upon as the "natural protector of people, their local judge, the guardian of their welfare, their tutor, the trustee of poor and orphans, observer of good order and law."[3] He was considered as the Czar's overseer and watchdog.[4] The patriarchal dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships which existed between the Czar and his subjects were now extended to the landlord and his serfs. Both the Czar and the landlord were addressed as *batyushka* (father).

The position of the serf, however, was now so much more precarious because in new relationships the power of the landlord was absolute. A life-long banishment to Siberia awaited him who lodged a complaint against his master. And since there were neither written laws nor any established customary law to regulate the relations between the serfs and the manorial lords, the serfs were completely dependent upon the degree of moral or ethical standards of their masters for their lives and well-being. These were often very low. Hence unprotected either by

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written or by customary rules of conduct and often exposed to the arbitrariness and mistreatment of their lords, the serfs on many manorial estates came to be completely dependent upon the will and capriciousness of their masters.

It is obvious that many landed gentry who were given such absolute rights over their serfs would tend to completely subjugate the mir also. In such circumstances the mir was likely to lose its character of a self-ruled and self-contained community and instead tended to become an instrument of landlord's power which made the landowner the absolute monarch of his estate. Under the overlordship of the estate owner the mir kept its watchful eye over every peasant, and made it easier for the landowner to manage his property, and for the government to rule the country. It was under such external pressures that the steppe traditions of an absolute, stern and distant patriarchal power were being strengthened among the peasantry.

II

The conditions of the peasants did not improve in these respects after the abolishment of serfdom in the second part of the nineteenth century.[5] The peasants were emancipated from the rule of the pomeshchiks and subjected again directly to the government. But now the government, pushed by pressing demands for increasing revenues, made the mir an instrument of state control and found in it one of the most exacting of tax collectors. In order to be assured of payment the state had to concede to the mir all of the most severe measures of authority. Now the mir was entitled to banish unsolvent peasants to Siberia. And when corporal punishment was abolished in urban criminal law practice, it was still left in use in the mir.[6]

After the abolishment of serfdom the mir came under the supervision of the district chief of police (*Ispravnik*). The law of 1874 gave the police the right to arrest and to fine the village elders, and even to demand from the governor of the province their discharge. The position of the elder became so undesirable that the mir sometimes had to exert force to obtain candidates for this office or to prevent those in office from resigning.[7]

There was another official in this system of rural administra-

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level violence was manifested in frequent beatings of wife and children, and on the rural community level in habitual drunkenness that often ended in brawls and even murder.[18] In conditions which foster human degradation and lack of trust, both self-seeking and vindictiveness flourish. Hence the Great-Russian peasant was inclined to commit atrocious acts of revenge against people whom he considered as his persecutors or who caused him any harm. When threatening with revenge the Great-Russian peasant was likely to say: "You will pay me with your own blood" (*Ty u menya kroviyu svoey umoeshsya*). Killing as a revenge, burning hay-ricks, barns and homes was a common occurrence. The peasants were likely to organize a collective hunt against real or fancied malefactors and mutilate them or put them to death by means of torture:

> For murder and robbery, death of the culprit—sometimes with mutilation by cutting and tearing off of various parts of his body. For horse-theft and grand larceny they practice sometimes hammering of iron nails into the head and forcing of wooden pins under the nails and also merciless beating even onto death; . . . in some instances the case ends by maiming the thief and letting him go.[19]

At the same time the frontiersmen and professional warriors, such as the Cossacks, became renowned and widely admired because of their deeds of vindictiveness and violence. War was a great opportunity for people with such inclinations. As Gogol has put it, the Cossacks found a great delight in "accumulating booty from raided towns, putting the villages and the fields on fire, and spreading their glories by far and wide throughout the steppe" in order "to revenge themselves for all evil and humiliation."[20] There were numerous robber and Cossack songs which told about such exploits, and expressed desire for vindictiveness and destructive aggression.

Destructive aggression was nursed on the patriarchal family level and reinforced by conditions in the local community. Thus as soon as the controls of the authorities would weaken, mass revolts would come into the open. Such a behavior in turn was used by the local authorities as a justification for their strictness in dealing with the peasants:

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

his wife"; "The husband is the law unto his wife," the proverbs say. As a result of such a view of husband-wife relations, the husband had the right and duty to apply brutal force to his wife as a means of discipline, the same as to his children. "It is woman's fate to be always beaten," the people would say.[20]

The description of folk life in the eastern parts of Russia corroborate this attitude toward wives as expressed in popular sayings. The informants tell of the "miserable fate of the women" (*nepriglyadnaya uchast zheny*),[21] the constant fights of husband and wife (*muzh deretsya s zhenoi*), and the thrashing (*poboi*) to which the wives were exposed on the part of their husbands. In case of adultery the punishment for the woman was "merciless beating" (*neshchadnoe bitie*) or strangling (*udushenie*).[22]

Domostroy, which was under the influence of Church teachings, agrees with this philosophy and practices and even offers elaborate and detailed precepts to the husband about how to treat his wife ". . . if the wife is not afraid of the punishment and does not follow the instructions, the husband should beat her." According to Domostroy only if the wife is blindly and unconditionally submissive "everything will run smoothly in the family." The wife must do everything "to please her husband and God and she must listen to him with fear and awe."[23]

Domostroy was compiled primarily for the urban classes of the Czardom. Its rules reflect a certain deterioration in the status of women as they moved from the peasant to the urban level. In the cities, especially among the merchants, the women were confined to the *terem* (gyneceum) and had less opportunity to work and earn for themselves. In the urban environment, the Turco-Mongol influences were therefore reinforced.

In the rural areas the women retained their role in economic production. The peasant women were thus enabled to retain some of the the Old-Slavonic traditions; they often knew how to assert themselves and influence family affairs. In a like manner, with the increasing opportunities for schooling in urban centers, a growing number of city women emancipated themselves from family ties and became economically and socially independent. In such circumstances also many women in the urban

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641 Art. 128. In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church
65 in the Russian SFSR is separated from the state and the school from the church.
Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recog-
nised for all citizens.

Art. 129. In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the Russian SFSR are guaranteed by law:

(a) Freedom of speech;
(b) Freedom of the press;
(c) Freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings;
(d) Freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

These civil rights are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

[575] Art. 130. In conformity with the interests of the working people and in order to develop the organizational initiative and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the Russian SFSR are ensured the right to unite in public organizations -- trade unions, co-operative associations, youth organizations, sport and defence organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies; and the most active and politically conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people unite in the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and State.

[694] Art. 131. Citizens of the Russian SFSR are guaranteed inviolability of the person. No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of a court or with the sanction of a procurator.

Art. 132. The inviolability of the homes of citizens and privacy of correspondence are protected by law.

Art. 133. The Russian SFSR affords the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the working people, or for their scientific activities, or for their struggle for national liberation.

Art. 134. It is the duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR to abide by the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, to observe the laws, to maintain labour discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of socialist intercourse.

[685] Art. 135. It is the duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR to safeguard
421 and strengthen public socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the country, as the source of the prosperity and culture of all the working people.

Persons committing offences against public socialist property are enemies of the people.

Art. 136. Universal military service is law.

Military service in the ranks of the armed forces of the USSR is an honourable duty of the citizens of the Russian SFSR.

5: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[Constitution as of 1949]

641 [687] Art. 137. To defend the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR. Treason to the country -- violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the State, espionage - is punishable with all the severity of the law and is the most heinous of crime.

Chapter XII. The Electoral System

666 Art. 138. Elections of deputies to all Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies, Supreme Soviets of Autonomous Republics, Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions, Soviets of Working People's Deputies of National and administrative Areas, districts, cities and rural localities (stanitsas, villages, hamlets and auls) are chosen by the electors on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Art. 139. Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the Russian SFSR who have reached the age of 18, irrespective of race, or nationality, sex, religion, educational or residential qualifications, social origin, property status or past activities, have the right to vote in the election of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of insane persons and persons who have been convicted by a court of law and whose sentences include deprivation of electoral rights.

[641] Every citizen of the Russian SFSR who has reached the age of 21, irrespective of race, or nationality, sex, religion, educational or residential qualifications, social origin, property status or past activities may be elected as a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 140. Elections of deputies are equal: each citizen has one vote; all citizens participate in elections on an equal footing.

[642] Art. 141. Women have the right to elect and to be elected on equal terms with men.

[641] Art. 142. Citizens serving in the ranks of the Armed Forces of the USSR have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

Art. 143. Elections of deputies are direct: all Soviets of Working People's Deputies from the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of villages and cities to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, inclusive, are elected by the citizens by direct vote.

Art. 144. Voting at elections of deputies is secret.

Art. 145. Elections to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Russian SFSR are held by election districts on the following basis:

in elections to territorial and regional Soviets - one deputy for every 1,500 to 60,000 of its population, depending upon the size of the territory or region;

in elections to the regional Soviets of Autonomous Regions - one deputy for every 1,500 to 3,500 of its population, depending upon the size of the Autonomous Region;

in elections to Area Soviets of National Areas - one deputy for every 300 to 5,000 of its population, depending upon the size of the National Area;

in elections to area Soviets of administrative areas - one deputy for every 500 to 10,000 of its population, depending upon the size of the administrative area;

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

is therefore said to be necessary as a means to completely eliminate "exploitation of man by man" and to bring about stateless and equalitarian society in the future.

In this manner any signs of opposition to the Party policies have been construed as "class struggle" and "counter-revolution" which made it possible for the self-seeking and mistrustful ruling faction of the Bolsheviks to eliminate all opposition to its rule, including the opposition within the Bolshevik Party itself. These means and justifications of self-perpetuation in power have been supported also by the contention that the counter-revolutionary schemes of the overthrown and dying classes are encouraged and fostered by foreign capitalist powers.

These imperialist states are said to tend to encircle the "only Socialist country" seeking to destroy it.[2] Contrary to the early Socialist promises that the state will tend to "wither away" after the proletariat had seized power, the Bolsheviks asserted that, after the proletarian revolution the state must become even more powerful because it must be used as a "special machine of suppresion."[3] Thus, instead of satisfying the traditional demands for acceptance in an all-human and stateless brotherhood, the Bolsheviks established relationships of absolute rule and unconditional obedience by monopolizing all social power in their hands. Each and every subject was made dependent for his life and livelihood upon the ruling faction. In this manner, planned economic regimentation, strict political conformity, control of thought and feeling, as well as police rule became intrinsic to the Soviet system of power.

In their compulsive drive to concentrate all power and all social control in their hands, the Bolsheviks dispossessed not only financial capitalists and large land owners, but even small farmers, fearing that these might eventually oppose and challenge their rule. "The medium peasantry is a self-sufficient class; the only one which, after the obliteration and expulsion of squires and capitalists, remains capable of opposing the proletariat," said Lenin.[4]

The need to regiment the peasantry, to break their group solidarity and make them completely dependent upon the government was supported also by other considerations. Owing to lack

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of international Communism. "In our times," said Stalin before the Seventeenth Party Congress in 1934, "it is not the custom to give any consideration to the weak. . . . consideration is only given to the strong." The Party therefore undertook to drill millions of subjects in the use of arms and to develop an imposing army of professional soldiers.

The need of militarization of the entire population has been reflected in the Bolshevik ideology of total war. As early as the nineteen twenties the Bolshevik military strategist and Commissar of Defense, Mikhail Frunze, developed the theory of mobilization of the entire population and of regimentation of all aspects of life as a means of war preparation.[62] As a result of such a trend of thought pre-military training has been introduced into public schools and many teaching subjects have been oriented toward military thinking. Also the Party has sponsored and supported private organizations to promote physical fitness and military training (*Ossoaviokhim*) on a mass scale.

The need of the ruling faction to use military training as a school of obedience, loyalty, leadership, and war preparedness dictated also the policies concerning the system of military training. Consequently earlier ideas of fraternization and equality of ranks developed as a response to the longing for an anarchic brotherhood were attacked as "false democracy"; instead strict military discipline has been introduced and embodied in minute military regulations.[63] As a result very heavy and hard punishments have been provided for slightest breaches in discipline.

The military regulations now demand unquestionable obedience of the subordinate to his superior, and immediate and literal execution of his command regardless of what that command may be: "The order of the commander is law for the subordinate. The order must be fulfilled without question, literally and immediately."[64] To insure such unconditional obedience the military regulations authorize Soviet officers to use harsh means to cope with lapses of discipline. These include not only ordinary punishments, but physical beatings and even killing "in an emergency, when there is no time to spare." Significantly enough, the term "officer" was discarded and has been substituted by that of "commander."

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Great-Russian peasant saw the need to keep on good terms with this ruler of the underworld.

Since the Czar was identified with God, the peasant's feeling toward the Czar was like his attitude toward God. He knew that the Czar was as omnipotent as God. "Everything is in the power of God and the Czar," he would say. Therefore, he feared the Czar like he feared God, he felt an awe before the Czar as before God, and he hoped for the best, but it can hardly be said that he had much love for him. "Czar is not fire, but if you come close to him you will burn yourself," he would say. His idea was also that "Where there is Czar there is fear and dread," and that "Czar's rage spreads death." Since God was so far away, detached, neglectful, and implacable, it was the Czar's fearful power that mattered. "God's is the will, but the court is Czar's," he would say.[5]

The peasant's feelings toward the supreme power of the world and of the universe reflected only his bitter experiences with the representatives of these powers on the earth with whom he had to deal in local affairs. Often these did not bring justice, but venality, arbitrariness and persecution. "The court is founded on untruth and injustice"; "Where there is court there is chicanery," he would say. And since the judges were corrupted, the only way to get anything from them was to bribe them. "The judge is useful as much as the pocket is helpful," he would say. Such action, however, was not always advisable because of greediness of the judges. "You will never fill a judge's pocket"; "Do not litigate, you will strangle yourself."[6]

Because of his traditional distrust of authorities the peasant showed also a profound lack of trust in all written laws. He likened the law to the cobweb whose purpose was to catch the small and helpless, not the big and powerful ("The bumblebee will break through, the fly will get stuck."). He also compared the law to a tool that could be used arbitrarily by those who held it in their hands ("The law is like shaft, you turn it wherever you want it."). He noticed that "those who write the laws also break them," and concluded that "It is in vain to write laws if they are not carried out." In accordance with the Old-Slavonic anarchic and equalitarian traditions he was inclined to believe

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Art. 101. The Departments of the Executive Committees of the city Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Moscow and Leningrad are subordinate in their activities both to the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Moscow and Leningrad and their Executive Committees as well as to the corresponding Ministry of the Russian SFSR directly.

634 Art. 102. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies of National Areas and their Executive Committees exercise in the territory of their Areas the rights and duties conferred on them by the "Statute of National Areas" and likewise by the decisions of the corresponding territorial or regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

"The Statute of National Areas" is established by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter IX. The Budget of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

652 646 Art. 103. The state budget of the Russian SFSR is drawn up by the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR and submitted by it to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for its approval.

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652 631 Art. 106. The budgets of Autonomous Republics, and the local budgets of territories, regions, Autonomous Regions, National and Administrative Areas, district, city and village Soviets include the revenues from the local economy, deductions from the state revenues collected within their territories and likewise receipts from local taxes and imposts in amounts fixed by the laws of the USSR and of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter X. The Courts and the Procurator's Office.

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695 [692] Art. 114. Judicial proceedings in the Russian SFSR are conducted in the Russian language or in the language of the Autonomous Republic or the Autonomous Region or the National Area, persons not knowing the language being guaranteed every opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material of the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to use their own language in court.

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ment expense the Party recruits these in the first place from among specific categories of children, such as war orphans, illegitimate and delinquent children, and children of Party functionaries. Such children are considered to be most promising from the point of view of Party objectives.

It is mainly from the university student body that the new ruling classes and all needed experts of the Soviet Union are being recruited.[16] It is therefore of paramount importance that this reservoir of the ruling strata is kept well under control and that it is thoroughly ideologically indoctrinated and trained in unswerving loyalty and conformity to the Party. "Ideological training of Soviet students is a vital and integral part of all the work of district, city, province, and territory party committees."[17] It is therefore imperative that this body is highly selective and not overcrowded. Recruitment of university students from among higher classes and from selected categories of children serves well the Party objectives to perpetuate its power and to command unconditional submission of all to its will. Such policies also tend to solidify Soviet social structure along caste lines.[18]

III

The Bolsheviks have also employed other means to establish their absolute dominance. Following Anarchist precepts and practices, and driven by power-seeking and destructive aggression, they have justified a number of oppressive measures as being necessary "to hasten the liquidation of the capitalistic elements and to organize defense against capitalist encirclement which is as yet far from being, and will not soon be destroyed."[19] Their objectives were to be achieved not only by means of economic dependency, systematic indoctrination, planned social isolation and lack of trust, but also by means of relentless vigilance and systematic terror.

One of the most important instruments of such policies have been the courts of law. Soviet socialist law is defined as the "totality of the rules of conduct, established in the form of legislation—to the end of annihilating, completely and finally, capitalism and its survival in the economy, manner of life,

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

and consciousness of people. . . ."[20] The Soviet court is to accomplish this task "by destroying without pity all the foes of the people in whatsoever form they manifest their criminal encroachments upon socialism."[21]

One of the chief watchdogs in such use of the law and of the court is the Prosecutor General of the USSR. In this function as the main overseer in the application of Soviet law the office of the Prosecutor General is empowered "upon its own initiative" to interfere on all the levels of juridical procedure, including even the decisions of the Supreme Court. The Prosecutor's office is therefore defined as "Inseparably integrated with the court—an organ of state authority obligated to oversee that socialist legality is observed."[22] The Prosecutor's office initiates criminal proceedings and has also the right to initiate a civil court proceeding. It also supervises the fulfillment of court sentences.

In this manner the office of the Prosecutor General has become the main instrument in preventing any local opposition to or local deviation from the application of law. To best perform this role of strict legal uniformity the office of the Prosecutor General had to be highly centralized, made independent of local organs of authority, while in close contact and under the strict supervision of the highest organs of the Party's hierarchy.[23] In this way the Public Prosecutor has become a means of the "uniform conception of justice" (*edinocbraznoe ponimanie zakonnosti*), "an instrument of political power" (*orudie ukreplenia gosudarstva*), and an agent of "moral-political unity" (*moralno-politicheskoe edinstvo*).[24] By enforcing strict application of the letter of the law, the top Party leaders have been enabled to keep the republic, the regional and the local government agencies, the municipal bureaucracies, and the industrial and farm managements from any deviations in the application of law.[25]

Another significant instrument of political conformity in Soviet society is the institution of the political police. In accordance with its tradition this institution specializes in intelligence, vigilance and violence. It complements all other instruments of conformity and functions as an omnipresent and omniscient power which sleeplessly watches over the private and the public life of every Soviet citizen at home and abroad. The

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6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

and consciousness of people. . . ."[20] The Soviet court is to accomplish this task "by destroying without pity all the foes of the people in whatsoever form they manifest their criminal encroachments upon socialism."[21]

One of the chief watchdogs in such use of the law and of the court is the Prosecutor General of the USSR. In this function as the main overseer in the application of Soviet law the office of the Prosecutor General is empowered "upon its own initiative" to interfere on all the levels of juridical procedure, including even the decisions of the Supreme Court. The Prosecutor's office is therefore defined as "Inseparably integrated with the court—an organ of state authority obligated to oversee that socialist legality is observed."[22] The Prosecutor's office initiates criminal proceedings and has also the right to initiate a civil court proceeding. It also supervises the fulfillment of court sentences.

In this manner the office of the Prosecutor General has become the main instrument in preventing any local opposition to or local deviation from the application of law. To best perform this role of strict legal uniformity the office of the Prosecutor General had to be highly centralized, made independent of local organs of authority, while in close contact and under the strict supervision of the highest organs of the Party's hierarchy.[23] In this way the Public Prosecutor has become a means of the "uniform conception of justice" (*edinoobraznoe ponimanie zakonnosti*), "an instrument of political power" (*orudie ukreplenia gosudarstva*), and an agent of "moral-political unity" (*moralno-politicheskoe edinstvo*).[24] By enforcing strict application of the letter of the law, the top Party leaders have been enabled to keep the republic, the regional and the local government agencies, the municipal bureaucracies, and the industrial and farm managements from any deviations in the application of law.[25]

Another significant instrument of political conformity in Soviet society is the institution of the political police. In accordance with its tradition this institution specializes in intelligence, vigilance and violence. It complements all other instruments of conformity and functions as an omnipresent and omniscient power which sleeplessly watches over the private and the public life of every Soviet citizen at home and abroad. The

[Constitution as of 1949]

641 Art. 128. In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church
658 in the Russian SFSR is separated from the state and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens.

Art. 129. In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the Russian SFSR are guaranteed by law:

(a) Freedom of speech;
(b) Freedom of the press;
(c) Freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings;
(d) Freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

These civil rights are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

[675] Art. 130. In conformity with the interests of the working people and in order to develop the organizational initiative and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the Russian SFSR are ensured the right to unite in public organizations -- trade unions, co-operative associations, youth organizations, sport and defence organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies; and the most active and politically conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people unite in the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and State.

[694] Art. 131. Citizens of the Russian SFSR are guaranteed inviolability of the person. No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of a court or with the sanction of a procurator.

Art. 132. The inviolability of the homes of citizens and privacy of correspondence are protected by law.

Art. 133. The Russian SFSR affords the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the working people, or for their scientific activities, or for their struggle for national liberation.

Art. 134. It is the duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR to abide by the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, to observe the laws, to maintain labour discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of socialist intercourse.

[685] Art. 135. It is the duty of every citizen of the Russian SFSR to safeguard
721 and strengthen public socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the country, as the source of the prosperity and culture of all the working people.

Persons committing offences against public socialist property are enemies of the people.

Art. 136. Universal military service is law.

Military service in the ranks of the armed forces of the USSR is an honourable duty of the citizens of the Russian SFSR.

[Constitution as of 1949]

692 Art. 109. The Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR is the highest judicial organ of the Russian SFSR. The Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR is charged with the supervision of the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the Russian SFSR, the Autonomous Republics and the Autonomous Regions.

Art. 110. The Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR is elected by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for a term of five years.

Art. 111. The Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics are elected by the Supreme Soviets of the Autonomous Republics for a term of five years.

Art, 112. Territorial and Regional Courts, the Courts of Autonomous Regions, the Courts of National ... and administrative Areas are elected by the territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies, by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions and by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of National and administrative Areas for a term of five years.

Art. 113. People's Courts are elected by the citizens of the districts on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot for a term of three years.

695 Art. 114. Judicial proceedings in the Russian SFSR are conducted in the Russian language or in the language of the Autonomous Republic, the Autonomous 1923 Region or the National Area, persons not knowing the language being guaranteed every opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material of the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to use their own language in court.

Art. 115. In all courts of the Russian SFSR cases are heard in public, unless otherwise provided for by law, and the accused is guaranteed the right to be defended by counsel.

693 Art. 116. Judges are independent and subject only to the law.

Art. 117. Supreme supervisory power to ensure the strict observance of the law by all Ministries and institutions subordinate to them, as well as by officials and citizens within the territory of the Russian SFSR generally, is exercised by the Procurator-General of the USSR directly and also through the Procurator of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 118. The Procurator of the Russian SFSR and the regional procurators are appointed by the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 119. Procurators of territories and regions, of Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions are appointed by the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 120. Procurators of National and administrative Areas, districts and cities are appointed by the Procurator of the Russian SFSR subject to the approval of the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 121. The organs of the Procurator's Office perform their functions independently of any local organs whatsoever, being subordinate solely to the Procurator-General of the USSR.

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inadequacy and dependency, lack of self-reliance and need for complete submissiveness to authority might be fostered. At the same time the attraction to an unapproachable and unattainable father and the feeling of revolt against his despotism, seeking solace from mother and reaction against her over-protection might cause a constant alternation between extremes of these emotional reactions and therefore reinforce the sense of guilt. The feeling of guilt might then provoke a need to confess, to accuse and punish oneself and to submit again completely to the parent's will in the hope to win his acceptance. Self-incriminatory tendencies which have been acquired in this manner might be generalized and extended to relationships on other social levels.

Lanin, an English writer who closely observed Russian behaviour in the second part of the nineteenth century, found that the sense of guilt was "extremely developed."[1] According to this observer there was not only a tendency to confess one's guilt but there was also on the part of the public an insistence on confession of guilt. Moreover, as in the teaching of the Russian Church, confession of guilt was often accepted in social relations as equal to an eradication of sin and therefore demanded forgiveness. "He who confesses has repented, and he who has repented has wiped out his sin," is a Russian folk saying.

Such attitudes and feelings supported the inquisitorial system of justice where the emphasis was on the formality of confession, regardless of the means by which confession has been extorted. Thus since the main emphasis was on confession everything was done to obtain it. If the victim showed any reticence or reluctance, his accusers did not hesitate to employ moral coercion and physical torture to force confession out of him. Once confession was obtained, the conscience of all the participants seemed to have been satisfied:

> . . . Straightway the people rushed
> At the three fleeing murderers; they seized
> The hiding miscreants and led them up
> To the child's corpse, yet warm; when lo! a marvel . . .
> The lifeless little one began to tremble!
> "Confess!" the people thundered; and in terror
> Beneath the ax the villains did confess . . .[2]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[Saint Theodosius]

593 159 792 rified by such behavior. After his father's death, Theodosius used "to go to the fields with the slaves and work humbly."[13] Later when Theodosius finally escaped from his mother's tyranny by entering a monastery, he became the founder of that school of Russian monastic philosophy which emphasizes self-abnegation and meekness, as well as charitable love and compassion for those who suffer. In that manner Theodosius identified himself and his Church with all those who were tyrannized. But he was also active in protecting those to whom injustice was done. He became "intercessor for many before judges and princes, rescuing people."[14]

152 695 Deep sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them might explain why the Russian juries and the peasant courts were so ready to acquit the repentants. Juries and courts would often set free criminals who were found guilty by well established evidence. The verdict in such a case might be "not guilty" because of "commiseration for the poor murderer." A jury sitting through Holy Week would tend to acquit everybody, because "at the time of our Lord's Passion, it does not become Christians to condemn their brethren."[15]

152 538 Sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them is an outstanding trait of Russian literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Russian writings of those days exhibit a preoccupation with great social, political, religious and psychological problems of mankind. They picture a gloomy, painful, and tragic world, full of misery, injustice, blood and death. In the same manner the school textbooks of those days contained many heartbreaking stories full of compassion and commiseration for the suffering, unprotected, weak.

152 783 538 668 When identification with suffering is a manifestation of revolt or is combined with the urge for revolt, strong feelings of guilt might develop. On such grounds compulsion to suffer and to be persecuted might thrive. This "Russian Kenotism" is found among the early Russian monastics[16] as well as among the Russian nineteenth century revolutionaries and men of letters. Some Russian revolutionary factions, for instance, emphasized sacrifice and martyrdom to the point of self-destruction.[17] In the like manner Count Leo Tolstoy claims in his diary that he, "often

[CONSTITUTION as of 1949]

642 Art. 15. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic reserves the right freely to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Art. 16. The territory of the Russian SFSR may not be altered without its consent.

[701] Art. 16a. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic has its own Republican military formations.

[649] Art. 16b. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them.

[671] Art. 17. The laws of the USSR are binding within the territory of the Russian SFSR.

[641] Art. 18. Every citizen of the Russian SFSR is a citizen of the USSR.

Citizens of all other Union Republics enjoy on the territory of the Russian SFSR equal rights with citizens of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 19. The jurisdiction of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, embraces:

a) Adoption of the Constitution of the Russian SFSR and control over its observance;

b) Confirmation of the Constitutions of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics;

c) Submission of the formation of new territories and regions and also of new Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for confirmation.

d) Establishment of boundaries, and of the division into districts, of Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics and of Autonomous Regions;

e) Establishment of the boundaries, and of the division into districts, of regions and territories;

f) Legislation of the Russian SFSR;

g) Maintenance of public order and safeguarding the rights of citizens;

h) Approval of the national-economic plan of the Russian SFSR;

i) Approval of the state budget of the Russian SFSR and of the report on its fulfilment;

j) Determination of state and local taxes, imposts and non-tax revenues in conformity with the laws of the USSR;

k) Direction of the fulfilment of budgets of Autonomous Republics and of local budgets of territories and regions;

l) Direction of insurance and savings;

m) Administration of the banks, industrial, agricultural and trading enterprises and organisations subordinate to the Republic, as well as direction of local industry;

n) Control and superintendence of the condition and administration of enterprises subordinate to the Union;

o) Establishment of the procedure governing the use of land, mineral wealth, forests and waters;

p) Direction of dwelling houses and the municipal economy, dwelling house construction and the modernisation of cities and other inhabited places; road building; direction of local transport and communications;

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II

The Slavonic soil cultivators, depending upon economic self-sufficiency and cooperative effort in marshy and forest regions, as well as in the steppes, practiced a system of joint-family ownership of land (zadruga system). But when nomadic warriors imposed their rule over the tillers of the soil, the invaders considered the land over which they ruled to be their property and forced the peasants who were settled on it to pay them tribute in grain and other agricultural produce. According to the expanded version of the *Pravda Ruskaya*, for instance, after the death of a *smerd* (peasant) his sons would inherit the land, but if there were no sons the property went to the prince.

It is possible that already at that time some of the Asiatic conquerors occasionally divided and redistributed the land among the peasants according to the changing size of their families, the ability to till it and pay taxes and tithes. This might have been the most expedient way by which the conquerors sought to increase the income from the lands which they controlled. At the same time the peasants that formed a land commune were held jointly responsible by their over-lords for a predetermined amount of tributes, as well as for criminal acts committed on their territory.

The system of joint community responsibility was a well-known practice in the society of steppe nomads. It was especially applied as a means to procure fines and force the payment of debts. In that social system if a wrong-doer was unable to pay a fine, his nearest relatives, and failing them, the whole camp, had to provide it.[10] Therefore when these predatory herdsmen imposed their rule over the farming folk, they might have introduced the principle of joint responsibility as the most expedient way to collect the tributes and to exploit economically the subjected peoples.

It was by such social processes that the non-warlike and stateless society of the Old-Slavonic agricultural folk was incorporated into a military society of power-oriented horsemen of the Eurasian steppes.

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Eurasian steppes. As it had been a long-established practice among these predatory marauders, the war leader who showed himself competent in organizing a successful war expedition or in controlling a certain area would soon collect a considerable retinue of warriors. When Slavicized, the chieftain of such a band of raiders was known as *voyvoda* (warleader) or *knyaz* (prince). His retinue became known as the *druzhina* (band). The most outstanding members among these *druzhiniki* (band-men) and *muzhi* (men) formed an inner advisory body (*veche*) to the warleader or prince and became known as the "leading men" (*muzhi perednie*), or *boyari*. The voyvoda would reward his druzhina or boyars for their services by granting them land and dividing war booty with them.

It is important to note, however, that the boyars at this time received the granted lands as perpetual hereditary homesteads, and that they were free to leave one prince and enter the service of another at any time.[11] Before the formation of the Muscovite Empire, the plains between the Volga and Dnieper rivers were controlled by numerous such petty potentates, each surrounded by a retinue of boyars and other servicemen. Under those conditions there was no possibility of preventing these professional warriors from leaving one warleader and entering into the service of another. The only way for a local prince to retain his druzhina was by being successful in warfare, collecting large war booty, and offering land and villages together with the peasants in hereditary possession to his comrades in arms.[12]

In the meantime another stratum of the population was being formed in the centers of trade, that of the city people or burghers. The nomadic conquerors were not only looters and pirates, but traders as well. They traded in what they looted. When their authority was well established, they endeavored to promote centers and routes of commerce as a means of increasing their wealth. It was in these centers of trade and market places that cities developed. Soon city people became stratified into the well-to-do (*zhitie lyudi*) and the lower urban classes (*molodshie lyudi*). In these urban centers where the warriors became traders the trend was toward concentration of power in the hands of the economically powerful, just as among the professional military

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form an organized opposition; instead they fought among themselves over priority in rank and position (*mestnichestvo*), over estates and crownlands, and over the favors of the Czar.

The lack of unity and struggle for power existed also among the lesser nobility, most of whom obtained their rank not by right of inheritance but by the favor of the Czar or as a reward for their military services. Some of these service nobility were rich in vast possessions, others did not differ much from common peasants in the amount of land they possessed, in standard of living, and in formal education.

Internal squabbles among the landed magnates and the service nobility were weakening the strength of the Czardom in relation to its adversaries. This situation offered a strong argument in favor of the Czar's despotism and at the same time eased the crushing of the opposition in the interest of unlimited power. "If subjects submit not themselves unto their ruler, never shall strife cease in the land," said Ivan the Terrible.[9]

The best way to break the power of the landed aristocracy was by making them economically dependent upon the Czar. This objective was achieved in two ways. One was forceful expropriation, resettlement, imprisonment and assassination of recalcitrant boyars. The other consisted of the increased emphasis on *pomestie* system of conditional land tenure as against *votchina*, or hereditary land property.

According to the pomestie system, which followed Mongol traditions, the crown lands, together with the peasants settled on them, were donated to the holder of an office or of a military rank under the condition of obligatory and loyal service to the Czar, and only as long as the loyal service on the part of the land recipient lasted. The *pomeshchik* was obliged to provide a contingent of soldiers according to the size of his donation. This obligation devolved from father to son. The older sons would obtain from the Czar new pomesties and the youngest son would, as a rule, inherit the pomestie of his father.[10] In the Byzantine Empire, too, the land was given in reward for service, but there the land became hereditary property that could be disposed of at will by the holder. In Russia the system of conditional land ownership meant, like in the Mongol political system, complete

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565 423 701 dependency of the land recipients upon the Czar, because the Czar could at any time withdraw the grant.

642 565 423 By means of the pomestie system of land tenure which prevailed in the second part of the sixteenth century the Muscovite rulers obtained both of their objectives: unlimited power and permanent war preparedness. Once the owners of the estates became dependent upon the Czar for the possession of their lands, any opposition on their part could be crushed easily, especially if the caste solidarity and the development of an *esprit de corps* among these people could be prevented. By the end of the seventeenth century the hereditary land tenure and the conditional land tenure were equalized. As a result all nobility became service nobility (*dvorianstro*), dependent upon the Czar for their lands. All therefore became *holopy*, the slaves of the supreme *gosudar* (master). Neither type of land holder could alienate his land either by sale, exchange, or any other process. The principle was that "He who owned land should serve the Czar."

178 642 565 Thus, by the end of the seventeenth century, by making the nobility economically dependent and having the support of the Church, the Muscovite Czars were enabled to eliminate all potential opposition to their rule and to perpetuate their despotic power. After the nobility was subdued and regimented, the other classes, including the clergy, followed suit. By the end of the seventeenth century the slaves and free land tenants were equalized and bound to the land and burghers were bound to their [486] *posads*. It was prohibited for any person to move from one town or borough to another without special permit. There could be a penalty of death for such flight or desertion.

By this time, therefore, all persons were bound to their status. A rigid caste system was established for the purpose of securing for the Czar permanent and controllable bodies of people whose function was either to pay cess or to render military and state service. The whole state was regimented and militarized for the [641] purpose of the Czar's aggrandizement, defense of the realm and military campaigns; each person had one duty only—to serve the Czar and the country. The whole society was geared to increase the revenues and the military might of the Czardom.

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subjects: coercion and dependency. One such method was to massacre a large part of the population, to loot the conquered territories, and to leave those that remained alive in abject misery. The plunder of the conquered peoples sometimes went to such extremes that they were exposed to prolonged famines and food had to be brought from Moscow to save the remaining populace from starving to death.

When a non-Russian territory had been brought to impotence by such means the Muscovite rulers would settle the Russian people among the natives, dividing the territory into a number of administrative units. The next step was to appoint persons who were strangers to those places to govern them. Following the Mongol pattern, these governors were changed often and never allowed to stay long enough to become friendly with the natives and to develop a genuine local power of their own. As a rule, in one and the same place two personages would be appointed, one of higher nobility to hold the office in name, and the other of lower nobility to control the former. Moreover, special overseers and watchdogs were periodically sent directly from Moscow to spy and check on both.[19]

This system of checking on persons who held high offices was practiced also in the army where large army units were headed by persons of the old high nobility, who were not trusted. To these nominal commanders, officers of lesser nobility would be appointed as deputy commanders. It was often these "political commissars" who had the real power.[20]

Just as in the tribes and states of the steppes the conquered people were kept in subjugation also by fomenting continual dissension between various classes and within each class of the population. The Czar at the same time relied on the numerical strength and loyalty of his personal guards and selected garrisons which were strategically distributed throughout the conquered country. The conquered people, brought thus by the conqueror to helplessness, fell to their knees and begged their overlords for mercy.

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[565] 517 668 former role as main instruments of the Czar's power to a parvenu bureaucracy and military that leaders of first opposition movements were recruited.

Even before and during the French Revolution a number of Russian landed nobility became aware of the ideas of the Revolution. They were also becoming increasingly interested in constitutional forms of government in which they could take part in their own right, not depending upon the whims of a despotic monarch. Some of these people even became dissatisfied with serfdom because of its economic inefficiency. They were also becoming increasingly impatient with absolutism because of its oppressive and degrading aspects.

● [701] Such ideas and feelings penetrated the officers' corps and a number of this military intelligentsia organized themselves into a secret society and formulated a concrete program for constitutional changes.[1] Some of these people came from high nobility. Others, especially those from the South, were impoverished nobles living on meager officer's salaries. In December, 1825 [669] these people attempted to seize power. However, owing to ideological differences and the traditional factional splits within the dvorianstvo, the attempt of this faction of military intelligentsia to gain power was thwarted.[2] Nevertheless, this uprising of the "Decembrists," though abortive, was the beginning of increasing revolutionary activities of the intelligentsia[3] which finally brought about the overthrow of the Czardom in the Revolution of 1917.

[642] 517 177 The revolt of the Decembrists was a sign that the Czardom had already gone through such changes in its social structure that a change in its political system was overdue. The most important change in this structure was the formation of a class which, for the first time in Russia's history, became economically independent of the Czar, and which, though economically idle and not always prosperous, became intellectually very alert and also very sensitive to Western ideas.

In accordance with the traditional behavior pattern of Russian nobility, their reactions to the conditions at home and to Western thought tended to develop in the direction of two opposite extremes. One was that of the "Westerners" who were

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668 In a similar manner revolt was brewing in the bureaucracy
647 and the armed forces. In a system which was founded on the
701 principles of absolute dominance, subservience and uncondi-
554 tional submission, it is to be expected that the civil service employees as well as many officers would be often exposed to caprice, arbitrariness and wrong doings on the part of their superiors. These, too, were left without possibility of redress as were the clergymen. Strong sense of rank and social distance were as marked in these strata as among the clergy.

871 The lay schools[2] were not much different in strictness and dis-
565 cipline from the priests' seminaries, and students in these schools were often as ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and as exposed to the rod and other degrading treatment. The student's parents, who were often impoverished gentry, petty chinovniks, or small traders with meager incomes and big families, were not always able to support their children throughout long years of schooling. At the same time in [555] an economically and technologically undeveloped society with strong traditions of service nobility, there was nothing that young people from such families could do but to enroll at a university or a military academy in order to obtain government office, or to engage in free learned professions. In Russian society of those days these were the only possibilities of obtaining positions of some prestige. Many of these students from impoverished strata had therefore to depend upon public or private munificence to finish their studies. Some of them became police informers to secure a meager income and to finish schooling. Many had to drop out of school because of lack of financial resources.

871 All Russian schools, therefore, on the middle as well as on the
668 university level, became centers of revolt against an order which exposed them to humiliating treatment, but did not offer them opportunities in accordance with the established traditions of higher classes. Hence the higher the school, the more it was imbued with the revolutionary spirit. And the words "student" and "revolutionary" became synonymous.

517 When new laws were introduced and these ambitious and
647 rebellious young men and women finally entered state service
641 they found that in addition to being ill-treated and ill-paid, a

[2] [i.e. in the second half of the XIX th century -- Analyst]

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19
PEASANT UPRISINGS

I

EVER since the establishment of serfdom, slaves and serfs would free themselves from oppressive bondage by joining the gangs of vagabonds, fugitives from justice, army deserters, malcontents and escapees of all kinds, many of whom lived by theft, robbery, and begging. These victims of oppression, as well as many adventurers, gathered along the frontiers of the empire in "no man's land" where they would organize themselves as bands of freebooters, guerillas, and mercenaries, ready to enter the service of rival powers.

In the regions of the lower Don and Dnieper these communities of fugitives of all social classes and occupations and of many races formed elective military governments, known as the Cossack republics. Once they were established, these free Cossack communes served as a place of attraction to all who longed for freedom from oppression or who sought adventure. In these free societies no one was asked any question about his passport, his identity, his domicile, his faith, or his belongings. Everyone willing to fight and loot was welcome, but none was forced to come or stay.[1]

However, by the middle of the seventeenth century in these Cossack commonwealths, there appeared a social differentiation between the old settlers and the newcomers. The older settlers formed a property-owning class known as the "house-owners," and the newcomers became known as the *golytba* (the naked). And it was these unsettled and restless Cossacks of the "naked class" that played an especially prominent part in the uprisings of the seventeenth century and later.[2]

The first part of the seventeenth century, known in the history of the Czardom as the "Period of Trouble," was characterized by the lack of an established authority. The old dynasty had

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is therefore said to be necessary as a means to completely eliminate "exploitation of man by man" and to bring about stateless and equalitarian society in the future.

In this manner any signs of opposition to the Party policies have been construed as "class struggle" and "counter-revolution" which made it possible for the self-seeking and mistrustful ruling faction of the Bolsheviks to eliminate all opposition to its rule, including the opposition within the Bolshevik Party itself. These means and justifications of self-perpetuation in power have been supported also by the contention that the counter-revolutionary schemes of the overthrown and dying classes are encouraged and fostered by foreign capitalist powers.

These imperialist states are said to tend to encircle the "only Socialist country" seeking to destroy it.[2] Contrary to the early Socialist promises that the state will tend to "wither away" after the proletariat had seized power, the Bolsheviks asserted that, after the proletarian revolution the state must become even more powerful because it must be used as a "special machine of suppresion."[3] Thus, instead of satisfying the traditional demands for acceptance in an all-human and stateless brotherhood, the Bolsheviks established relationships of absolute rule and unconditional obedience by monopolizing all social power in their hands. Each and every subject was made dependent for his life and livelihood upon the ruling faction. In this manner, planned economic regimentation, strict political conformity, control of thought and feeling, as well as police rule became intrinsic to the Soviet system of power.

In their compulsive drive to concentrate all power and all social control in their hands, the Bolsheviks dispossessed not only financial capitalists and large land owners, but even small farmers, fearing that these might eventually oppose and challenge their rule. "The medium peasantry is a self-sufficient class; the only one which, after the obliteration and expulsion of squires and capitalists, remains capable of opposing the proletariat," said Lenin.[4]

The need to regiment the peasantry, to break their group solidarity and make them completely dependent upon the government was supported also by other considerations. Owing to lack

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of foreign loans and investments the process of industrialization and of economic autarchy, which was needed to develop military potential necessary to withstand internal and external threats, was proceeding at too slow a pace. This situation made it imperative for the impatient and insecure ruling class to have at hand goods available for quick export in order to buy foreign machinery and to industrialize and militarize the country at a higher speed.

The peasants in the meantime were busy in making improvements on their possessions and in raising the amount of food for home consumption. Increased peasant consumption of food however meant decrease of the crops available both for export and for the needs of fast growing urban strata which were being created as a result of a speedy industrialization. Also lack of regulation of agricultural production meant that planting and sowing were designed to a large extent to satisfy the home needs of the peasant, and only to a lesser extent those of the national or foreign market.

This meant that as long as a large section of the peasantry remained as independent producers there was always a danger that the ruling class might not have at its disposal sufficient quantities of marketable products. And the more the ruling faction felt insecure in its power, the more this potential threat of an economically independent peasantry seemed real and close. This feeling of insecurity and mistrust of the Bolsheviks was manifested in their hatred of the peasantry. "The peasant who has two cows is already an enemy," they would say. Hence the Party hierarchy made the decision not only to abolish the economic independence of the peasants, but also to "destroy peasantry as a class" by means of collectivization.

In their determination to "destroy peasantry as a class," the Bolsheviks first incited the poor and the medium peasants against the "kulaks" and then the landless against the small peasant owners. The Bolshevik agitators took advantage also of the traditional tensions within peasant families and aroused son against father and brother against brother. Thus inciting and exploiting resentments and hostilities between various peasant strata and taking advantage of family antagonisms, the Bolsheviks were able

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

viks say.[57] The bourgeois countries are therefore inescapably crippled and inevitably doomed beyond any hope of recovery whatsoever.[58] The only way out of such an unbearable situation for the capitalists is to "turn the whole planet into a police station, under American supervision."[59] Hence the capitalists prepare for war and imperialistic expansion as the only way to maintain their power. They tend to encircle the Soviet Union and attack it. Therefore, sooner or later "a series of the most frightful collisions between the Soviet republic and bourgeois states is inevitable."[60]

Propaganda concerning the inevitable doom of capitalism is aimed at discouraging hopes for change in the Soviet system. Such propaganda supports the myth of the infallibility and invincibility of the Soviet system; the inevitability of the coming economic crises in the capitalist world, especially in the United States, will lead to the final breakdown of the capitalist system, the victory of the Soviets, and the establishment of a World Soviet Republic.[61] At the same time the claim that the capitalistic powers will resort to aggression as a last hope to save their dwindling system functions as a justification for aggressive diplomacy and strategic expansion; it strengthens the demands for greater sacrifices and deprivations in favor of police measures and war preparedness. The emphasis on the inevitability of war justifies also the increasing centralization of power and "iron discipline" within the Party ranks.

VI

Following Turco-Mongol and Czarist traditions, Bolshevik leaders believe that training in unconditional submission to superiors, identification with the powerful and faith in victory can be best achieved if the whole society is militarized. Militarization is looked upon as the best morale builder. When militarily organized, people are more amenable to control. Also a powerful army under the Party's control strengthens the confidence of uneasy and mistrustful rulers in their ability to check internal opposition and withstand external pressures or attacks. A powerful army is also a necessary instrument for aggressive diplomacy and territorial expansion; it becomes an instrument

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

of international Communism. "In our times," said Stalin before the Seventeenth Party Congress in 1934, "it is not the custom to give any consideration to the weak. . . . consideration is only given to the strong." The Party therefore undertook to drill millions of subjects in the use of arms and to develop an imposing army of professional soldiers.

The need of militarization of the entire population has been reflected in the Bolshevik ideology of total war. As early as the nineteen twenties the Bolshevik military strategist and Commissar of Defense, Mikhail Frunze, developed the theory of mobilization of the entire population and of regimentation of all aspects of life as a means of war preparation.[62] As a result of such a trend of thought pre-military training has been introduced into public schools and many teaching subjects have been oriented toward military thinking. Also the Party has sponsored and supported private organizations to promote physical fitness and military training (*Ossoaviokhim*) on a mass scale.

The need of the ruling faction to use military training as a school of obedience, loyalty, leadership, and war preparedness dictated also the policies concerning the system of military training. Consequently earlier ideas of fraternization and equality of ranks developed as a response to the longing for an anarchic brotherhood were attacked as "false democracy"; instead strict military discipline has been introduced and embodied in minute military regulations.[63] As a result very heavy and hard punishments have been provided for slightest breaches in discipline.

The military regulations now demand unquestionable obedience of the subordinate to his superior, and immediate and literal execution of his command regardless of what that command may be: "The order of the commander is law for the subordinate. The order must be fulfilled without question, literally and immediately."[64] To insure such unconditional obedience the military regulations authorize Soviet officers to use harsh means to cope with lapses of discipline. These include not only ordinary punishments, but physical beatings and even killing "in an emergency, when there is no time to spare." Significantly enough, the term "officer" was discarded and has been substituted by that of "commander."

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

The wording of the Soviet armed forces oath bears witness to the vigor of this discipline and the strength of social pressure brought to its support. In addition to the punishment that may be expected by the Soviet soldier who did not fulfill his duty as expected, or who did not promptly sacrifice his life for the country is, according to this oath, "hatred and contempt of the working people" (*nenavist i prezrenie trudyashchikhsya*).[65]

At the same time the moral authority of the commander has been enhanced by a great amount of educational work and political agitation. The commander's unconditional authority is also consolidated with the help of an elaborate system of ranks, medals, and uniforms, and by the introduction of caste-like relations between the officers and the rank-and-file, a situation which is supported by the general trend in the Soviet society toward differentiation, superordination and subordination, and sharp social stratification.

Accordingly, Soviet practices in military education and training favor different types of schools according to the rank and the class. In the school for commanders the admittance practices favor children of professional army officers. In this manner Soviet military schools tend to solidify the present military caste system and to develop professional classes of hereditary warriors. Following Czarist traditions there is much pomp, ritual and ceremonial in the armed forces. There is also a certain emphasis on mysticism manifested in kneeling, bowing of heads in silence and stress on holiness. All these are means of appealing to emotions, of emphasizing the sacredness of military duty, and of developing loyalty and dedication to the colors.

As a means of political control the armed forces of the Soviet Union are completely centralized and thoroughly infiltrated by Party men. The strength of Party control of the Soviet armed forces is best seen in the degree of Party infiltration of its commanding personnel. By 1934 the percentage of Party and Party-affiliated persons in the commanding positions of the Soviet Army was about 72. The percentages were even greater in the branches which are considered especially crucial from the point of view of security, such as the tank divisions and the air force. In these two branches the percentage of Party and Party-affiliated

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members was close to 85 percent. And as to the top level of the army command by 1941 this top military hierarchy was one hundred percent Communist.[66]

To maintain ideological purity among the armed forces and to strengthen the Party's control is the specific function of the political officer and of the Partorg (Party organizer). The political officers have now regular army training and in the actual fighting, the political officer becomes "the commander's substitute or takes his place when the commander is disabled."[67] It is this ability of the Party to replace any army commander by an army trained but Party devoted man, that is expected to insure absolute control of the armed forces by the Party even in times of greatest stress and defeat. The duty of the political officers is not only to interpret and to propagandize the latest utterances of the Party leaders or the decisions of the Politburo, but to watch for any weakening of enthusiasm, for any pessimism or gloomy views that may be noticed and to combat vigorously any signs of demoralization. The most important task of the political officers, however, is to cultivate martial spirit and to build up morale, thus creating "a psychological condition which sets up resistance to fear of discomfort, pain, or death."[68]

The goal of the Party is to infiltrate with martial spirit not the armed forces alone, but the whole Soviet population as a means of bolstering the morale of the Soviet masses behind the Bolshevik regime. This is being achieved by means of militarization of all public activities. The Bolshevik leaders consider that militarization is the only morale builder in a situation in which the laboring masses tend to become lethargic, apathetic and disinterested in their work. Speaking of the experiences in World War II, Stalin said that in that struggle people got transformed and acquired new qualities which strengthened the power of the Bolsheviks: "But the people themselves in the rear have been transformed, they have been more efficient, less slipshod, more disciplined; they have learned to work in wartime fashion, and to realize their duty to our motherland."[69] Stalin looks at sports and athletics from the same point of view:

We stood for five hours on the tomb while the show went on. The Generalissimo showed no sign of fatigue. On the contrary, he ap-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

peared to enjoy every minute of the show . . . A final remark of the Generalissimo's while we were watching the sports spectacle was that mass athletics and exercises were fine because of their effect upon the populace. He said, "This develops the war spirit."[70]

In accordance with the Bolshevik need for morale building most Soviet institutions have been militarized, including the Party. Thus when a Soviet subject leaves his school and his Pioneer or Komsomol organization and enters a factory, a kolhoz, an office, a research laboratory, or becomes a Party worker, he has been already trained for work in a society which is in most of its aspects organized along military lines. Anywhere where he is assigned a job he might find military discipline and military relationships. In a number of civilian jobs he will wear a uniform with badges of his rank. In his factory or kolhoz he may become a member of a "shock brigade" or a "hero of labor" and therefore an important link in an all-embracing Five-Year-Plan whose main emphasis is on military preparedness. As a Party member he will take his position in the Party pyramid as a common soldier, as a petty officer, or as a higher officer:

> Three or four thousand men of the high command—the generals of our Party. Then 30 to 40 thousand intermediate commanders; these constitute the officers' corps of our Party. And further, 100 to 180 thousand of the leading elements of our party—these are, so to speak —the subaltern officers of the Party.[71]

In a militarized society military language is used in all activities. Military language has always been a tradition in the Bolshevik Party and has been always widely employed by Lenin, Stalin, and other Party leaders. Therefore when addressing a meeting, or when writing in a newspaper or in a literary or scholarly periodical a Soviet subject is expected to employ military phrases, and use analogies taken from military campaigns and military experiences. He will speak of "reconnoissance," "skirmishes," "encounters," "operations," "outposts," "fortresses," "citadels," "maneuvres," "camps," "cadres," etc. and he will be expected to do his duty on his own "battle post." If he rises to the top of the Party hierarchy and if he especially distinguishes himself in his civil activities he might be endowed

Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

665 701 with the real rank and uniform of general or perhaps even with that of marshal.

24
FAMILY BACKGROUND OF PERSONALITY IN SOVIET RUSSIA

I

PROMPTED by drives of destructive aggression and 594 supported by the ideological traditions of Nihilism and Anarch- 829 ism, the Bolsheviks were determined to destroy the family in order to have unchallenged control over the training of children and the molding of their personalities. Their view was that there was not much that they could do with the parents, but that "the children belonged to the Party." Such a trend of thought was supported also by an intense reaction of many people against the old patriarchal and despotic family pattern which existed in the Czardom. There was a strong desire on the part of many family members to liberate themselves from the old practices of parental and marital authority and discipline. It was in such an atmosphere that the Bolshevik Party at first introduced a series of decrees and measures which greatly facilitated the dissolution of family ties.[1]

The Bolsheviks, however, soon realized that the family could not be allowed to disintegrate without dire consequences for their regime which was bent upon rapid industrialization and militarization and was in great need of manpower. Also as a [736] result of wars, famines and a growing number of broken families, there were hundreds of thousands of homeless and neglected children and aged people. Care for these proved too great a burden for an economy which had to use all its available resources primarily for state security and war preparedness. Thus instead of destroying the family the Bolsheviks decided to maintain it but to manipulate it so as to use it as an instrument

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

It was such thoroughly regimented and indoctrinated Party organizations whose leaderships comprised a hard core of violent and unscrupulous fanatics without bonds of personal or local attachment but unconditionally subservient to the Kremlin, that became a powerful instrument in the international aggression of Bolshevism. Promising Utopias to all disgruntled, rejected and disaffected, such parties became the main instrument of the Soviet Union in its territorial annexations, as well as in the formation of a ring of satellite states. The objective of this expansion was always the same: to turn outward the internal tensions, to enhance the economic, the strategic, and the military potential of the Soviet Union, and to increase the power and influence of the Bolshevik hierarchy at home and abroad.

V

New modifications in Bolshevik ideology were necessary to explain such policies. The Communist parties in the capitalist countries are now said to be unable by themselves alone to overthrow local bourgeoisies or to prevent a counter-revolution after capitalism has been overthrown. These parties therefore need active help of the Soviet armed forces not only to overthrow the capitalist class, but also to eliminate the possibility of counter-revolution and to protect the national independence of the newly formed Communist controlled states—the "People's Democracies." This "liberating" and "protecting" role of the Soviet Army and complete dependence of liberated states upon the Soviet Union is a replica of the dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships on which the Soviet Union itself has been founded. The dependent states are expected to be ready to defend and protect the Soviets "unconditionally and without hesitation." Such a system of Moscow-satellite relationships is considered so overwhelmingly important by the Kremlin rulers that they demand that their satellite leaders constantly emphasize even in fundamental state laws their dependency upon and subordination to the Soviet Union:

The armed might of the great Soviet Union liberated our country from the yoke of German fascism, smashed the landlords and the capitalistic anti-popular state powers, and opened to our working

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

people the road to democratic development. Coming to power after severe struggles with the lords and defenders of the old order, the Hungarian working class, in union with the working peasants, rebuilt our war-destroyed country with the unselfish support of the Soviet Union. Under the guidance of the working class hardened in decade long struggles, benefiting by the experience of the 1919 social revolution, depending on the Soviet Union, our people began laying the foundations of socialism.[40]

To emphasize the superiority of the Soviet Union, its undisputed leadership and dependence of the satellites upon it in the struggle for world revolution, an important distinction has been made in regard to the social and political structure of the dependencies in comparison with that of the Soviet state. Though both are said to be the "dictatorships of the proletariat,"[41] the Soviet state is said to be carrying out the transition from Socialism to Communism; the "people's democracies," on the other hand, are said to be carrying out only the transition from capitalism to Socialism.[42]

Complete political and economic dependence of the satellites upon the Soviet Union is ideologically justified by the claim that the general objectives of world revolution presuppose an industrially as well as a militarily powerful Soviet Union as a base. To this primary objective of all Communists local interests of the satellites must be subordinated. Therefore, any opposition to such plans or any hints that the "fraternal assistance" offered by the Soviet Union in the interest of the revolution might not be completely unselfish is immediately castigated as "nationalism," as "opportunism," and as "treason":

> The essential task, that of laying the foundation of Socialism in Poland, can be carried only in close alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union . . . Any tendency to weaken cooperation with the Soviet Union is directed against the very foundation of the People's Democracy . . . Anyone who imagines that the people's democratic state can be formed merely as a self-sufficient body, on a national scale, isolated from the class struggle on an international scale . . . will inevitably sink into the slough of nationalism and treachery.[43]

This system of political, military and economic dominance of the dependencies implies an elaborate system of watching, super-

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Put on the silver saddle,
And lead the horse to my father.
"Dear father, my own master,
"Listen to a civil word:
"Do not give me away to an old man;
"I hate an old man worse than death;
"I can not go walking with an old one,
"I rather stay an old maid.
"I will then comb my hair nicer,
"I will then plait it finer,
"And wind a red ribbon into it."

D. RECRUIT SONG.

12. THE WHITE SNOW.

(*Ne bely snegy.*)

It is not the white snow that shines in the open field,
It is the white stone house of my beloved that shines.
In that house there stands two oaken tables;
Behind those tables sit two bold young men;
They hold in their hands pens of swan feathers.
Near them stands a young girl and cries bitterly.
One of the young men tries to console her.
"Do not cry, my dear girl, do not cry nor grieve,
Thy lover is not going to be a common soldier,
But he is going to join the bold Cossacks of the Don.

[702] The taking away of a young man for service as a soldier used to be as strong a cause for grief to his family and friends, as his death itself, because the term of a soldier used to be 25 years—practically all his life. Therefore the girl is crying before the recruiting officers and all the consolation they can give her is the fact, that the young man will be put into a Cossack regiment—the Cossacks enjoying some privileges over the regular soldiers, such as the election of their own officers, better treatment and generally a more democratic institution.

But the powerful melody of this song indicates another current of feeling, than grief alone. The victorious solemnity and energy of this tune represents the manly response of a young man to his country; we hear in it the self-reliance born in an army which has centuries of victories behind it, which has made the country what it is, and which is ready to go and die for it, when called upon. This bold and calmly strong spirit has already affected even the recruit.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

absolute and unconditional liberty and denial of any laws, conventions or obligations.[2] Ideologies which sought universal salvation and identification with Christ's teaching (Dissent, Slavophilism) had their counterparts in the ideologies which demanded universal destruction and identification with anti-Christ (Nihilism, Terrorism).[3]

Among the intelligentsia a lack of a sense for methodical work, and lack of initiative were combined with preoccupation concerning grandiose and utopian plans on a world scale. There was a noticeable lack of preparation for these programs and a tendency to consider that having made plans was equal to their fulfillment. Such traits were so striking among some intelligentsia that they were given a special name (*Oblomovshtina*).[4]

It is known that a number of outstanding Russian intellectuals have shown a remarkable lack of emotional balance in their behavior. These would often move from one ideological camp into that of their bitter opponents. In ideological controversies no tolerance was shown for the opposite point of view. There was a tendency to treat all in the opposite camp as enemies. "Who is not with us is against us," was the principle applied in theory and practice. Some outstanding Russian intellectuals themselves admitted such traits in their character. Dostoyevsky, for instance, analyzing his own feelings stated: "In all things I go to the uttermost extremes; my life long I have never been acquainted with moderation." Not unlike this self-analysis of Dostoyevsky was that of Bakunin. In his "Confession to the Czar" he said: "There was in my character a radical defect: love for the fantastic, for out-of-the-way, unheard of adventures, for undertakings which open up an infinite horizon and whose end no man can foresee."[5]

According to General Golovine among the army officers there was a "tendency to drunkenness, churlishness and tyranny toward their subordinates," but there were also "many heroes among these negative types," and often a "regular officer showed such readiness to sacrifice himself that his superiors were forced to restrain his excessive ardor."[6] Lack of balance and stability was also reflected in the differences between military units. Often "next to a first class regiment there was another completely worthless."[7]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

of international Communism. "In our times," said Stalin before the Seventeenth Party Congress in 1934, "it is not the custom to give any consideration to the weak. . . . consideration is only given to the strong." The Party therefore undertook to drill millions of subjects in the use of arms and to develop an imposing army of professional soldiers.

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The wording of the Soviet armed forces oath bears witness to the vigor of this discipline and the strength of social pressure brought to its support. In addition to the punishment that may be expected by the Soviet soldier who did not fulfill his duty as expected, or who did not promptly sacrifice his life for the country is, according to this oath, "hatred and contempt of the working people" (*nenavist i prezrenie trudyashchikhsya*).[65]

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> We stood for five hours on the tomb while the show went on. The Generalissimo showed no sign of fatigue. On the contrary, he ap-

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(*sud*). Accordingly, in the mind of these people, the universe and peace (*mir*) were also identical.[28]

Great calamities occasionally befell the Old-Slavonic communities—frequent raids and plundering by the invaders and slave hunters; then cattle plagues and epidemics. These were thought to have been brought on by certain demons and malevolent ghosts, but the Polesie people knew of ways to cope even with such disasters. Contagious diseases were prevented or stopped by means of magic, especially by the magical powers of women. As for their enemies, the soil cultivators of the Dnieper basin were not prepared for any offensive or defensive warfare and were an easy prey for many aggressors. Being not armed, their defense consisted of hiding themselves. They sought safety in impenetrable marshes and forests and even resorted to such ruses as lying submerged on the bottoms of marshes and breathing by means of cane sticks until the danger was over.[29]

Since the Old-Slavonic agriculturists contracted their marriage unions early in life, as a means of labor supply and since they were not exposed to exhaustion of constant warfare, the region which they originally inhabited soon reached its limits of population. Thus, in spite of their autarchic and intensive agricultural techniques and their attachment to the soil, the early Slav folk were forced to leave their original habitat in search of new lands. They did not migrate in a fury and did not traverse great distances like the mounted nomads of the steppes; rather, they moved slowly and quietly for short distances and by stages always keeping in touch with the mother community from which they had sprung.

In this manner the Old-Slavonic tillers penetrated new regions and territories, not by force and conquest like the predatory steppe raiders, but by cultivating new soil along the river basins, in the midst of forest clearings, drained marshes or irrigated steppes. Living in village communities which remained ethnically uninterrupted, they transplanted and perpetuated in their new homes their native agricultural techniques, their beliefs and customs, their family and community organization, as well as their philosophy of life. Thus as late as the twentieth century, the social organization and personality traits of the Zadruga peo-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

From its very inception the Russian state was a military Soci-
721 ety. The military campaigns and territorial expansion were
565 needed in this society to provide land to pay for the services of
181 a class of military nobility whose chief occupation was state service and warfare, not land cultivation. War gave the Czar an opportunity to distribute land grants, to bestow ranks and offices and to win the support of the nobility. At the same time warfare offered an opportunity for the nobles to exert more personal power, to release their destructive urges, and to compensate for indignities and humiliations to which they were constantly exposed on the part of superiors in rank and office. Thus, by engaging these people in constant warfare the Czars directed their aggressive impulses against the enemy instead of against the ruler. The wars were not only a means of occupying a potentially restless and turbulent military class, but they were necessary to enhance the Czar's prestige, to solidify his rule, and to impress his subjects with the idea of his might and invincibility.

723 In such circumstances, prolonged and costly wars were to be avoided. The military nobility, whose loyalty to the Czar was conditioned upon his power and favors, could not be completely depended upon to remain loyal to the Czar under adverse conditions or in defeat. Therefore, in military campaigns the em-
725 phasis had to be put on numerical superiority over the enemy. Another way of fighting the enemies was to frighten them into retreat by sudden and unexpected attacks from ambush combined with wild sounds of the drums, trumpets and shouting, in Mongol fashion. Soldiers and officers were ready to flee if the enemy showed considerable resistance. Their preference was fighting from a distance, or from a place of advantage from where they could annoy the enemy, but hurt themselves least.[16] Hence their most common way of taking cities and fortresses
[726] was by a siege, in the course of which they would force the population to surrender by means of mass starvation, or by provoking internal dissensions and treachery.[17] Small, weak and unprotected adversaries would be threatened into submission by "psychological warfare" methods without even resorting to an open war.[18]

727 In earlier days, the means employed to keep conquered people
636 in submission were the same as those practiced toward Russian

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.[1]

However, from the seventeenth century on, Russia's expansion, which was earlier oriented mainly toward the East, turned westward. The wars with the West which heretofore were mainly defensive, tended to acquire an increasingly offensive character. But the wars with the advanced Western countries were more difficult and much more costly than those with the economically and technologically backward Asiatics. The defeats which Russia suffered at the hands of the Swedes and Poles made it imperative for the Czars to increase the military effectiveness of their country to meet the challenge. This need dictated changes in the internal structure of the Czardom, in the direction of administrative and industrial advance along European patterns. Even before Peter the Great, measures had been taken in this direction. But it was Peter who dramatized the issue by himself going abroad as an apprentice in Western industries to become "the first carpenter of the Empire."

In accordance with such need the old system of administration based on service nobility was replaced by a system of salaried officials (*chinovnichestvo*). According to this *chin* (civil rank) system which was introduced by Peter the Great and which followed the Western pattern it was no longer necessary to belong to the dvorianstvo class in order to obtain state service. On the contrary, any one who served faithfully and efficiently could rise in chin and rank and thus obtain the status of a hereditary or of a personal *dvoryanin*, without even owning land. In this way a new salaried military and bureaucratic caste, entirely dependent upon the Czar, was growing at the expense of the landed dvorianstvo. As a result, the dvoryanin-guardsman, the chief state functionary of the eighteenth century, was replaced by the *chinovnik*-commoner in the nineteenth century. Chinovnichestvo absorbed and replaced dvorianstvo—just as earlier the dvorianstvo had absorbed and replaced boyarstvo. Now bureaucracy instead of military nobility became the main instrument of governing.[2]

This change in the structure of the Czardom, however, was accomplished from above, that is, by means of imperial decrees,

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viks say.[57] The bourgeois countries are therefore inescapably crippled and inevitably doomed beyond any hope of recovery whatsoever.[58] The only way out of such an unbearable situation for the capitalists is to "turn the whole planet into a police station, under American supervision."[59] Hence the capitalists prepare for war and imperialistic expansion as the only way to maintain their power. They tend to encircle the Soviet Union and attack it. Therefore, sooner or later "a series of the most frightful collisions between the Soviet republic and bourgeois states is inevitable."[60]

Propaganda concerning the inevitable doom of capitalism is aimed at discouraging hopes for change in the Soviet system. Such propaganda supports the myth of the infallibility and invincibility of the Soviet system; the inevitability of the coming economic crises in the capitalist world, especially in the United States, will lead to the final breakdown of the capitalist system, the victory of the Soviets, and the establishment of a World Soviet Republic.[61] At the same time the claim that the capitalistic powers will resort to aggression as a last hope to save their dwindling system functions as a justification for aggressive diplomacy and strategic expansion; it strengthens the demands for greater sacrifices and deprivations in favor of police measures and war preparedness. The emphasis on the inevitability of war justifies also the increasing centralization of power and "iron discipline" within the Party ranks.

VI

Following Turco-Mongol and Czarist traditions, Bolshevik leaders believe that training in unconditional submission to superiors, identification with the powerful and faith in victory can be best achieved if the whole society is militarized. Militarization is looked upon as the best morale builder. When militarily organized, people are more amenable to control. Also a powerful army under the Party's control strengthens the confidence of uneasy and mistrustful rulers in their ability to check internal opposition and withstand external pressures or attacks. A powerful army is also a necessary instrument for aggressive diplomacy and territorial expansion; it becomes an instrument

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of international Communism. "In our times," said Stalin before the Seventeenth Party Congress in 1934, "it is not the custom to give any consideration to the weak. . . . consideration is only given to the strong." The Party therefore undertook to drill millions of subjects in the use of arms and to develop an imposing army of professional soldiers.

The need of militarization of the entire population has been reflected in the Bolshevik ideology of total war. As early as the nineteen twenties the Bolshevik military strategist and Commissar of Defense, Mikhail Frunze, developed the theory of mobilization of the entire population and of regimentation of all aspects of life as a means of war preparation.[62] As a result of such a trend of thought pre-military training has been introduced into public schools and many teaching subjects have been oriented toward military thinking. Also the Party has sponsored and supported private organizations to promote physical fitness and military training (*Ossoaviokhim*) on a mass scale.

The need of the ruling faction to use military training as a school of obedience, loyalty, leadership, and war preparedness dictated also the policies concerning the system of military training. Consequently earlier ideas of fraternization and equality of ranks developed as a response to the longing for an anarchic brotherhood were attacked as "false democracy"; instead strict military discipline has been introduced and embodied in minute military regulations.[63] As a result very heavy and hard punishments have been provided for slightest breaches in discipline.

The military regulations now demand unquestionable obedience of the subordinate to his superior, and immediate and literal execution of his command regardless of what that command may be: "The order of the commander is law for the subordinate. The order must be fulfilled without question, literally and immediately."[64] To insure such unconditional obedience the military regulations authorize Soviet officers to use harsh means to cope with lapses of discipline. These include not only ordinary punishments, but physical beatings and even killing "in an emergency, when there is no time to spare." Significantly enough, the term "officer" was discarded and has been substituted by that of "commander."

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of human lives. Soviet military policies are little concerned about systematic rotation of units, facilities for recreation, short leaves and furloughs, regular correspondence with home folks, or with the development of techniques to avoid exposure of men to unnecessary risks.[27] As a result of such attitudes the toll of a Soviet division in war time might come up to 90 percent of its men.[28] Even more indifference is shown toward men who were made prisoners, since "they had surrendered and could not fight any more."[29]

IV

Destructive aggressiveness might become self-destructive unless turned outward. Hence constant internal pressure, intrinsic to Soviet power structure, for aggression against the outside world. A policy of external aggressiveness is likely to provoke external threats against which the accumulating hostilities of the subjects can be mobilized. Successful external aggression is also a convenient way to bolster the prestige of the ruling class and to solidify its rule. The policy of aggression against the outside world implies also the urgency to enhance external security should the policy of expansion provoke international complications.

Early in the development of Bolshevik rule the Communist International and the Communist parties throughout the world have been regimented and employed as instruments of this policy of external expansion, as well as a means of defense against external pressures. It was in accordance with such a trend of events that the Program of the Communist International of 1928, as well as the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International of 1935,[30] emphasized complete identification of the world proletariat with the Soviet power:

> Our road is the road of revolution of the peoples against the oppressors and exploiters. Our will is the will of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Our goal is socialism for the whole of humanity. Our main slogan is the establishment of Soviet power.[31]

In accordance with such need for outward aggression as a relief of internal destructive tensions an ideological distinction

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has been made between "imperialist war of aggression" and "national and class liberation." The first is said to be an "unjust war" of imperialists, exploiters and war mongers, the latter is a movement of the peoples to liberate themselves from the capitalist yoke or from colonial oppression. It is said that in this "just struggle" of the peoples of the world against oppressors the Soviet Union will unselfishly interfere with its armies to help the people to liberate themselves and also to protect liberated peoples from counter-revolution. It is therefore the duty of the working class and of "progressive-minded people" all over the world to strengthen the might of the Soviet Fatherland as "the center of international revolution":

> Being the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of Socialist construction, the land of great working class achievements, of the union of the workers with the peasants, and of a new culture marching under the banner of Marxism . . . the USSR inevitably becomes the base of the world movement of all oppressed classes, the center of international revolution, the greatest factor in world history. In the USSR, the world proletariat for the first time acquires a country that is really its own, and for the colonial movements the USSR becomes a powerful center of attraction.[33]

In order to make Communist parties a tool of this new "Third Rome" ideology all these parties had to follow in their internal organization the Bolshevik pattern of rigid centralism and of unconditional obedience of all the subordinate organs to the higher bodies.[35] Each local Party had to be centralized in such a manner that its leadership was "endowed with complete power, authority, and ample rights" which would enable it to impose "an iron discipline" over its members.[34] All members were expected to accept such centralized Party leadership with absolute power and to "submit to its dictates."[35] This was possible only if "the strictest military discipline" and "unconditional subordination" were established within the ranks of each Communist Party:

> . . . The Communist Party should be organized on the basis of strict proletarian centralism. In order to lead the working class successfully during the long, stubborn civil war, the Communist Party must

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648 665 ●721 It was such thoroughly regimented and indoctrinated Party organizations whose leaderships comprised a hard core of violent and unscrupulous fanatics without bonds of personal or local attachment but unconditionally subservient to the Kremlin, that became a powerful instrument in the international aggression of Bolshevism. Promising Utopias to all disgruntled, rejected and disaffected, such parties became the main instrument of the Soviet Union in its territorial annexations, as well as in the formation of a ring of satellite states. The objective of this expansion was always the same: to turn outward the internal tensions, to enhance the economic, the strategic, and the military potential of the Soviet Union, and to increase the power and influence of the Bolshevik hierarchy at home and abroad.

V

665 829 648 701 New modifications in Bolshevik ideology were necessary to explain such policies. The Communist parties in the capitalist countries are now said to be unable by themselves alone to overthrow local bourgeoisies or to prevent a counter-revolution after capitalism has been overthrown. These parties therefore need active help of the Soviet armed forces not only to overthrow the capitalist class, but also to eliminate the possibility of counter-revolution and to protect the national independence of the newly formed Communist controlled states—the "People's Democracies." This "liberating" and "protecting" role of the Soviet Army and complete dependence of liberated states upon the Soviet Union is a replica of the dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships on which the Soviet Union itself has been founded. The dependent states are expected to be ready to defend and protect the Soviets "unconditionally and without hesitation." Such a system of Moscow-satellite relationships is considered so overwhelmingly important by the Kremlin rulers that they demand that their satellite leaders constantly emphasize even in fundamental state laws their dependency upon and subordination to the Soviet Union:

The armed might of the great Soviet Union liberated our country from the yoke of German fascism, smashed the landlords and the capitalistic anti-popular state powers, and opened to our working

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[726] was by a siege, in the course of which they would force the population to surrender by means of mass starvation, or by provoking internal dissensions and treachery.[17] Small, weak and unprotected adversaries would be threatened into submission by "psychological warfare" methods without even resorting to an open war.[18]

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(*sud*). Accordingly, in the mind of these people, the universe and peace (*mir*) were also identical.[28]

Great calamities occasionally befell the Old-Slavonic communities—frequent raids and plundering by the invaders and slave hunters; then cattle plagues and epidemics. These were thought to have been brought on by certain demons and malevolent ghosts, but the Polesie people knew of ways to cope even with such disasters. Contagious diseases were prevented or stopped by means of magic, especially by the magical powers of women. As for their enemies, the soil cultivators of the Dnieper basin were not prepared for any offensive or defensive warfare and were an easy prey for many aggressors. Being not armed, their defense consisted of hiding themselves. They sought safety in impenetrable marshes and forests and even resorted to such ruses as lying submerged on the bottoms of marshes and breathing by means of cane sticks until the danger was over.[29]

Since the Old-Slavonic agriculturists contracted their marriage unions early in life, as a means of labor supply and since they were not exposed to exhaustion of constant warfare, the region which they originally inhabited soon reached its limits of population. Thus, in spite of their autarchic and intensive agricultural techniques and their attachment to the soil, the early Slav folk were forced to leave their original habitat in search of new lands. They did not migrate in a fury and did not traverse great distances like the mounted nomads of the steppes; rather, they moved slowly and quietly for short distances and by stages always keeping in touch with the mother community from which they had sprung.

In this manner the Old-Slavonic tillers penetrated new regions and territories, not by force and conquest like the predatory steppe raiders, but by cultivating new soil along the river basins, in the midst of forest clearings, drained marshes or irrigated steppes. Living in village communities which remained ethnically uninterrupted, they transplanted and perpetuated in their new homes their native agricultural techniques, their beliefs and customs, their family and community organization, as well as their philosophy of life. Thus as late as the twentieth century, the social organization and personality traits of the Zadruga peo-

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ple, in the plains between the Drava and Sava rivers, showed cultural and personality traits similar to those of the Old-Slavonic plowmen.[30]

In their migration, these early Slav soil cultivators were often able to Slavicize the natives among whom they had settled and even to absorb the numerically small bands of steppe raiders who had conquered them. These assimilated invaders were then often employed to fight against new nomadic incursions.[31] It was in the course of such acculturations, due to migrations and conquests, that in the regions between the Volga and the Dnieper a peculiar fusion of contrasting cultural patterns of the steppe horsemen and of the tillers of the soil had developed. Structural relations, personality traits and the religious, social and political ideologies that resulted out of this blend of the two conflicting worlds formed the basis of Russian society and have been at the root of its political instability throughout centuries.[32]

4
TURCO-MONGOL INVASIONS AND FORMATION OF RUSSIAN SOCIETY

I

THE MOUNTED warriors of the steppes were accustomed to covering great distances on their raids and migrations. After they had devastated and annihilated much that was in their way, they would impose their rule with ease over whatever was left. Then they would proceed to organize nomadic federations, principalities and empires.[1] The political systems which thus arose in the area between the Ural mountains and the Carpathians apparently followed the pattern that had been originally established by the Scythians and Huns in the same territory.[2]

Being extremely self-centered and insecure, a strong driving

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force behind the war expeditions of these predatory warriors might have been their need for self-assertion and dominance, as well as an urge for destruction. They were therefore likely to indulge in sadistic cruelty and in mass plunder, in lechery and debauchery.

It is important to notice, however, that in these conquests the mounted nomads would often invade and settle distant areas without their womenfolk. Therefore, when these womenless, predatory, patriarchal and polygynous horsemen invaded the plains and river valleys between the Ural mountains and the Carpathians, where the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators, Fino-Ugric hunters and other folks were settled, the newcomers not only imposed themselves as political rulers, but it became necessary for them to abduct native women *en masse*, to buy them, or to demand them as a tribute, and make them their wives, concubines, and slaves. Not only the historical records but the Great-Russian marriage customs, folk poetry and other oral literature testify to this trend of events. Marriage by capture, bride price and the use of women as slave laborers figure prominently in all these documents.

At first a great cultural diversity in the society at large resulted out of such a situation. Many early observers of the peoples of this area noticed this phenomenon. Often the customs of the peoples that went under the same name were very dissimilar. The same names covered a conglomeration of tillers of the soil, pastoral nomads, nomadic hunters, and warlike tribes. Some of these people were matriarchal, others patriarchal. Some of them lived in wagons and tents, others built houses. Some cremated their dead, others practiced inhumation. Some were cannibalistic, others vegetarians.[3]

It is for this reason that early observers when speaking of "Slavs" sometimes give contradictory data.[4] Such accounts are likely to confuse a student of early Slav society unless he keeps in mind the ethnical mixture and blending of cultures that was taking place in that area in the course of many centuries. Tacitus, for instance, noticed that "The Veneti [Slavs] have borrowed largely from Sarmatian character; in their plundering expeditions they roam over the whole extent of forests and mountains. . . ."[5]

[3] [i.e. of the Turko-Mongols — Analyst]

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territories. He was adorned with the title of the "Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias,"[4] a symbolic beginning of Russian religious and political unity.

When the Tartars in the beginning of the thirteenth century imposed their overlordship over all Russian lands, lacking an efficient administration and interested not so much in governing as in tributes, they restored to the native princes their old titles and gave them the right to collect tributes for them. In this manner in the beginning of the fourteenth century Ivan Kalita of Moscow succeeded in obtaining a *yarlyk* (charter of privileges) in which the Tartar Kahn recognized Ivan as the *Veliky Knyaz* (Grand Prince). A few years later Ivan also became the chief collector of tributes for the Kahn in Russian lands.

In his function as chief farmer of internal revenues Ivan practiced extortion from his Russian subjects and acquired a great personal wealth. His riches enabled him to purchase entire domains and apanages, and to buy the protection and backing of the Kahn. Seeing the ascendency of Ivan, and following Byzantine traditions of Church and state unity, the Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias moved his residence to Moscow and built a cathedral there, ready to support Moscow princes in their political ambitions.

The expansion of Moscow's power over other Russian lands was favored also by external circumstances and pressures. By the second part of the fourteenth century the central authority of the Tartar Empire, the Golden Horde, had weakened and as was customary in Turco-Mongol society, civil wars ensued among the contenders for the throne. This situation presented an opportunity for power wise princes of Moscow to change their policy of cringing and prostration before the Tartars into that of rebellion and bargain. From now on at times they fought the Tartars, at other times they were again kneeling before them; but they now knew how to take advantage of Tartar weaknesses and how to gain new possessions with Tartar assistance. In this policy of expansion at the expense of other Russian principalities the Muscovites had the support not only of the Khans but that of the Eastern Orthodox clergy as well. Their

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In earlier days, the means employed to keep conquered people in submission were the same as those practiced toward Russian

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subjects: coercion and dependency. One such method was to massacre a large part of the population, to loot the conquered territories, and to leave those that remained alive in abject misery. The plunder of the conquered peoples sometimes went to such extremes that they were exposed to prolonged famines and food had to be brought from Moscow to save the remaining populace from starving to death.

When a non-Russian territory had been brought to impotence by such means the Muscovite rulers would settle the Russian people among the natives, dividing the territory into a number of administrative units. The next step was to appoint persons who were strangers to those places to govern them. Following the Mongol pattern, these governors were changed often and never allowed to stay long enough to become friendly with the natives and to develop a genuine local power of their own. As a rule, in one and the same place two personages would be appointed, one of higher nobility to hold the office in name, and the other of lower nobility to control the former. Moreover, special overseers and watchdogs were periodically sent directly from Moscow to spy and check on both.[19]

This system of checking on persons who held high offices was practiced also in the army where large army units were headed by persons of the old high nobility, who were not trusted. To these nominal commanders, officers of lesser nobility would be appointed as deputy commanders. It was often these "political commissars" who had the real power.[20]

Just as in the tribes and states of the steppes the conquered people were kept in subjugation also by fomenting continual dissension between various classes and within each class of the population. The Czar at the same time relied on the numerical strength and loyalty of his personal guards and selected garrisons which were strategically distributed throughout the conquered country. The conquered people, brought thus by the conqueror to helplessness, fell to their knees and begged their overlords for mercy.

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women as stupid and nasty, conceited and licentious, and as the mainspring of all calamities of the world.[10] But Tolstoy, too, like the Russian popular view of life, did make a distinction between the woman and the mother.[11]

Hostile drives, mistrust and destructive aggression might be revealed also in attitudes towards strangers. These are sometimes likened to animals, especially dogs. Comparing people with beasts indicates an inclination to abase them and to mistreat them. Such an attitude is shown especially toward those who are considered to be "enemies." When talking about the Tartars, the people would say "the dog of a Tartar." In a like way, xenophobia was manifested in the attitudes toward the "thrice accursed Latins," that is, the Western, non-Orthodox peoples.

Perhaps this need to abuse and to destroy in order to demonstrate one's power was manifested also in treatment of those who were abandoned and helpless, such as prisoners in foreign wars, as well as prisoners in rebellions and civil wars at home, or convicted criminals. In the rebellions and civil wars atrocities were committed by both sides, the government troops and the rebels, the Orthodox and the Dissenters, the Whites and the Reds. In a similar manner convicted criminals, domestic servants and serfs were often used as targets of destructive aggression.

Tendency to abuse was manifested also in the relations between merchants and customers, capital and labor. In the lowest strata ruthless self-seeking took also the form of begging. There was a great number of beggars; begging became a widely spread business. Some of the beggars became people of considerable means. Leaders among the beggars would mutilate, deprive of eyesight, and deform healthy men and boys to use them as their instruments in begging. Entire villages, and even some regions were said to have made begging their regular profession.[12]

II

In circumstances where power-seeking, destructive aggression and mistrust prevail any accident may be interpreted as a sign of another person's hostile intentions. The other person tends to be looked upon as a potential enemy. "You mustn't stroke anyone's head—you might get your hand bitten off," said Lenin.[13] And as

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Thwarted in their drive for power and political leadership, these young men and women gave vent to their feelings of deprivation in phantasies and plans of destruction and death.

Much of the sadness, tragic sarcasm, morbidity and preoccupation with death and suffering which dominated Russian literature in the second part of the nineteenth century reflects such moods of despair. The predominance of social and political themes in the literary creations of these people and the insistence of literary critics of those days on literary "realism," that is, that a work of art should be judged not by artistic and esthetic criteria but by its portrayal of existing life and its faithfulness to reality, especially the brutal and dark reality, manifested the same feelings.

Pisarev, describing this psychological reaction of impotence and the urge for destruction before seemingly uncontrollable forces, stated that when men "find it impossible to transform life, their anger at their own impotence makes itself felt in the sphere of thought, where the destructive work of criticism proceeds unceasingly."[6] That the basic drive behind this urge for negation and destruction was extreme self-seeking is witnessed by some other ideas of the same writer. "Every living being," said Pisarev, "is for himself the center and the meaning of the universe . . . his personal joys, vexations, aspirations, and cares, are more important than universal revolutions. . . ."

Starting with such premises, some of the Nihilists refused to recognize any regulation, any moral law, any principle, whether above, external, or within a person as being "absolute." The result was preaching of extreme materialism and individualism, and denial of all "absolute" ethics, of duty and of responsibility, of ideals and of social values.

II

In the meantime, however, the effects of European revolutions of 1848 and the defeats of the Russian armies in the Crimean War (1854–1856) led some of the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia to the belief that the Czarist system was not as invulnerable as generally accepted. These people proposed direct and organized action against the Czarist regime in order to raze it to

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level violence was manifested in frequent beatings of wife and children, and on the rural community level in habitual drunkenness that often ended in brawls and even murder.[18] In conditions which foster human degradation and lack of trust, both self-seeking and vindictiveness flourish. Hence the Great-Russian peasant was inclined to commit atrocious acts of revenge against people whom he considered as his persecutors or who caused him any harm. When threatening with revenge the Great-Russian peasant was likely to say: "You will pay me with your own blood" (*Ty u menya kroviyu svoey umoeshsya*). Killing as a revenge, burning hay-ricks, barns and homes was a common occurrence. The peasants were likely to organize a collective hunt against real or fancied malefactors and mutilate them or put them to death by means of torture:

> For murder and robbery, death of the culprit—sometimes with mutilation by cutting and tearing off of various parts of his body. For horse-theft and grand larceny they practice sometimes hammering of iron nails into the head and forcing of wooden pins under the nails and also merciless beating even onto death; . . . in some instances the case ends by maiming the thief and letting him go.[19]

At the same time the frontiersmen and professional warriors, such as the Cossacks, became renowned and widely admired because of their deeds of vindictiveness and violence. War was a great opportunity for people with such inclinations. As Gogol has put it, the Cossacks found a great delight in "accumulating booty from raided towns, putting the villages and the fields on fire, and spreading their glories by far and wide throughout the steppe" in order "to revenge themselves for all evil and humiliation."[20] There were numerous robber and Cossack songs which told about such exploits, and expressed desire for vindictiveness and destructive aggression.

Destructive aggression was nursed on the patriarchal family level and reinforced by conditions in the local community. Thus as soon as the controls of the authorities would weaken, mass revolts would come into the open. Such a behavior in turn was used by the local authorities as a justification for their strictness in dealing with the peasants:

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Pensa gubernia rose against the landlords with the slogan "Liberty and Land" (*Zemlya i Volya*).[4] Ever since they had been enserfed and bound to the land, the peasants kept in cherished memory the *Yuriev den*, St. George's day, the day when in earlier times each peasant was allowed to leave his landlord (*vykhod*). The peasants' demand for freedom from bondage was as strong as their demand for land. When the ideas of personal, economic and political freedoms started to penetrate Russia from the European West, also, the Russian peasants, owing to a growing contact with the city and the intelligentsia, became affected by them and in consequence revolts were increasing in number. Between 1826 and 1830 there were 41 cases of peasant rebellions and between 1858–1860 there were 284 such uprisings.[5]

It is significant to note that these peasant rebellions became especially prominent and especially widely spread each time the ruling class had suffered loss of prestige, such as in case of defeat on the battlefield. During the Crimean War in 1854 and 1855 widespread peasant uprisings took place on the shores of the Volga, and in central and southwestern gubernias, the Vladimir, Ryasan, Tambov, Pensa, and Voronezh.[6] In these provinces the mir institution prevailed and periodical redistribution of land was practiced. Here also reaction against abusive and humiliating conditions of serfdom was very intense and demand for land became very strong. In these provinces the traditions of earlier revolts were fresh in the memory of the peasantry. In addition, growing density of population and increasing land shortage tended to strengthen the revolutionary attitudes of the peasants. Their hostilities turned against the landlords whom they blamed for all their ills and misfortunes.

II

The defeat in the Crimean War and the internal disturbances which followed that war forced the Czarist government to undertake measures to reorganize its armed forces and to stabilize the regime internally. After being defeated by technologically and politically superior enemies, the Czarist government finally realized that in order to improve Russia's fighting effectiveness vis-a-vis the West, higher state revenues were needed and these

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could be achieved only if Russia was to change radically its economic structure. As a result of such a trend of events and of thought the government passed a decree in 1861 according to which the peasants were set legally free from their masters.

As a consequence of his legal emancipation, the peasant found himself in the possession of less arable land than before, and he was still bound to it. He was overburdened even more than before because he was obliged to pay high redemption dues in addition to the heavy taxes that were imposed on him. Moreover the peasants in land communes not only remained jointly responsible to the government for the payment of taxes, but they were also made jointly responsible for redemption payments. The commune's authority over the peasants was increased and the peasant found himself under an even more exacting and more despotic commune regimentation than the one that existed before the "Emancipation Act."

At the same time the peasant still did not have sufficient arable land. He also lacked pasture grounds and timber which were of special importance in his technologically backward and extensive agricultural economy; most of such land was left in the hands of his former masters. The acuteness of land shortage was especially felt because of lack of artificial fertilizers, need for draught animals, and primitiveness of farm equipment. Many peasants did not even possess a wooden plow.

But though the emancipation act of 1861 still kept the peasants bound to the land, and did not provide them with sufficient land, it did open up opportunities for their economic advance and political activation. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, the peasantry became generally recognized as a potentially very significant force, both politically and economically. It was this prospect of the peasant masses as the leading political power of the future in combination with the Slavophil idealization of the peasantry that gave rise to the ideology of *narodnichestvo* (populism). This ideology idealized the virtues and the creative potentialities of the peasantry, and just as the Slavophils, the narodniki claimed that the reconstruction of Russian society, even of the whole world, will come from Russian peasantry.

By the end of that century a faction of Russian radical intel-

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the peasantry, and appealed to their deeply rooted hostilities against the ruling classes, and against all people of means. In their proclamations to the peasantry they stated that "the land belongs to those who till it." They incited the peasants to appropriate by force hay, pasture, and timber. They also encouraged violence and murder against all those whom they held responsible for their plight.[9]

As a result of such propaganda and agitation combined with economic and social difficulties, peasant disturbances were renewed and increased in frequency and intensity. They led to the events of 1905. That year the government suffered a considerable loss of prestige because of the defeat on the battlefield (the Japanese War of 1904–1905). In such circumstances (the same as after the Crimean War), fear and awe and unconditional obedience—the foundations of Czarist rule—were shaken, internal disturbances ensued and threatened the existence of the Czardom. By this time the revolutionary eruptions of the peasantry were combined with those of the industrial proletariat. Between January and April, 1905, there were about 660,000 workers on economic and political strikes.[10] In October of the same year there was again a general strike.

In that month also a general peasant rising took place embracing three hundred districts in 47 gubernias. Again it was the central and southern regions that took the lead;[11] and again the gubernias in which the landlords suffered the heaviest losses were predominantly those where the system of repartitional land tenure prevailed over the system of individual peasant households and of hereditary holdings. In the communities with communal land holdings the dissatisfaction was greatest and violence ran especially high.

The activities of the Social Revolutionaries in the village were joined by those of the Bolsheviks. By the beginning of the twentieth century a wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party, the Bolsheviks, who earlier scorned the peasants and worked exclusively among the urban proletariat, began to pay more attention to the Russian village. They became impressed by the frequency and the intensity of the peasants' disturbances and realized that the peasantry presented potentially very ex-

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self. And after the army which Czar Nicholas personally commanded in 1917 had suffered defeats at the hands of the enemies, and the chiefs of the armed forces suggested to the Czar that he should resign, he realized that his prestige had fallen and his authority gone. As out of spite he abdicated not only for himself but for his heirs as well. And as it has already happened in Russia's past, when the central authority suffered defeat and loss of prestige, all seething internal forces of revolt, relieved of the controls that kept them under check, burst out in violent eruptions. In such circumstances everybody deserted the Czar, even the Orthodox Church:

> Even the Orthodox Clergy, that class that had been an integrated part of the Czarist system deserted the Czar in the hour of his doom. Showing as much lack of a sense of proportion as the other classes of Russian society the official hierarchy went as far as to pass a decision according to which all lines containing the word "king" in the Psalms of David were to be deleted.[13]

III

All these circumstances, combined with the extreme factionalism within the intelligentsia, greatly facilitated the seizure of the power by the Bolsheviks. All the four national *Dumas* which were convoked since 1905 were composed predominantly of the intelligentsia and semi-intelligentsia. The same situation existed in the leading circles of all political parties.[14] But in each party, self-centeredness and lust for power led the intelligentsia into constant bickering among themselves and neverending fighting for leadership, a situation that manifested itself in numerous party splits.

It was only in the Bolshevik Party that the Party's Central Committee was well disciplined and unified under one leader who had absolutist and dictatorial powers. This sitution spared the Party too many splits. This Bolshevik system favored the reduction of Party leadership to a rather small number of intellectuals who relied on the semi-intelligentsia and industrial workers in local Party work. It was this dictatorial, centralistic and "aristocratic" organization of the Bolsheviks, as well as the extreme ruthlessness and aggressiveness of its leaders and fanat-

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565 517 icism of its rank and file, that gave this Party an advantage over its main rival for power, the Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, in the chaotic days of 1917.

● 727 669 565 Just as it had happened in the past, a weakening of the prestige of the ruling classes as a result of defeats on the battlefield led to peasant uprisings. Almost immediately after the Czar's abdication, that is, in March, 1917, peasant rebellions arose in 34 districts and by June spread to 325 districts. The distrubances were again especially intensive in the upper Don and in the middle Volga, the regions where the tradition of revolt was strong and the situation for revolt matured owing to unsatisfactory conditions within the land communes.

665 669 The chaos that ensued in the village was emphasized by factional strife and indecision in the center. As a result of the fall of the old Czarist regime, the two most extreme revolutionary parties, the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Bolsheviks, entered into a contest for power. While the Socialist Revolutionaries controlled the Provisional Government (since May, 1917), the Bolsheviks did everything to undermine their regime and to seize the power for themselves. In the question of rural policies, the government of Socialist Revolutionaries attempted to stop the outbreaks of lawlessness and disorder in the villages by promising an equitable solution of all rural problems on the basis of laws that were to be passed by a Constitutional Assembly.

[425] But the Bolsheviks counteracted such policies by inciting the peasants to seize the lands at once. The Bolsheviks also deliberately sharpened [565] the existing social cleavages in the villages by inciting the lower peasant strata against the upper. The Bolshevised soldiers, on leave or deserting the front, pushed more moderate elements into the background and led the peasant mobs not only against the landlords, but also against the more prosperous peasant classes. Hence, attacks on *Khutoryane* (hereditary peasant homestead owners) and *otrubniki* (peasant individual property owners) were as frequent as those against the manorial estates.

Many soldiers deserted the front because the Bolshevik agitators told them that the land was being distributed back home and that those who were present would get the choice grounds. The government, controlled by the Socialist Revolutionaries,

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in that family, the new circumstances call for more leniency and more intimacy on his part toward his wife and his children. The mother at the same time, because now closer to her husband, is in no need to become over-attached to her children. Such well-balanced family relations come to closely resemble those in the Old-Slavonic family.

It is the children with such close family ties in an emotionally balanced family atmosphere that develop traits of moderation, self-control, responsibility, group orientation and humane feelings. It is in such families that patriotism, idealization of the past and longing for a more humane and more equalitarian political system are nursed.[28] In such families skepticism concerning Bolshevik mythology and opposition to Soviet system may be safely expressed. In such families also religion is cultivated or secretly practiced.[29] In such families apparently numerous anecdotes which ridicule Soviet regime circulate and are spread throughout the Soviet Union.[30] It is to break such family intimacy and solidarity which breed opposition to their regime that the Bolsheviks have shown increasing concern for the control of family relations.

But if the opposition to the Bolshevik regime centers in such families of patriots and humanists, the fate of the Soviet system might rest upon them, in the final analysis. These people might be reluctant to support a Soviet war of aggression led by careerists and fanatics, but ready to defend their Mother Country in the event of hostile aggression from the outside. However, in a war against the Soviet Union which the patriots and the humanists would interpret as a war of liberation from the oppressive, inhuman and destructive policies of Soviet rulers, they might be inclined to take the side of the invading liberators. Inasmuch as such people already find themselves at the fringes of Soviet power structure as specialists and experts in economic management and government administration, in times of crisis the shift of power to these people could easily take place.

Such a trend of development will be even more emphasized among the oppressed, but nationally-conscious minorities, than among the dominant Great-Russians. Millions of Soviet subjects who willingly gave themselves up to the German invaders and

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welcomed them as liberators in World War II, indicate such possibilities.

III

In studying personality growth in the Soviet society, one should take into account also the differences between the urban and the rural environments and the influences of those environments on interpersonal relations within the family circle. Owing to the very rapid pace of urbanization and low rate of production of consumption goods, most of the families located in the urban areas are exposed to the housing shortage and lack of home privacy. Many of these families live in community apartments in which there is only one room per family and in which a number of unrelated families share a common kitchen and toilet facilities. Family conflicts and tensions tend to be intensified in such circumstances. Lack of privacy, noisiness, and lack of sleep in crowded quarters, together with the lack of sufficient food, long hours of work and unsatisfactory conditions of work increase dissatisfactions and magnify existing family conflicts. An outlet for dissatisfactions is found then in trivial scandals and bickering, in petty squabbles, but also in violent emotional outbursts.[31]

Conditions in rural areas are somewhat different. Though virtually all peasant families live in one or at most two-room cottages, which they often share with a few heads of livestock, yet the rural family does have its own privacy. Most peasant families possess a small lot of land around the cottage, on which they raise some poultry or a pig; some might even own a cow. Though this is all very modest, yet with some labor, after the work for the kolhoz has been done, the peasant family has been able to raise some food on its own property and perhaps to sell it on the open market and then buy some clothing and other bare necessities.[32]

Compared to the situation of the city worker, the peasant, though receiving lower wages for his work, and often going in rags, perhaps does feel relatively more independent. If he is an adult with a family he is much less likely to be pushed around, though he is constantly exhorted by kolhoz officials to work more

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or death" (*povinovenie ili smert*) in their rule; thus terror has become one of the main instruments of their power.

But once self-seeking careerists and fanatical devotees, specialists in violence, conspiracy and vigilance take into their hands the reins of a society which they indoctrinate with hatred and ruthlessness, the value of human life tends to be greatly lowered. In their constant struggle for survival, fear-ridden and extremely insecure, these people are forced to adopt an attitude of expendability toward all their subjects, just as earlier the Anarchists and Terrorists considered that all their members were only capital to be freely spent in the interest of the revolution.

In such conditions the disregard for individual rights and needs, and lack of consideration and of human feeling become generalized and are applied not only in dealings with enemies, but also in relations with associates, relatives, friends, allies and subjects in general whenever the vested interests of the ruling clique are threatened. The orders and the plans must be fulfilled; the victories must be made no matter what the cost in personal freedom and dignity, human suffering and human lives, because it is these orders, plans, and victories upon which the survival and the perpetuation of the ruling faction depends. All those who are in the way must be unconditionally sacrificed. Said Stalin:

> . . . it [is] easy to be a hero or a great leader if one had to do with the people such as the Russians . . . even persons of medium courage and even cowards became heroes in Russia. Those who do not . . . are killed.[26]

This attitude of disregard and contempt for human life when the survival of the ruling class and its vested interests are in question was expressed by Stalin also in his known interview with G. B. Wells. The magnitude of convict labor establishments, the police practices, and the extent of economic and other deprivations to which the Soviet subjects are exposed are all manifestations of this frame of mind.

The low value which is placed on human life in Bolshevik ideology is especially well demonstrated in war times. The Soviet armed forces command does not assess the cost of war in terms

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of human lives. Soviet military policies are little concerned about systematic rotation of units, facilities for recreation, short leaves and furloughs, regular correspondence with home folks, or with the development of techniques to avoid exposure of men to unnecessary risks.[27] As a result of such attitudes the toll of a Soviet division in war time might come up to 90 percent of its men.[28] Even more indifference is shown toward men who were made prisoners, since "they had surrendered and could not fight any more."[29]

IV

Destructive aggressiveness might become self-destructive unless turned outward. Hence constant internal pressure, intrinsic to Soviet power structure, for aggression against the outside world. A policy of external aggressiveness is likely to provoke external threats against which the accumulating hostilities of the subjects can be mobilized. Successful external aggression is also a convenient way to bolster the prestige of the ruling class and to solidify its rule. The policy of aggression against the outside world implies also the urgency to enhance external security should the policy of expansion provoke international complications.

Early in the development of Bolshevik rule the Communist International and the Communist parties throughout the world have been regimented and employed as instruments of this policy of external expansion, as well as a means of defense against external pressures. It was in accordance with such a trend of events that the Program of the Communist International of 1928, as well as the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International of 1935,[30] emphasized complete identification of the world proletariat with the Soviet power:

> Our road is the road of revolution of the peoples against the oppressors and exploiters. Our will is the will of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Our goal is socialism for the whole of humanity. Our main slogan is the establishment of Soviet power.[31]

In accordance with such need for outward aggression as a relief of internal destructive tensions an ideological distinction

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(*sud*). Accordingly, in the mind of these people, the universe and peace (*mir*) were also identical.[28]

Great calamities occasionally befell the Old-Slavonic communities—frequent raids and plundering by the invaders and slave hunters; then cattle plagues and epidemics. These were thought to have been brought on by certain demons and malevolent ghosts, but the Polesie people knew of ways to cope even with such disasters. Contagious diseases were prevented or stopped by means of magic, especially by the magical powers of women. As for their enemies, the soil cultivators of the Dnieper basin were not prepared for any offensive or defensive warfare and were an easy prey for many aggressors. Being not armed, their defense consisted of hiding themselves. They sought safety in impenetrable marshes and forests and even resorted to such ruses as lying submerged on the bottoms of marshes and breathing by means of cane sticks until the danger was over.[29]

Since the Old-Slavonic agriculturists contracted their marriage unions early in life, as a means of labor supply and since they were not exposed to exhaustion of constant warfare, the region which they originally inhabited soon reached its limits of population. Thus, in spite of their autarchic and intensive agricultural techniques and their attachment to the soil, the early Slav folk were forced to leave their original habitat in search of new lands. They did not migrate in a fury and did not traverse great distances like the mounted nomads of the steppes; rather, they moved slowly and quietly for short distances and by stages always keeping in touch with the mother community from which they had sprung.

In this manner the Old-Slavonic tillers penetrated new regions and territories, not by force and conquest like the predatory steppe raiders, but by cultivating new soil along the river basins, in the midst of forest clearings, drained marshes or irrigated steppes. Living in village communities which remained ethnically uninterrupted, they transplanted and perpetuated in their new homes their native agricultural techniques, their beliefs and customs, their family and community organization, as well as their philosophy of life. Thus as late as the twentieth century, the social organization and personality traits of the Zadruga peo-

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subjects: coercion and dependency. One such method was to massacre a large part of the population, to loot the conquered territories, and to leave those that remained alive in abject misery. The plunder of the conquered peoples sometimes went to such extremes that they were exposed to prolonged famines and food had to be brought from Moscow to save the remaining populace from starving to death.

When a non-Russian territory had been brought to impotence by such means the Muscovite rulers would settle the Russian people among the natives, dividing the territory into a number of administrative units. The next step was to appoint persons who were strangers to those places to govern them. Following the Mongol pattern, these governors were changed often and never allowed to stay long enough to become friendly with the natives and to develop a genuine local power of their own. As a rule, in one and the same place two personages would be appointed, one of higher nobility to hold the office in name, and the other of lower nobility to control the former. Moreover, special overseers and watchdogs were periodically sent directly from Moscow to spy and check on both.[19]

This system of checking on persons who held high offices was practiced also in the army where large army units were headed by persons of the old high nobility, who were not trusted. To these nominal commanders, officers of lesser nobility would be appointed as deputy commanders. It was often these "political commissars" who had the real power.[20]

Just as in the tribes and states of the steppes the conquered people were kept in subjugation also by fomenting continual dissension between various classes and within each class of the population. The Czar at the same time relied on the numerical strength and loyalty of his personal guards and selected garrisons which were strategically distributed throughout the conquered country. The conquered people, brought thus by the conqueror to helplessness, fell to their knees and begged their overlords for mercy.

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standards of formal education, low level of agricultural technology, undeveloped means of transportation and too many idle days handicapped the advance of agriculture. In such circumstances the peasants did not even produce sufficient food to nourish themselves, much less a surplus to exchange for manufactured products. As a consequence the peasants were exposed to periodical famines during which many died of starvation.

Periodical epidemics of cholera, typhus, small pox, and other diseases took a toll as high as famines. A low degree of personal hygiene in crowded living conditions also increased the death rate. In addition there was a great dearth of doctors, nurses and hospitals, and no measures of preventive medicine. Equally ruinous were the periodical cattle epidemics due to primitive techniques of cattle raising. One should add to these misfortunes the figure of more than one hundred thousand peasant homes destroyed each summer by fires, many of them the result of arson. And if one considers the widely spread robbery, theft and murder that went undetected and unpunished, one gets an idea of the distressing personal and social conditions in which the Russian peasant lived. It was in such circumstances, left entirely to his own resources, that he developed an ideological, emotional and symbolical world of his own.

17
THE ATTITUDES OF THE PEASANTRY

I

STUNNED by the magnitude of the inimical and arbitrary social and physical forces which surrounded him and completely controlled his life, the Great-Russian peasant felt impotent and helpless. In the family circle if he had to be submissive and he was exposed to arbitrariness of the elder, he also might have enjoyed a certain degree of protection and succor.

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to force the peasants to join the collectives and the state farms. Those who opposed such policies were resettled or banished to convict labor camps. Many were massacred. According to Stalin ten million peasants became victims of this "class war."[5]

In order to insure their complete control over the farming population, the Bolshevik leaders sent the most trusted Party people from the city to the village to manage the newly formed *kolhozes*. These *novye bary* (new lords), as the peasants called them, installed themselves in the mansions of former estate owners and kept themselves at a considerable distance from the rural population, not unlike the former serf-owners. And not unlike the former gentry the new masters were also bent upon extracting maximum labor from the peasantry with minimum reward.

Under such conditions, the peasants, in the first outbursts of their reaction against this state of abusive submission resorted to outward aggression in the form of traditional uprisings. They burnt their crops and slaughtered their cattle rather than collectivize them. It is estimated that almost two-thirds of the entire livestock and a large part of the crops were destroyed.[6] Such a situation affected even the Ukraine, the "granary of Russia" and greatly contributed to the famine of 1932–33 in which hundreds of thousands of people died of starvation and epidemics. It was by such active rebellion that the peasantry forced the Party into a temporary retreat. The Party had to appease the peasants by giving each peasant household the right to retain in private use a small plot of land, and also in private possession a limited number of livestock. Also, private trade in agricultural products was restored in a limited degree.[7]

These were however only temporary concessions, since the Bolsheviks were determined to completely "industrialize" the peasantry as a means of political and economic control. Following such aims the highest possible degree of specialization in farm operation has been fostered and the members of the same family have been assigned to different, spacially separated activities. In this manner the agricultural brigade instead of the peasant family became the basic unit of agricultural production. For the same reason the highest possible degree of mechanization of

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women as stupid and nasty, conceited and licentious, and as the mainspring of all calamities of the world.[10] But Tolstoy, too, like the Russian popular view of life, did make a distinction between the woman and the mother.[11]

Hostile drives, mistrust and destructive aggression might be revealed also in attitudes towards strangers. These are sometimes likened to animals, especially dogs. Comparing people with beasts indicates an inclination to abase them and to mistreat them. Such an attitude is shown especially toward those who are considered to be "enemies." When talking about the Tartars, the people would say "the dog of a Tartar." In a like way, xenophobia was manifested in the attitudes toward the "thrice accursed Latins," that is, the Western, non-Orthodox peoples.

Perhaps this need to abuse and to destroy in order to demonstrate one's power was manifested also in treatment of those who were abandoned and helpless, such as prisoners in foreign wars, as well as prisoners in rebellions and civil wars at home, or convicted criminals. In the rebellions and civil wars atrocities were committed by both sides, the government troops and the rebels, the Orthodox and the Dissenters, the Whites and the Reds. In a similar manner convicted criminals, domestic servants and serfs were often used as targets of destructive aggression.

Tendency to abuse was manifested also in the relations between merchants and customers, capital and labor. In the lowest strata ruthless self-seeking took also the form of begging. There was a great number of beggars; begging became a widely spread business. Some of the beggars became people of considerable means. Leaders among the beggars would mutilate, deprive of eyesight, and deform healthy men and boys to use them as their instruments in begging. Entire villages, and even some regions were said to have made begging their regular profession.[12]

II

In circumstances where power-seeking, destructive aggression and mistrust prevail any accident may be interpreted as a sign of another person's hostile intentions. The other person tends to be looked upon as a potential enemy. "You mustn't stroke anyone's head—you might get your hand bitten off," said Lenin.[13] And as

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665 701 with the real rank and uniform of general or perhaps even with that of marshal.

24
FAMILY BACKGROUND OF PERSONALITY IN SOVIET RUSSIA

I

PROMPTED by drives of destructive aggression and 594 829 supported by the ideological traditions of Nihilism and Anarchism, the Bolsheviks were determined to destroy the family in order to have unchallenged control over the training of children and the molding of their personalities. Their view was that there was not much that they could do with the parents, but that "the children belonged to the Party." Such a trend of thought was supported also by an intense reaction of many people against the old patriarchal and despotic family pattern which existed in the Czardom. There was a strong desire on the part of many family members to liberate themselves from the old practices of parental and marital authority and discipline. It was in such an atmosphere that the Bolshevik Party at first introduced a series of decrees and measures which greatly facilitated the dissolution of family ties.[1]

The Bolsheviks, however, soon realized that the family could not be allowed to disintegrate without dire consequences for their regime which was bent upon rapid industrialization and militarization and was in great need of manpower. Also as a [736] result of wars, famines and a growing number of broken families, there were hundreds of thousands of homeless and neglected children and aged people. Care for these proved too great a burden for an economy which had to use all its available resources primarily for state security and war preparedness. Thus instead of destroying the family the Bolsheviks decided to maintain it but to manipulate it so as to use it as an instrument

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duct of its members in love and family life run counter to the ethics of Soviet Man."[11] The fundamental motivation behind this interference in love and sex life is political control. "Moral corruption brings political corruption,"[12] the Bolsheviks say. It is in accordance with such a line of thought that it is considered to be the duty of one to inform on his or her own spouse. Such behavior is especially expected of a Party member. Therefore "A prudent Russian today hesitates to confide in even his wife too fully."[13]

At the same time while the Soviet family laws and Soviet philosophy and practices tend to favor Party and government supervision of family relations and in some cases sharpen family conflicts, they also endeavor to enforce family discipline over children, and to strengthen the sense of mutual responsibility among family members. The Bolsheviks, however, do not encourage development of the sense of kinship loyalty which might go counter to the interests of the state. The Soviet family laws have broadened the concept of family to all ascending and descending lines and to brothers and sisters. In case any one of these relatives is needy or incapacitated, the others have the obligation of support.[14] Emphasis on family responsibility is manifested also in the provision of the law of 1926 which, contrary to the Russian traditions, abolished the principle of separate property of the spouses.[15]

In accordance with new policy, factual or non-registered marriage which earlier enjoyed state protection was denied that privilege and a decree in 1944 ruled that "only registered marriage confers the rights and obligations of spouses."[16] A decree of the same year ruled that divorce is allowed only in case the wish of one or even both parties who seek divorce coincides with the "government's recognition of necessity to dissolve marriage."[17] Moreover in order to make divorce proceeding prohibitive and marriage practically indissoluble, a long judicial procedure was established. In the course of this long procedure the parties must clarify the motives for divorce and bring witnesses. Also high divorce fees were introduced. And to facilitate state interference, no grounds for divorce were stated or specified in the decree.

However, the procedural instructions concerning this decree

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pected to help the Party "at all times," there is always a possibility of conflict between the demands of the Party and those of the family. Also, owing to a great shortage of manpower and a very low standard of living, most women, with the exception of those from the upper ruling strata, are forced to work long hours outside the home. Many of them have to engage in heavy physical labor. Such mothers are not only physically exhausted at the end of the day, but are often disillusioned, bitter, as well as critical of the system, a fact which is confirmed by a rather high percentage of women in convict labor camps. Such mothers cannot pay sufficient attention to their children.

At the same time great demands and responsibilities placed on parents in regard to the discipline of their children and the interference of the Party and the government in family affairs often causes harshness in treatment of children. Hence overstrictness as well as negligence of children is the result.[24] Such a situation favors both feelings of rejection and revolt, as well as extreme self-concern and destructive aggressiveness on a larger scale and in a more intense way than in the days of Czardom. And since the Soviet system of vigilance encourages family members to inform on one another, mutual suspicions, fears, and hostilities rooted in patriarchal traditions are greatly magnified. Training in self-confidence and trust, and in group attachment cannot thrive in such circumstances. But it is exactly self-concern, mistrust, and destructive aggression that are so instrumental in the perpetuation of the Bolshevik rule.

Unstable political and economic conditions, together with consequences of wars, depletion of rural areas of adult men, famines, convict labor camps to which millions of parents have been confined, have resulted in an unprecedented number of broken families and a growing number of neglected, illegitimate and delinquent children. A number of such children, especially orphans of war heroes, at the age of nine are sent to military schools. Many neglected and delinquent children at the age of 3 to 13 are sent to special homes for children which are in charge of the secret political police.[25] The increasing stress on internal vigilance, together with the pressing need of the political police to feed their vast economic enterprises with cheap

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1
[Ivan the Terrible]

convict labor, indicate that the number of such children will not decrease in the foreseeable future.[26]

Such children are considered to have an ideal background for their training as future specialists in conspiracy, vigilance, and violence. Therefore the children who have been raised in a tense family atmosphere or who have been rejected and neglected by their families form a fertile ground from which the Bolshevik rulers recruit a significant part of their future followers and leaders. But what is the future of a society whose ruling classes are being formed out of persons who have been raised in the midst of harshness, brutality and lack of human warmth or whose desire for emotional attachment has been thwarted?

By the middle of the sixteenth century Ivan the Terrible, who himself was left motherless early in his childhood and was exposed to great instability in his emotional attachments, became a victim of ideas of persecution and of boundless and insatiable thirst for power and self aggrandizement. Driven by such compulsions he undertook to organize a body of fanatical devotees who were bound by oath to forswear association not only with "friends and brethren" but even with their own parents, and to serve the Czar blindly and unconditionally. These *Oprichniki* became renowned in history as a brotherhood of brigands who lived separated and isolated from the rest of society—"men vile and filled with every sort of cruelty."[27] Throughout the day they indulged in savage torturing and killing of suspects after they had attended the morning liturgy. In their wild outrages they terrorized peaceful citizens immediately after their brow-beating prostrations before the Altar.

In the same manner in the Ottoman Empire, the elite militia of the Sultans, known as the Janizaries, were recruited from among the children who were often early in their childhood or boyhood taken away from their parents to be raised and trained in loyalty to the Sultan only. Still earlier in the society of Eurasian steppe warriors want of bonds of human attachment brought about instability and explosiveness of Asiatic empires. Both the Asiatic conquerors and the Janizaries became renowned in history for their recklessness and barbarism. They also rebelled and excelled in insubordination to established

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI .

were directed not only against this cult, but also against that of the Fire and of the Sun.[25] There was no cult of war-gods in the mythology of the Old Slavs nor was there any epic poetry in their folklore.

Unlike the patriarchal, rigidly stratified and dualistic religious system of steppe nomads which was full of tensions and struggles, the supernatural world of the Slavs of Polesie was anarchic, equalitarian and peaceful. Apparently projecting their own social organization into the supernatural world, the Old-Slavonic plowmen conceived it as being composed of both sexes but without a hierarchy of power among themselves. The deities that inhabited that world were neither arbitrary nor corrupted, nor did they fight among themselves for the control over man. Festivals in their honor were celebrated with the accent on drink, song, dance and lovemaking.

Accordingly the Slavs of Polesie did not have to appease their deities nor try to be on good terms with both the bad and the good ones. They believed that after death bad and wicked people would roam the earth in the form of werewolves and vampires; but, they also possessed simple means of protection against these evil ghosts, such as pieces of torn clothes, which were accessible to everyone.[26] There were always persons of both sexes who maintained contact and control over the spirits of evil and were willing to help anyone in distress. Hence the Old Slavs trusted their wizards, the *veshchy*.[27]

According to the religious and social philosophy of the Slavs of the Dnieper, there are some general all-embracing rules of behavior to which all people, all the universe as well as all the deities, are subjected. In such a religious and philosophical system, the deities could not be capricious. They could be relied upon to behave according to commonly accepted rules of conduct and should not therefore be distrusted and feared. It is this optimistic view of destiny and of the universe, in which order and anarchic equity, not sword or might nor caprice prevail, that perhaps had found expression in the Old-Slavonic concept of law which was identified with truth and justice (*pravda*). The same view of life had perhaps found expression also in the Old-Slavonic concept of judgment which was identified with destiny

(*sud*). Accordingly, in the mind of these people, the universe and peace (*mir*) were also identical.[28]

Great calamities occasionally befell the Old-Slavonic communities—frequent raids and plundering by the invaders and slave hunters; then cattle plagues and epidemics. These were thought to have been brought on by certain demons and malevolent ghosts, but the Polesie people knew of ways to cope even with such disasters. Contagious diseases were prevented or stopped by means of magic, especially by the magical powers of women. As for their enemies, the soil cultivators of the Dnieper basin were not prepared for any offensive or defensive warfare and were an easy prey for many aggressors. Being not armed, their defense consisted of hiding themselves. They sought safety in impenetrable marshes and forests and even resorted to such ruses as lying submerged on the bottoms of marshes and breathing by means of cane sticks until the danger was over.[29]

Since the Old-Slavonic agriculturists contracted their marriage unions early in life, as a means of labor supply and since they were not exposed to exhaustion of constant warfare, the region which they originally inhabited soon reached its limits of population. Thus, in spite of their autarchic and intensive agricultural techniques and their attachment to the soil, the early Slav folk were forced to leave their original habitat in search of new lands. They did not migrate in a fury and did not traverse great distances like the mounted nomads of the steppes; rather, they moved slowly and quietly for short distances and by stages always keeping in touch with the mother community from which they had sprung.

In this manner the Old-Slavonic tillers penetrated new regions and territories, not by force and conquest like the predatory steppe raiders, but by cultivating new soil along the river basins, in the midst of forest clearings, drained marshes or irrigated steppes. Living in village communities which remained ethnically uninterrupted, they transplanted and perpetuated in their new homes their native agricultural techniques, their beliefs and customs, their family and community organization, as well as their philosophy of life. Thus as late as the twentieth century, the social organization and personality traits of the Zadruga peo-

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Tver the ancient,
Tver the wealthy,
And the two brothers,
The two bold Borisovichi.
At once young Schelkun
Stabbed his son,
Filled a bowl of his blood,
His warm blood,
And drank up the bowl of that warm blood:
And straightway Tsar Azvych
Bestowed upon him
Tver the ancient,
Tver the wealthy,
And the two brothers,
The two bold Borisovichi.[32]

However, as soon as such "Good bold youths who have robbed and slain" find themselves in circumstances which appear to be unsurmountable, they are inclined to become cowardly, are overwhelmed with gloom and fear, and tend to rely on crouching servility and on guile and cunning as a means of self-preservation. When in such a mood they picture their enemies as superhuman, beastly beings possessing supernatural strength, thus justifying the lack of fair play in dealing with them.

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It is possible that this radical change of social structure was projected into the new folk concept of the supernatural world. The Old-Slavonic fairyland inhabited predominantly by benevolent spirits was apparently transformed under the new conditions into a demonland full of beings with terrifying and macabre qualities. Blood-sucking vampires, heart-devouring witches, fiends that feast on human flesh, and other murderous and rapacious beings similar to those found in the underworld of the steppe nomads replaced the Old-Slavonic helpful deities and moderately malignant spirits.

In the same manner the Old-Slavonic benevolent wizards apparently evolved into rapacious and slaughterous witches who specialize in child eating. The Old-Slavonic beautiful and benevolent water spirits developed into monsters who bewitch people, especially the youths, and then draw them down into the deep waters to put them to death. The Old-Slavonic friendly and

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attractive forest fairies who used to help travelers changed into beastly demons who trick wayfarers into making them lose their way and then cause them to perish.

The imposition of the rule of nomadic warriors over the soil cultivators brought about not only insecurity of life and property, but disintegration of the old ways of life and of the old morals. Social disintegration favored detachment from the group, caused decline in group identification and solidarity, tended to increase self-concern, fostered destructive aggressiveness and anti-social behavior. Hence, drunkenness, debauchery, orgiastic practices, together with robbing and killing, became prominent. According to Fedotov, the old Christian sermons are so full of invectives against such behavior that some studies of Russia's religious life consider that these themes formed the main content of anti-pagan literature of those days.[33]

Perhaps as a result of such social disorganization the Old-Slavonic Goddess of Love (Lada) was relegated into the background and obscurity. Instead, male gods of bacchanalian passion and Dionysiac orgy (Iarilo, Pereplut) became outstanding in folk imagination.[34] A phallic rite was observed at wedding banquets and sexual promiscuity during the feast gathering of young people became prominent, according to the old sermons.[35]

It was under these conditions of social disorganization and insecurity, and ascendency of power-oriented patriarchal system over the old stateless, semi-matriarchal and equalitarian order that the attitudes toward women changed radically. Mounting hostilities generated by conditions of strife and insecurity can be vented not only through inordinate sex life, alcoholism and delinquency, but also by aggressive behavior against all the unprotected and the weak. And just as sex life tended to take the form of lechery, and love that of uncontrolled passion, the attitudes toward the women changed from respect and reserve to that of scorn and contempt. They came to be looked upon as impure and unclean physically and morally.[36]

It is possible that the new unsatisfactory social conditions might have also affected the concept of the Christian God and attitude toward death. Not only did popular imagination in conditions of disorganization and insecurity tend to see in this

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the peasant tended to conceive of every man as a dangerous fellow. "Ruddy or red, the man is dangerous" (*Ryzhyi da krasnyi chelovek opasnyi*), he would say. He did not think he could expect any help from man. "Do not expect any good from a human being," he would advise. And between a living man and a dead one, he thought that the latter was preferred. "No evil comes from a dead man, and no good comes from a living one," he would assert. Many Great-Russian folk sayings emphasize the need for silence, or the necessity to spare words, so that one may not betray himself and let the others take advantage of him. "Do not say every word! Do not reveal every little thought when people are near!" these maxims caution. They also warn: "Do not believe every talk, do not tell every truth!"[12]

But such a lack of faith in human beings might lead to the resolution that one is quite justified to take advantage of everyone else, since all others would do the same to him. Thus social isolation and mistrust tended to reinforce self-seeking and encourage the use of all means to achieve one's personal ends: "Lie began with the world and with the world it will die," the peasants would say. They concluded that since "Man lives by falsehood, we too should not remain behind." Their advice therefore was: "Do not mourn for truth, make terms with falsehood"; "It is by falsehood that men live."[13]

The Great-Russian peasant was accordingly often forced to rely on deliberate deceit as a means of survival in a hostile, distrustful, and unreliable world. He did not consider it necessary to have any respect for agreements, contract obligations or given pledges. He tended to be crafty even in his dealings with God and saints. When committing sinful acts at home he would cover his icons. A number of Russian folk tales are concerned with cunning and show how profitable it might be for one to resort to such means.[14] Heroes in folk epics are addicted to deceit and are condoned for their deeds of guile. Merchants in peasant villages almost invariably used false weights and measures. Perjury was so frequent that there were people whose sole profession it was to swear falsely.[15]

While in such an aggressive mood the peasant was inclined to evoke to his help the dark forces. As a result there was a great

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demand for the witches (*vedma*) and wizards (*znakhar*), persons who dealt in black magic. One bought their services both as protection from his enemies and as a means of attack on them. In this manner the dealers in black magic who were a means of protection and attack were also an added threat in life. Some knowledge of defensive and offensive magic became therefore indispensable for everybody.

Destructive urges which developed in such conditions were manifested also in the idea that it was possible for one, if he so wished, to turn into vampire in order to bring evil upon his enemies or to suck their blood. Any wizard or witch by using a spell (*zagovor*) was able to transform a man into a vampire. Such men, transformed into ghost-beasts, would then deal their terrible blows on their enemies, slaking on their victims their thirst for blood.[16]

These same conditions fostered crime, particularly theft, robbery and murder. Some of the sayings, for instance, condone theft and even robbery, particularly if they were done cleverly and the perpetrators escaped being caught. That crime was not only a means of personal gain but also a means of protest against existing conditions is witnessed by those folk proverbs which rationalize or justify theft on the ground that those from whom it was stolen were likely to be much more guilty than the thieves themselves. "He who stole sinned once; those from whom it was stolen sinned ten times." The same motivation might be seen in the inclination to put the blame on the informers more than on the thieves. "Not he who steals, but he who leads is a thief," they would say.[17] Backed by such philosophy of life and favored by existing conditions, crime became widespread. And since in that society force was identified with law, violence was often justified as a means to secure the property of others, especially in times of war. "What is taken by force is sacred," the people would say.

Since the conditions in the patriarchal family and in the stratified local community fostered destructive aggression, and since violence was widely used by all the authorities, the peasant manifested a strong inclination toward violence, whenever this expression of his protest could go unpunished. On the family

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God a wrathful, irate and revengeful Old Man, but the Church leaders themselves, affected by the conditions of their society, were inclined to emphasize the fear aspect of the Christian God rather than his love and compassion. They also tended to preoccupy themselves with death, describing it as a terror-striking event. In some early Church sermons even the messengers of God, the angels, were represented in a terrifying manner:

> Then, two angels appear, sent by God for the soul. As soon as the soul has seen them, it will be horrified; all its image and beauty and face will change; feet and hands will be torpid, and the hearing as with the tongue will be chained by silence; and man will be all sorrowful and invalid and woeful; and afterwards, appears death. And then, with a terrible pain the soul will issue from the body . . .[37]

These feelings of anxieties and fears, combined perhaps with a strong sense of guilt of the Church leaders, are manifested in the life histories of most Russian saints. These people, as portrayed in their hagiographies, were being constantly threatened by temptations and intimidations of dreadful demons. Hallucinations about demons became very frequent among the monks, and struggle against demons became one of the main aspects of ascetic life. Whole herds of these fiends were sometimes seen by the ascetics. The demons would disguise themselves as humans, as angels, and even as Christ, or they would appear in their true beastly form.[38]

Consistent with this gloomy and terrifying view of life and death was also an apocalyptic picture of the end of the world as pictured by Church leaders. According to the old Russian sermons the end of the world was very near and it was to ensue in fire and floods of blood brought about by a wrathful and revengeful God, (a picture that strongly reminds one of the vision of the end of the world found in the beliefs of the steppe nomads of Central Asia):

> Then undying fire will flow from the East to the West, devouring mountains, stones, trees, and the sea. The firmament will be dried up and turned like brick bats, and all existing things, except men, will melt in a like way by the rate of the fire. All the earth will be burned; and through this undying fire all mankind has to pass.

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565 154 [761] *(S bedoyu ne perekoryaisya, terpi!)*. And then if life is all suffering, why be afraid of death, he would ask himself. "Be afraid to live, do not be afraid to die! To live is more terrible than to die"; "We do not rejoice in life, but in death."[10]

565 785 788 Identification with suffering and preoccupation with death which has been conditioned by family experiences and reinforced on the community level led the Russian peasants to practice long and hard fasts, and to undertake difficult pilgrimages to far off places of worship. "There is only one salvation, fast and prayer"; "We don't live on bread, but on prayer" they would say. Long and hard fasting and prayer of the Great-Russian peasants were not only manifestations of his identification with suffering and his feeling of helplessness and complete dependency upon superior forces, but were perhaps also expressions of his tendency to completely retire from an unsatisfactory and an unhappy world.

792 156 The extremes of this suffering and withdrawal from the world were reached by anchorites who sought complete solitude in wild deserts "far away from men," and by those hermits who lived self-buried in the catacombs, away not only from man, but also from the light of day. Such people enjoyed among the peasants the fame of saints and were believed to possess miraculous powers. Many peasants would make vows of pilgrimage to places where such people lived self-buried, isolated and withdrawn from all human contact.

III

565 156 The peasant's complete submission to unpredictable and arbitrary forces was enhanced because of the lack of solidarity among the peasants themselves. After the peasant had been subjected to arbitrary regimentation and to permanent policing on the part of the authorities, he began to lose faith not only in the authorities but in his fellow peasants as well. Thus mistrust and suspiciousness rooted in patriarchal relations were heightened. In such circumstances the peasant became increasingly distrustful of his neighbors, tended to withdraw within his own family and to become himself ready to spy on others.[11]

In such conditions when isolated, helpless and self-oriented,

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parents and brothers, and with her sisters-in-law was not any brighter. In folk sayings the father-in-law is often referred to as "worse than a dog," and the mother-in-law as a "wicked satan." Her expectations about the treatment on the part of other in-laws were not more cheerful, as witnessed by the folk songs.[13]

When married, she soon realized that "before the husband the wife is always guilty" (*Pered muzhem zhena vsegda vinovata*). And there was no one to whom to complain or from whom to seek comfort. Her own parents and brothers were "far away" or indifferent to her fate, now that she was "cut off from the loaf" and belonged to another family. And if she did not develop an attachment to her husband or to her children, she might have sought an escape from such a difficult emotional situation in extra-marital love affairs; or in fantasies about such affairs. The Great-Russian folk songs are abundant with such themes and often justify these liaisons as a need for love and attachment which was denied to the bride in the home of the husband.[14] Extreme husband-wife antagonism as expressed by murder is occasionally the theme of Great-Russian religious sagas and more frequently the theme of folk tales[15] and of folk songs:

Against my will was I married;
I have taken an evil wife,
An evil one, not to my liking,
Neither in feeling nor in thought.
Lovingly live with her—that will I not.
Across the stream will I go,
Love will I make to the girls.
As for that wife of mine
I will go pray for her death.
Along the bank of the stream
Death, the beautiful, goes.
"Ho there! My beautiful Death!
Turn thee back again, Death!
Make an end of my wife."
Scarce had I spoken—when Death
Began her work with my wife.
Scarce had I time to look around—
Shrouded in linen white was her corpse
Struck was the stroke on the bell.[16]

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771 829 will live eternally. Yes, Lenin lives, his spirit is immortal—his idea is eternal—the leaves of his wonder books are imperishable.[36]

● 769 643 Lenin is represented not only as the architect of a promised world, but also as a prophet, all of whose prophecies have come to pass (*svershayutsya vse prorochestva Lenina*). There is an officially sponsored cult of Lenin which is propagated by means of many legends that surround his life, his activities, his martyrdom, and his death. He lies mummified in a mausoleum where thousands of pilgrims daily come to worship him. And throughout the country there are numerous Lenin's museums which, like the churches, remind the faithful of the omnipresence of Lenin's spirit. It is the aim of the ruling hierarchy to make their subjects incorporate in their conscience the image of a holy, infallible, and immortal Lenin in whose name the Bolsheviks will be able to make great demands:

> Here everything is eternal,
> Here everything is holiness
> Here sleeps a great Man—
> He and the people are inseparable
> He is—the Conscience of my Motherland.[37]

771 643 Accordingly, as in its worship of Lenin, the Party of the Bolsheviks is tireless in propagating the cult and the iconolatry of Stalin, who is pictured as Lenin's best pupil, as his closest friend and collaborator, and as his legitimate successor. In poems dedicated to him, Stalin is acclaimed as the "master of the entire world"; he is pictured as foreseeing the coming events and disasters, as possessing miraculous powers and life-giving qualities, and as being able to conquer death itself.[38]

With the death of Stalin, the Party is faced with the problem of molding the image of a new Leader with God-like qualities and patriarchal prerogatives. The Soviet press is now picturing Malenkov, one of the present top Party men, as being the pupil of Lenin and comrade-in-arms of Stalin. It is by means of such filiation that a new ruler acquires the attributes of the old deities.

ooo Building on the traditional role of the Father in the Russian

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to bring about an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men on a global scale. Seeking to realize these bi-polar objectives, the Bolsheviks have inherited and reinforced the basic contradictions and conflicts between the aspirations of the rulers and those of the subjects which have throughout centuries undermined the stability of Czardom.

In their effort to perpetuate themselves in power, the Bolsheviks had to remain organized as a ruling elite of professional conspirators and to reinforce dominance-submission relationships in a system of total power concentrated in their hands. To maintain such a political rule, the Bolsheviks had to introduce a system of total dependence of all upon the holders of power and thus to reinforce the attitudes of self-effacement. They also established a planned system of social differentiation and isolation to prevent social intimacy and group solidarity and hence the potentiality of organized opposition to their rule.

In such conditions, feelings of rejection and traditional longings for an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men have been greatly strengthened among the subjects. It is this situation that points out the fundamental weakness of the Soviet system. To counteract the effects of this basic vulnerability of their regime, the Bolsheviks have endeavored to deify the Soviet rulers, have resorted to the damnation and anathema of the Western world, and have embarked on a propaganda campaign for a Messianic redemption of all suffering and exploited humanity. In this manner, the Bolsheviks have been able to appeal to supra-ethnical and supra-personal loyalties and to all-human longings, not unlike a universal church.

The Bolsheviks have also endeavored to build up the morale of their subjects by means of prestige projects, by mythical undertakings, by mass pageantry, mass unanimous voting and large scale militarization. All these devices are conceived as ways to provoke emotional identification of the masses with the Soviet State and to find in this identification a substitute for their yearnings for a community of free and equal men.

Total dominance and total submission relationships which have to be maintained to perpetuate this conspiratorial system of power have introduced other basic strains and stresses in the

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need for personal responsibility is stressed in these sayings: "No one is to blame. He is to blame himself"; "For a good man all goes well."[21] And when they quarrel they are not expected to become vindictive, but to forget and say "Words are like wind."[22]

These people are very fond of intoxicating drink which in their society seems to be a way to increase sociability and channel aggressiveness rather than a means of escape. They drink in groups, not alone, and then they sing and dance and appeal to Lada, who was the Goddess of Love in their heathen past. They tend to turn even sad and mournful events into occasions for merry-making and are inclined to minimize fear of death.[23]

II

Interpersonal relations and philosophy of life of the early Slav plowmen seem to have been projected into their supernatural world. According to the early beliefs of these people, the universe was governed by a great many deities, fairies and spirits. Most of these supernatural beings were pictured as benevolent, some mildly malevolent. They lived in families and had children. They could be found everywhere: in the house as well as in the lakes and rivers; they could be seen swinging from every plant and tree: or heard singing and handclapping in every barn and on every threshing floor. Until very recently, the Bielorussian peasant could see the sun dancing if he got up early in the morning on a certain day of the year.

The whole cosmic view of the early Slav agriculturist seems to have consisted of pantheism and animism. All nature was possessed of spirits that behaved like human beings. Human beings themselves were identified with nature, with animals and plants. This identification of man and nature found its expression, for instance, in personal names which were those of seasons and natural spectacles, of trees, flowers and fruits, birds and other animals. These semi-matriarchal plowmen also apparently practiced a special cult of Mother Earth and of Rozhanitsy—the female beings who presided over the birth and destiny of man. Sacrificial meals were offered to these fairy-like spirits, consisting of meatless dishes.[24] The sermons of the first Christian missionaries

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attractive forest fairies who used to help travelers changed into beastly demons who trick wayfarers into making them lose their way and then cause them to perish.

The imposition of the rule of nomadic warriors over the soil cultivators brought about not only insecurity of life and property, but disintegration of the old ways of life and of the old morals. Social disintegration favored detachment from the group, caused decline in group identification and solidarity, tended to increase self-concern, fostered destructive aggressiveness and anti-social behavior. Hence, drunkenness, debauchery, orgiastic practices, together with robbing and killing, became prominent. According to Fedotov, the old Christian sermons are so full of invectives against such behavior that some studies of Russia's religious life consider that these themes formed the main content of anti-pagan literature of those days.[33]

Perhaps as a result of such social disorganization the Old-Slavonic Goddess of Love (Lada) was relegated into the background and obscurity. Instead, male gods of bacchanalian passion and Dionysiac orgy (Iarilo, Pereplut) became outstanding in folk imagination.[34] A phallic rite was observed at wedding banquets and sexual promiscuity during the feast gathering of young people became prominent, according to the old sermons.[35]

It was under these conditions of social disorganization and insecurity, and ascendency of power-oriented patriarchal system over the old stateless, semi-matriarchal and equalitarian order that the attitudes toward women changed radically. Mounting hostilities generated by conditions of strife and insecurity can be vented not only through inordinate sex life, alcoholism and delinquency, but also by aggressive behavior against all the unprotected and the weak. And just as sex life tended to take the form of lechery, and love that of uncontrolled passion, the attitudes toward the women changed from respect and reserve to that of scorn and contempt. They came to be looked upon as impure and unclean physically and morally.[36]

It is possible that the new unsatisfactory social conditions might have also affected the concept of the Christian God and attitude toward death. Not only did popular imagination in conditions of disorganization and insecurity tend to see in this

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God a wrathful, irate and revengeful Old Man, but the Church leaders themselves, affected by the conditions of their society, were inclined to emphasize the fear aspect of the Christian God rather than his love and compassion. They also tended to preoccupy themselves with death, describing it as a terror-striking event. In some early Church sermons even the messengers of God, the angels, were represented in a terrifying manner:

> Then, two angels appear, sent by God for the soul. As soon as the soul has seen them, it will be horrified; all its image and beauty and face will change; feet and hands will be torpid, and the hearing as with the tongue will be chained by silence; and man will be all sorrowful and invalid and woeful; and afterwards, appears death. And then, with a terrible pain the soul will issue from the body . . .[37]

These feelings of anxieties and fears, combined perhaps with a strong sense of guilt of the Church leaders, are manifested in the life histories of most Russian saints. These people, as portrayed in their hagiographies, were being constantly threatened by temptations and intimidations of dreadful demons. Hallucinations about demons became very frequent among the monks, and struggle against demons became one of the main aspects of ascetic life. Whole herds of these fiends were sometimes seen by the ascetics. The demons would disguise themselves as humans, as angels, and even as Christ, or they would appear in their true beastly form.[38]

Consistent with this gloomy and terrifying view of life and death was also an apocalyptic picture of the end of the world as pictured by Church leaders. According to the old Russian sermons the end of the world was very near and it was to ensue in fire and floods of blood brought about by a wrathful and revengeful God, (a picture that strongly reminds one of the vision of the end of the world found in the beliefs of the steppe nomads of Central Asia):

> Then undying fire will flow from the East to the West, devouring mountains, stones, trees, and the sea. The firmament will be dried up and turned like brick bats, and all existing things, except men, will melt in a like way by the rate of the fire. All the earth will be burned; and through this undying fire all mankind has to pass.

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There will be no place to run and hide oneself; it will be woe and pain without comfort, particularly for the repenting sinners. They will see the anger of God, full of rage and wrath, bearing the woe of revenge.[89]

Also the folk religious poetry began to emphasize the gloomy aspects of *post-mortem* life, especially that of the *Strashny Sud*—The Terrible Judgment. It was perhaps in such conditions that Destiny, together with the Truth, became dissociated from the idea of a supreme Justice that reigned everywhere and came to be looked upon as being subject to the caprice of arbitrary and uncontrollable forces that now dominated the Universe.

Such circumstances might have meant quick disintegration of this society, not unlike the rapid dissolution of the Turco-Mongol empires, had it not been for agents that favored the stabilization and the perpetuation of this social system in spite of its internal weaknesses. One of the most important instruments in this process of social consolidation was the Byzantine Church.

5
THE BYZANTINE CHURCH AND MUSCOVITE MILITARY THEOCRACY

I

FOLLOWING the traditions established by the Roman Caesars, the Emperor of Byzantium (Basileus) was looked upon as the supreme war-lord, the sole legislator, and the chief justice, as well as the universal ruler. Therefore, the Church, which was subjected to the absolute and autocratic will of the Emperor, developed a religious ideology in accordance with the dominant political philosophy and practices of the Empire.

The Emperor assumed the duty of defending the Church, combating heresy, and spreading Orthodox faith throughout all the globe. In return, God had promised him universal dominion

1 [cf. ref. 116, pp. 52-55--Analyst]

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795 over the whole earth.[1] Through the support of the Church the
●771 absolute power of the Emperor became sacred, all-comprising
779 and omnipresent. In the proclamation which announced his
643 reign after he has been solemnly anointed by the Patriarch it was stated that he "proceeded from God, and not from man," and that to him, the "supreme master of the universe, absolute obedience was due from all."[2]

795 It was this Messianic ideology of politico-religious proselytism
797 and world salvation which had united the Church and the state
177 that helped Byzantium to solidify its rule and to spread its influence and control over the neighboring countries. In conquered, dependent and friendly territories numerous bishoprics of Eastern rite were established whose function was to obtain the moral support of the people for the Byzantine ruler. The conquered people were allowed a certain degree of autonomy in their internal affairs and one of their privileges was the right of the use of their native language in church rituals.

This politico-religious expansionism, however, had its weaknesses. The only tie that linked the subjected and the dependent peoples with the central power was the Church. Thus, as soon as the central power and the authority of the Byzantine Emperor weakened as a result of internal feuds, palace revolutions, civil wars, and invasions, some petty local potentates saw a chance to emancipate themselves from Constantinople and proclaim themselves as sovereign rulers. Such a local lord following Byzantine traditions would appoint from his own kinsmen bishops and Patriarchs whose function was to anoint the new king, to bestow upon him God-like qualities, and to sanctify his despotic rule among the subjects.

795 It is this pattern of Church and state relations that also devel-
797 oped between Byzantium and Russia by the end of the tenth
648 century, when as a result of a political alliance with Byzantium Prince Vladimir of Kiev was converted to Christianity.[3] A Greek
793 Metropolitan and a number of Greek Orthodox bishops were subsequently sent to Russia. Having an eye on the control of all other Russian principalities, the Byzantine Church bestowed upon the Metropolitan of Kiev the authority over all Russian

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of the Czar, they became increasingly rank-conscious, domineering and abusive toward all lower in rank or under their power.[12]

Such a ruling class, with its open misrule and arbitrariness, could not inspire the subjected classes with confidence and respect. The lack of social and political security was manifested in want of initiative, in disinterest in productive activities, in loose morals, in hazard games, in a low value of human life, and in a general lack of trust.[13]

On the other hand, perhaps as a reaction to these conditions of insecurity and of social disorganization, there was an urge of complete renunciation of the world and its strife, an urge to detach oneself from the group, a tendency to isolate oneself completely from human society and seek personal consolation and personal salvation in religion. This trend of social withdrawal and self-oriented feelings brought about a great development of hermitism and of monastic life. Many of these people, completely detached from human society and preoccupied exclusively with their own self, sought peace and communion with God in lonely, remote depths of forests, in the solitude of the wilds and deserts. Here "far removed from men" they spent their lives in prayer, fasting and self-maceration.

At the same time the masses of the people who lived in great misery and who were exposed to arbitrariness, exploitation, and other forms of oppression on the part of the mighty, sought consolation and hope in supernatural forces. Beliefs in miraculous powers of wonder-working icons and in life-giving properties of the Cross were taking deep roots. On all sides sprang up prophecies and apparitions. Saint men and prophets, often mentally unbalanced, would appear in the streets and openly voice their protest against the Czar and his government.[14]

These were the only signs of an open opposition to the existing system that was becoming increasingly unbearable. Such "idiots" were considered saintly by the people not only because of their strange behavior and their ability to endure extremes of hardship, but also for their unheard of courage to speak openly against the Czar:

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ture was detrimental to the development of trade and industry. For centuries its economy remained founded on a system of primitive agriculture. Lack of large centers of trade and industry adversely affected rural economy. There was no stimulation for agricultural improvements and for freeing of the serfs. Instead, the emphasis was on the exploitation of serf labor as the most expedient means to satisfy the demands of the landlords and of the state. The landlords were mostly absent on military campaigns or other state duties and were generally disinterested in land improvements. At the same time the system of using the land as a pay for military or other state services, in a country whose war campaigns and military contingents were increasing, tended to diminish the size of the donations and increase the burdens imposed on the serfs.

The lack of urbanization, together with the low standard of education of the service nobility, kept also the intellectual development of Russia far behind that in the West. Intellectual activity was limited mainly to the court circles. The ideology and practices of the Russian Church favored intellectual stagnation. Russia accepted Christianity from Byzantium after the Greek Church had already given up classical traditions of Hellenism. By the time Byzantine Christianity entered Russia, Byzantine literature had assumed an almost exclusively ecclesiastical character, and education consisted almost entirely of religious teaching and the reading of the lives of the saints. Art, too, became exclusively religious and stereotyped. All thought was regimented according to religious dogmas and political objectives of the power-holders.

In Russia this type of intellectual rigidity and inactivity was emphasized because of the use of the Old-Slavonic language in the Church, which resulted in neglect of Greek language. And it was considered a sin to learn the "thrice accursed Latin tongue." Thus, the Russian clergymen became isolated from the West because they lacked the possession of the only instruments in which human knowledge was communicated in those days. Moreover, Russian Orthodoxy, like the Byzantine Orthodoxy, was based on monasticism. But unlike the manifold monastic practices of the Western Church, the monks in the Russian Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.

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where true Christianity was preserved. In the official statements. in the prayers, in the Church sermons and school textbooks, the Russian Empire was represented as a Holy Land (*Sviataya Rus*).

Accordingly, official geographic studies and statistics tended to magnify everything within the frontiers of the Empire. Russian possessions and might, the resources and riches of the Czar, the progress and virtues of the country were pictured in the school textbooks in a fabulous way. A steady and imposing territorial growth of the Czardom in the course of many centuries at the expense of the East and the West undoubtedly supported these feelings of greatness. In this manner successes in policies of external expansion promoted desires for further conquests.

As long as the authority of the Church remained unshaken the power of the Czar rested on solid foundations. The Czars were able to increasingly concentrate and monopolize all social power while the Czardom expanded territorially in all directions, in spite of all its internal weaknesses.

In the meantime, however, the economic, educational and religious reforms introduced since the eighteenth century tended to undermine the sacredness of the Church as well as the power of the Czar. It was in such circumstances that feelings of revolt bred on all levels of social organization had an opportunity to come into the open, challenging the Czarist regime and all the institutions on which it was based. The people who were treated like wards and minors and were kept in oppressive dependency in the family, in the local community and on the state level rebelled against the system which kept them in perpetual bondage, a trend of events which finally brought about the downfall of the Czardom. The family roots and the development of this personal and social revolt which had shattered the Czardom will be discussed on the following pages.

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593 157 Like Jupiter, he only interfered in the affairs of mortals in moments of crisis. But when he did interfere it was no laughing matter, and everybody, from cellar to attic, trembled in his shoes . . .[30]

776 771 This God-like, unapproachable, inscrutable, absolute and arbitrary power of a stern and violent but also benevolent, compassionate and solicitous father was apparently projected into the Russian supernatural world in the form of the *Domovoy*, the house spirit. According to the Great-Russian folk beliefs, the Domovoy was the protector of the house; he had patriarchal prerogatives over it, but also depended upon it. He demanded from the family all kinds of honors. At the same time he was as unpredictable in his behavior as any stereotyped family head in the Great-Russian patriarchal family system.

Thus the Domovoy was at times protective, benevolent and compassionate, but at other times he would become wicked, vindictive and mischievous. He was endowed with supernatural powers and could bring either fortune or calamity upon the family, depending upon his frequently changing moods and dispositions. It was, therefore, considered wise to address him as "Grand Father" and to propitiate and appease him by frequent offerings in viands. If such attention were shown to him he was likely to be helpful. But if he were neglected, he would become [782] enraged and full of wrathful vengeance. In such a case, he could be atoned only by blood; the corners of the izba were sprinkled with blood of a cock that was killed for the occasion and various incantations were uttered.[31]

8
FAMILY CONFLICTS

I

593 THE FATHER treated his family members as wards and minors because he was responsible for their well-being, their behavior and their salvation. He had to show a constant solicitude for them (*neustannaya zabota*). The blame for their

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Family centrism, family isolation, and lack of trust in one's neighbor were apparently projected into the supernatural world where one's own Domovoy, though at times arbitrary, ill-tempered and spiteful, was generally considered to be benevolent—bringing good luck to the household which was under his care and solicitude. The neighbor's Domovoy, on the other hand, was always a malevolent and wicked being who could never be propitiated and who was likely to steal your hay or drive away your cattle for the benefit of the home which was under his protection. The Russian peasants, therefore, developed means of defense against the neighbor's Domovoy in the form of spells and exorcisms.

Lack of social trust is not favorable to the development of solidarity within a community. Therefore lack of group identification among the peasants and burghers, the same as the lack of the *esprit de corps* among the nobility, contributed to the perpetuation of the autocratic rule. Lack of communal identifications was an obstacle to the turning of group hostilities against the ruling classes. In such circumstances a great deal of personal aggressiveness had to find outlets and targets within the local community and within the family circle itself. Only when the authorities suffered crushing defeat and loss of prestige the hostilities would turn against them and mass uprisings would take place, demanding re-establishment of old communal values.

With the ascendancy of the otsovskaya system, family relations came to be organized in a hierarchical system along the lines of paternity, marriage status, seniority and sex. At one time, only married male members formed the family council (soviet). The males had priority over the females. Within each sex category the elder had priority rights over the younger. When the family was partitioned, custom demanded that the older brothers leave the ancestral home while the youngest, following Mongol traditions, remained on the paternal *koren* (root).[4] In marrying the daughters it was the eldest who had to be married first.

In the patriarchal family, in their relations to the father, all family members were expected to accept his rule with fear and awe (*strakh*) and with humility (*smirenie*). They had to show absolute submission and blind obedience (*besprekoslovnoe povinovenie*),[5] as well as love and gratitude (*blagodarnost*).[6]

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The Great-Russian epic legends have the same image of the mother. One of the most peculiar and significant aspects of these narratives is that in times of distress, in moments of gloom or when gripped by strong feelings of guilt it is often the mother who comes to the rescue of the *bogatyr* (legendary hero), gives him solace, helps him with advice, places her treasure at his disposal.[2] The mother is considered to be of such a great value that heroes, in the course of their feasting and drinking bouts, when boasting of their war exploits, of their horses and possessions, boast also of their mothers:

> One boasts of his good steed,
> One boasts his silken breeches,
> One boasts his villages with hamlets,
> One boasts his towns with their suburbs,
> One boasts of his dear mother,
> But the foolish one boasts of his young wife.[3]

593 771

Mother's role as a moderator *vis-à-vis* a harsh and detached father was expressed very early in the Russian religious lore. For instance, one of the most popular religious tales of early Russia was the one of the "journey of the Mother of God through the Inferno." In this story the *Bogoroditsa* (Birth-giver to God), impressed by the tortures of sinners, implored God to pardon them. At first God was implacable, but finally, as a result of Bogoroditsa's supplication, he promised some relief in their suffering.[4] In the same manner the contemporary Russian religious folk poetry often pictures the Mother of God as the "fastest helper" and as the "warm interceder":

> Mother mine—Mother Maria,
> Purest maiden—The Most Holy
> Mother of the World—Maria,
> Most holy Birthgiver to God,
> Beautiful sun,
> Purest dove,
> Mother of God,
> The fastest helper,
> The warm interceder
> Intercede, save and have mercy.[5]

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This idealized image of mother as a helper and interceder that was projected into religious lore has been manifested also in widespread Madonna worship. The cult of the Bogoroditsa was noticeably developed in Russian society from the days of its conversion to Christianity. The old Russian princes of the Kiev period invoked the help of the Mother of God, dedicated their cities to her, and wrote prayers to her.[6] Throughout many centuries Madonna icons were very widely in use and prayers to Madonna were very frequent in the religious practices of the Russian Church. Some of the most outstanding Russian Orthodox cathedrals have been dedicated to the Mother of God.

Identification with mother is seen in the often used phrase "Mother Russia" and in the word *rodina*—"mother-country." Also rivers and cities are regularly identified with mother (Mother Volga, Mother Moscow). The days in the week which are considered holy or consecrated are sometimes identified with mother, such as Mother Wednesday, Mother Friday.[7] And in Russian epic poetry, the whole earth is invariably identified with mother in the often-repeated phrase *Mat syra zemlya*—moist Mother Earth.

Of course other attachments took place in the Great-Russian family as manifested in the identification of a younger brother with his older brother and in frequent father-daughter emotional ties. There were, also, families in which mother appeared not in her expected role of close friend and protector but in that of a domineering and tyrannical despot. All such relations had their particular effects on the development of a child's personality, as we shall see on the following pages.

10
DEPENDENCE, SENSE OF GUILT, FEAR

I

WHEN a child's demand for attention and love is thwarted by a dominating and forbidding father, feelings of

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might be indicated in the farewell greeting phrase: *prashchaite* (forgive me). The same sentiment is manifested in readiness to shed tears at the slightest provocation. Easy and frequent weeping is found in all strata of Russian society, men and women alike. Autobiographies, belles-lettres as well as folk literature, give ample evidence for this phenomenon. Religious practices of the Russian Church support such needs and demand that repentance be manifested in frequent tears. There are even practical precepts in Russian Church literature about how to provoke tears:

> If you have no tears, do not despair; sigh frequently and heavily from all the heart; for tears are the gift of God, and by and by, with sighs and prayers you will obtain them from God. . . . Having found tears, preserve them with all your strength.[5]

II

It appears that this sense of guilt and passion for confession and self-incrimination, which are rooted in patriarchal family structure, might be strengthened and promoted by a social system in which one is utterly at the mercy of arbitrary superior forces that are not bound nor limited by any moral obligations or any superior principles of law or justice. If one has aroused the anger of such forces he may have a slight hope of forgiveness and salvation only if he completely gives up his individuality, renounces all struggle, and prostrates himself before the omnipotent powers, begging for pity and commiseration.

The annals of Russia's political, social and juridical history give much evidence of such feelings and attitudes. It is perhaps in the field of religion where such sense of utter helplessness before a fearful superior force is projected. There is a tendency in Russian religious beliefs to picture at the one end of the Universe a stern and implacable God and at the other end of it a helpless mankind which is at the complete mercy of this detached and fearful Ruler. But the orphans, the poor, the needy and the repentant, in other words those who are utterly helpless and dependent can expect compassion from Him.[6] Hence there is emphasis both on fear and humility in Russian Orthodoxy.

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That image of God and attitudes toward him might be to a certain extent projections of social and political relations could be seen, for instance, in the *Hundred Chapters,* a practical code of several centuries of Russia's early Christian life. This code stresses the need for fear and awe of earthly powers as a way to train oneself in fear and awe of God. "A pupil fears the master's cudgel more than the master himself"; "After them (masters), bow your head with humility, before every rich man"; "Those who have received power and fortune from their Tsar require glory also from their friends and demand veneration from minors." "Bow your head to everybody senior to you . . . fear the prince with all your power . . . from him you will learn how to fear God. . . . Who does not fear the earthly lord, how will he fear Him whom he does not see." "With the fear of God, as with a bridle, restrain your mind, keeping a watch on yourself every hour."[7]

This tendency to project the fear of omnipotent earthly powers into the supernatural world persisted as long as the autocratic and despotic powers of the Father and of the Czar were perpetuated and as long as the Church identified itself with the state. Describing her confessor, a Russian princess said that: "His [the priest's] principles were exactly those of my uncle; he was an extreme monarchist representing God as absolute monarch of the universe, and identifying the ideas of religion with a kind of rigorous bureaucracy, controlling every detail of life."[8] The image of a demanding God giving nothing in return penetrated all the strata of Great-Russian society, the peasants and the merchants, as well as the nobility and the intelligentsia:

> *Nyanya* [nurse] was entrusted with my religious instruction . . . She thought God was just like the Czar, except that one lived in heaven and the other on earth. He was the most powerful of all beings and inclined to be stern rather than merciful. At any rate she always spoke of his severity and never of his goodness. "He'll teach you to behave yourself! He doesn't forgive people! He is pitiless when He is offended!" . . . The saints were of negligible importance in her eyes.[9]

Chaikovsky, the renowned Russian composer, had a similar idea of God as a fearful being: "I had toward Him (and even

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771 776 now my feelings have not changed) a feeling of wonder but at the same time also of fear. He created Heaven and earth. He too created me—and still even though I bow before Him, there is no love."[10] Michael Bakunin only elaborated on this basic popular concept of the Russian Orthodox God when he pictured the Lord as "God of vengeance and rage" who delights in eternal torturing of human beings and who is so "bloodthirsty and cruel" that he decided that his own son should be tortured and put to death by means of crucifixion.[11] A similar image of a self-seeking, dominating, arbitrary, and cruel God is found also in some Russian religious folk poems: [538]

> Your gifts are not dear to me
> But dear to me are your souls.
> And I will be God above Gods,
> I will be Tzar above Tzars.
> And I will pick the apostles myself,
> And I will give them my mark,
> And I will give them my baptism.
> I will send them in all countries
> Who will receive them, will save himself
> And who does not, he will be tortured.[12]

Before such a God, like before the omnipotent earthly powers, there is nothing one can do but resign himself to his fate and await for God's decision at his *Strashny Sud* (Terrible Judgment). Thus when Fletcher asked a Russian Orthodox Bishop if he knew he was going to be saved the answer was that ". . . he knew not whether he should bee saved or no: but if God would *poshallovat* (take compassion on) him, or gratifie him so much as to save him, so it was, hee would be glad of it; if not what remedie?"[13] Such an image of an omnipotent, fierce and arbitrary God, the same as that of an all-powerful and harsh Father or Czar, might inspire humility, blind obedience and unconditional submissiveness; it might provoke also strong feelings of guilt, and a need for repentance and expiation of one's sins. Thus, next to fear, Russian religion emphasizes meekness and asceticism as a means of survival in the face of all-mighty and arbitrary powers.[14]

In this manner popular religious ideas and practices which

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[Ivan the Terrible]

In this manner popular religious ideas and practices which 771 182
might have developed as a response to the interpersonal relations in the family and in the Czardom in their own turn tended to perpetuate the existing social and political order, its institutions and practices. There were, however, other aspects of interpersonal relations intrinsic to that social organization which provoked responses that tended not to perpetuate it, but to undermine it and to destroy its very foundations. These important agents of structural change in Russian society will be discussed on the following pages.

11
POWER-SEEKING, MISTRUST, AND DESTRUCTIVE AGGRESSION

I

A CHILD who has been rejected and humiliated by 000
a stern and scornful father, but who has been spoiled by an overindulgent mother might respond to such a situation by developing an exaggerated concern for his own ego, and an extreme intolerance for privations and denials. And in case the mother cannot serve as a satisfactory substitute for rejection by the father, complete detachment from the group, and pity for an abandoned, degraded and suffering self might develop. In such circumstances also a deeply rooted suspicion of others, an unbridled desire for power, and an overwhelming hate and urge for destruction of all those who stand in one's path might take place.

The life histories of a number of Russian rulers and intelligentsia apparently show such an effect of their family environment.[1] Childhood experiences and character traits of Ivan the Terrible, for instance, provide an outstanding example. There is sufficient evidence for the contention that the strange behavior of this Czar was rooted in rejection and in alternating mistreat- 593 154 159

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[Catherine Breshkovskaya]
[Bakunin]

154 159 668 How many times, stupefied and shocked, I have been the witness of such humiliating, degrading, excruciating things! How many times I have thrown myself at my father's feet to implore pardon for a so-called culprit, whose only fault, perhaps, was to have fallen asleep while herding the sheep! How many times I have been indignant to see how hundreds of peasants would be kept waiting in the courtyard, bare-headed and shivering with cold, waiting for the master to appear, after making them wait all day, would send them off without a word, so taken up was he with gambling at cards with other lords, who in their turn were making their coachmen wait on the carriage box till their hands were frozen! These things tormented my childish mind, and pursued me even into my bed, where I would lie awake for hours, unable to sleep for thinking of all the horrors about me. Child as I was, I could not understand why these honest folk should bear the entire burden of work and of taxes. I saw that my father, good though he was, put much more heart into looking after his own interests than the interests of his serfs, and I was shocked at the inequality between the rich and the poor. From the age of eight, how to find justice was the question that troubled me.[5]

538 771 Identification with suffering is outstanding in the literary works of Dostoyevsky. Influenced by religious feelings, he considered his own sufferings as a blessing. He identified Russia with crucified Christ and regarded the sufferings of the Russian people as a means by which the wrongs of all mankind will be expiated so that a new and better order will prevail on the earth: "All men will be holy and love one another, and there will be no more rich nor poor, no exulted nor humbled, but all will be as the children of God, and the true Kingdom of Christ will come."[6]

II

593 159 668 Not in all families of Russian intelligentsia was the situation alike. There were families in which harmonious relations prevailed. There were also families in which reaction developed not against the despotism of the father but against the tyranny of the mother. Bakunin, for instance, describes his mother as "a vain, egotistical woman and none of her children loved her."[7] According to Carr, Bakunin "attributed his passion for destruction to the influence of his mother, whose despotic character

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tioned them to dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships, but yearning also for the Old-Slavonic anarchic and egalitarian justice, the "Slavophils" tended to idealize especially those institutions in which paternalistic, as well as equalitarian, relationships were well established, but which they saw distintegrating in new circumstances. Such was, for instance, the *mir* institution, according to their view.

According to the Slavophil interpretation, the old Russian and Slav community was founded on the principles of obedience, mutual responsibility, social justice and equality, Christian love and humility.[5] They asserted that the Russian land commune was the foundation of an original and highly satisfactory culture which was exempt from the vices of the Western civilization, untainted with proletarianization, pauperism, and the problem of wages. The mir was an institution in which man felt as an organic and integral part of his community. There was no uncertainty, no insecurity, and no frustrations in that social system since in it the values were absolute and unchallenged.[6]

The Slavophils idealized Russia's patriarchal relationships based on absolute and unchallenged values, on faith and on total fusion of man and community, as contrasted to Western individualism, cosmopolitanism, rationalism and skepticism. They contended that reason, if separated from faith, introduces doubts, splits and conflicts between man and his society. They stressed the organic totality and harmony of the Old-Slavonic and pre-Petrine Russian society in contrast to the materialism and class strife of the West.[7]

The old pre-Petrine order which the Slavophils idealized had greatly depended upon Church support and religious sanction for its perpetuation. The Slavophils therefore feared that Western liberalism which was beginning to penetrate Russia would undermine its religious foundation. As a defense against such demoralizing influences, the Slavophils pointed out that the Western world was rapidly disintegrating because of the spreading of free thought and because of the decline of the faith. The West was a prey to Roman heathenism, they said, and it was from this traditional anti-Christian spirit that revolutions, free thought, the papacy, and the Reformation had sprung.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

According to Slavophils the doom of the Western civilization was sealed when rationalism was allowed to destroy faith. It was then that the human spirit became divided against itself, which meant its disintegration. God and man, intuition and reason, beauty and truth are one, they claimed. As soon as man does not possess such a mystic unity with the absolute, he is plunged into skepticism and disbelief, his reason is separated from his soul and he becomes a "split man."

Owing to the organic totality of his body and soul, of his faith and reason, the Russian man possessed the "inner truth," which is the real truth, as against the "outer truth" or superficial truth of the Westerner, the Slavophils said. Therefore in contrast to the "split man" of the West, the Russian man was a "total man" (*vsechelovek*).[8] In this manner, the Russian man who has achieved his unity with God has achieved also the unity of his nation with God. The Russian nation is therefore a "God-bearing" nation (*Bogonosets*):

> . . . do you know who are the only 'god-bearing' people on earth, destined to regenerate and save the world in the name of a new God, and to whom are given the keys of life and of the new world . . . Do you know which is that people and what is its name?[9]

Aware that without strong religious feelings such a man and society could not exist, and fearing the decline of the old Orthodox-patriarchal values in a bureaucratized and secularized Russia, the Slavophils demanded a return to the old pre-Petrine theocratic system, one in which the Church would absorb the state. In accordance with such an ideology the Slavophils asserted that when the Church has absorbed the state, then the state will ascend and become a Church over the whole world, a Church kingdom ruling over all the earth which is the "glorious destiny ordained for the Orthodox Church."[10]

The Slavophils asserted that the political organization as developed in the West was a system of conquest and force. Being therefore an instrument of oppression, such a political organization was foreign to the Slavs and to the Russian people, and it should not be maintained.[11] In accordance with the anarchic and egalitarian traditions of the Old-Slavonic society, the Slavophils

565 154 [156] Outside the family,[1] however, this system of social relationships tended to lose its protection-dependence character and to emphasize domineering-subservience attitudes in complete contrast to the traditions of and his yearning for an equalitarian and protective folk community that had existed in the past.

In such circumstances his sense of rejection and his demand for acceptance which he might have experienced in the family were reinforced and magnified, affecting his whole view of life, his attitudes toward the world around him and his image of the universe. He was convinced that there was no justice in the world and that there was nobody to whom he could appeal for redress. "Injustice and untruth rule the world"; "Injustice and untruth started with the world and will end with the world," he would say.[1]

● 771 565 In such circumstances the peasant was inclined to see the wrathful, the revengeful, and the implacable aspect of God, especially since such image of a Christian God had support in the teachings of the Russian Orthodoxy. Accordingly the peasant visioned the saints who surrounded the Old Man as quarrelling among themselves and bragging about their strength and achievements and as being vindictive, cheating, and playing tricks on one another.[2] Since the peasant pictured Christ as being only the son of a wrathful Father, he could not depend upon him according to the Russian view of patriarchal family relationships. The Russian peasant therefore had a "sympathetic but detached view of Christ."[3]

The peasant's feeling of rejection in regard to God was manifested in his lack of assurance as to the help he could expect from Him. God, to whom he prayed, seldom interfered on his behalf against earthly authorities. And though "All power was from God," the peasant knew that "God gives power to whom he wants to." The peasant was therefore at times openly resentful of God's neglect. "God neither lets you live nor die," he would say. In his despair he was inclined to believe that there were other forces, beside God, which ruled the universe, such as the Devil who was looked upon as "the junior brother of God and his carpenter in the creation of the universe."[4] And, not unlike Asiatic steppe herders who lived in similar circumstances, the

1 [i.e. the peasant family of Tsarist days -- Analyst]

6. Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Great-Russian peasant saw the need to keep on good terms with this ruler of the underworld.

Since the Czar was identified with God, the peasant's feeling toward the Czar was like his attitude toward God. He knew that the Czar was as omnipotent as God. "Everything is in the power of God and the Czar," he would say. Therefore, he feared the Czar like he feared God, he felt an awe before the Czar as before God, and he hoped for the best, but it can hardly be said that he had much love for him. "Czar is not fire, but if you come close to him you will burn yourself," he would say. His idea was also that "Where there is Czar there is fear and dread," and that "Czar's rage spreads death." Since God was so far away, detached, neglectful, and implacable, it was the Czar's fearful power that mattered. "God's is the will, but the court is Czar's," he would say.[5]

The peasant's feelings toward the supreme power of the world and of the universe reflected only his bitter experiences with the representatives of these powers on the earth with whom he had to deal in local affairs. Often these did not bring justice, but venality, arbitrariness and persecution. "The court is founded on untruth and injustice"; "Where there is court there is chicanery," he would say. And since the judges were corrupted, the only way to get anything from them was to bribe them. "The judge is useful as much as the pocket is helpful," he would say. Such action, however, was not always advisable because of greediness of the judges. "You will never fill a judge's pocket"; "Do not litigate, you will strangle yourself."[6]

Because of his traditional distrust of authorities the peasant showed also a profound lack of trust in all written laws. He likened the law to the cobweb whose purpose was to catch the small and helpless, not the big and powerful ("The bumblebee will break through, the fly will get stuck."). He also compared the law to a tool that could be used arbitrarily by those who held it in their hands ("The law is like shaft, you turn it wherever you want it."). He noticed that "those who write the laws also break them," and concluded that "It is in vain to write laws if they are not carried out." In accordance with the Old-Slavonic anarchic and equalitarian traditions he was inclined to believe

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

The peasant therefore appraised the social environment in which he lived as dominated by powerful destructive forces which were capricious, neglectful and inimical but upon which he was completely dependent for his life and livelihood. He strongly resented these powers and wished he could destroy them, but felt helpless before them. He therefore projected his feelings of helplessness as well as his destructive urges into the supernatural world and proceeded to inhabit that world with all-powerful, arbitrary, and vicious beings which sought the annihilation of man, and of the earth.

II

On the family level in similar circumstances, two contrasting tendencies, that of complete submission to the parental power and that of rebellion against it are likely to be formed. In a like manner submission and rebellion characterized the behavior of the Russian peasantry on the local community level. The peasant was inclined to appear servile and docile toward all authorities. He would address every one of his superiors as "Father" (*batyushka*). He would bow low (*klanyatsya v poyas*) or in twain (*klanyatsya v nogi*) before them. Before the Czar he would prostrate himself (*chelobitye*) and if the Czar was passing by he would fall on his knees and cross himself. All he could hope for was that by offering unconditional obedience or by propitiating the powers that be, he would be spared. And if all this appeasing of the authorities were in vain he would refrain from revolt as long as he realized that he was utterly helpless and without support in the front of overwhelming powers. In such circumstances he tended to become completely resigned and fatalistic. He might arrive at the conclusion that "You cannot run away from fate, not even on horse-back," and that "Unto each man happens what was decreed at his birth."[9]

With such a frame of mind the Russian peasant was ready to accept great suffering without much complaint. "Misfortune is like the ocean: neither you can swim across it nor can you draw it out," he would say. "And who is it that was not visited by misfortune and misery?" he would ask. Therefore since "You cannot escape misery," "Do not struggle with misery, but suffer"

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

church claiming that " . . . one is not better for going there . . . because everything there has to be paid for. Besides, I have the Church within myself."[3]

Sutayev then started a religious crusade aiming at "a new life, the organization of a Christian life." He preached that "the nobles and the rich must give back the land to those to whom it of right belongs." He disapproved of commerce, of money, of private property, of violence, and of any form of coercion. He claimed that if commerce, money and violence were eliminated, then the courts and the tax collectors would disappear too. The tax collectors and all the functionaries who live on the people will not be necessary any more, he said. The army and the war will be suppressed since "all men are brothers." "The Kingdom of God must be brought here on the earth," he asserted.[4] Similar protest against the existing conditions of serfdom and rejection, and demand for an all-human equalitarian brotherhood were expressed in many songs of the Dissenters:

All kinds of ignorance,
Moral wretchedness,
Falsehood and inconsistency,
Baseness, hypocrisy,
Coarse superstition,
Are contrary to Christianity!
Slavery, oppression,
Violence, constraint,
Every sort of pressure against people—
All this—
Is abomination before God,
Transgression of his commandments.
All people on earth
Are the children of one mother,
And above God there is no power.
And all without regard to standing in society,
Should be equal
And free in their conscience.
Everyone can pray,
According to what seems to him,
To be his obligation in relation to God.

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Why then in deeds of faith
Measures of compulsion
And all kinds of constraint?

• • •

Why then is this?[5]

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Protest against the existing conditions of abusive dominance and subservient submission and longing for acceptance on terms of anarchic equality seems to have been the driving power behind the ideologies of a number of Great-Russian religious sects, such as the *Dukhobortsy* (the spirit-wrestlers), and the *Molokane* (the milk-drinkers). Not unlike the Nihilists and the Anarchists (whose reaction was also rooted in feelings of rejection), all these sects showed a strong resentment against abusive and distant authorities. At first the religious dissenters attacked the Church authorities but then this anti-authority attitude was generalized and extended to all the authorities, including the family, the landlords, the state and the Czar.

As a result all the authorities were blamed for the existing social ills and their removal was considered necessary in order to achieve a better life. There was no need for official clergy, courts, churches, sacraments, fasts, confession, communion, or any Church rituals except simple hymn singing, these sects said. There was no need for the Czar either, they claimed. Anything that smacked of authority and power was rejected. "We behold what a spirit of impiety works and shall work to the end of the world in all holders of power," they stated.[6] In 1868, a sect decreed that anyone who prays for the existing authorities shall be excommunicated. Now all the authorities, not just the priests, were identified with the beasts! "How will you ever find grace at the hands of the Beast?" A number of these sects identified the Czar with the Anti-Christ.

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In their reaction against the suppression of the individual in the interest of those who hold power and in their strongly felt need for acceptance on terms of complete equality, the Dukhobortsy—not unlike the Nihilists—proclaimed the supremacy and the sanctity of the individual. Their demand for an anarchic acceptance was manifested in the emphasis of the

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

III

Just as in the ideology of Nihilism and Anarchism, revolt against degrading submission and rejection and demand for acceptance in some sects took the form of extreme power-seeking and self-deification. In the sect *Lyudi Bozhii* (people of God), for instance, the craving to become God incarnate or to have a live incarnation of Deity actually present in their midst was so strong that since the time of the sect's founder who claimed to be God Zebaoth (Sabaoth) a whole series of Christs came into being, succeeding one another by a sort of filiation or adoption. Finally each religious community of this sect boasted of having a flesh-and-blood Christ in its midst. They claimed that it was in each man's own power to unite himself to the Deity and to incarnate it in his own body. A woman had the faculty to become *Boginya* (the Goddess) or *Bogoroditsa* (Mother of God) and many women did achieve such self-apotheosis, adding to the number of divinities of each community.[19]

It was by means of suffering and mortification of flesh that candidates for Messiahship competed among themselves for this supreme achievement. These exploits were accompanied with self-glorification. In this way both power-seeking and identification with suffering were realized. The followers would watch for years to see which of the rival pretenders to Christhood underwent the greatest sufferings. The rivals for Godship, on the other hand, often resorted to trickery to prove their claims.[20] But once the issue was settled and a God-incarnate was recognized, the whole congregation owed Him supreme reverence and unconditional obedience which satisfied the contender's craving for power: "I am God, foretold of the prophets. There is no other God than I. Seek ye none other. Where unto ye are appointed, abide therein."[21] On the part of the congregation the desire for Christ-incarnate in their midst manifested a strong need for protective dependence and acceptance.

Hence longing for a world in which truth and justice, kindness and love would reign, in which there would be no abusive serfdom, no subservience, tortures and sufferings, but happi-

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ness, trust and all-human equality and fraternal aid was strongly felt in these sects. Many of these people expressed such yearnings in the form of religious hymns and rituals. It is to be expected that in these hymns and practices Christ and Mother of God, symbols of love and acceptance, not "Old God," symbol of rage and fear, would be worshipped and longed for:

The Czardom of Truth will be restored
Amongst us here on earth,
And the flame of heavenly life
Will be rekindled in our midst.
Only then, when malice and slander
Disappear from the face of earth,
And man acknowledges the Lord,
God of everlasting love,
When the world replaces pride and hypocrisy
With Truth and Justice of God,
And in the yearnings of the noble soul
Love and kindness are revived,
When all are equal under God
And the weak no longer are oppressed,
When man his thoughts to Lord will turn
And spread Truth and Justice of God,
When the force of dismal prisons, tortures and shackles
No longer reigns,
The living God will resurrect
Eternal freedom in the heart of man.
To this Czardom, thou seeker of God,
Hasten and sincerely yearn for
With a clear heart, tirelessly,
Pray thou to the Creator of the universe.
For to sow the seeds of good and love,
Are we summoned by the Lord;
So that torture and death do not appall us
In the living of our days,
We will have to be the executors
Of the Holy conceptions of Christ
Then the Czardom of Truth of God
Will tread upon the earth.
We shall have the destiny
Of creating Christ's Family.

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This is great fortune
For all the servants of the world,
Sharers in honesty and trust,
Executors of the Covenant of Christ.[22]

Longing for acceptance was not only manifested in the worship of living "Christ," but also in carnal communion with the "Christs" and "Madonnas," in ecstatic trances and mass religious hallucinations, and apparently even in some cannibalistic practices.[23] Thus when in consequence of sacred rites a Bogorodica would bear a child, if a boy, he was known as *Khristosik* (the little Christ). According to some students of Russia's religious life the Khristosik was immolated on the eighth day after his birth. His heart and blood, mixed with flour and honey, were served to make the cakes for the Eucharist. This practice was called "Taking Communion in the blood of the Lamb."[24] At other times, according to the same sources, it was a young virgin, chosen as Mother of God who willingly gave her left breast to be cut out amidst ritual dancing and singing. The breast was then partaken of as the "true Eucharistic food."[25]

Great emotional insecurity and extreme fear of rejection might explain why elements of power-seeking were present in all sects, even in those which professed complete repudiation of power in any form whatsoever. For instance, Popov, the founder of the Molokane sect which originally professed complete freedom of conscience and complete equality, eventually entirely suppressed liberty of discussion and interpretation. Unconditional submission to the authorities he declared to be the first duty, insubordination the greatest sin.[26] Andrey Selivanov, the founder of the Skoptsy sect, had himself designated in the prayers which were addressed to him in his lifetime, as "God of Gods and King of Kings," even though the Skoptsy sect professed complete freedom from any form of coercion.[27]

Also early in the history of the Dukhobortsy we find that their communistic practices finally led to dictatorship and despotism.[28] The leaders of this sect knew how to take personal advantage of the longing of the sect members for protective dependence and acceptance. One of the leaders of this sect, Kapustin, in the beginning of the nineteenth century expounded

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

hearts of the Soviet subjects and to exert unremitting pressure on them, so that they never relax in their striving to conform to the Party's will. The secret police, in Lenin's words, is "our weapon of assault upon innumerable conspiracies . . . innumerable attempts against Soviet authority."[20]

23
CONTROL OF THOUGHT AND FEELING

MONOPOLIZATION of all social power by the Bolshevik rulers and their failure to satisfy the traditional demands for equality and acceptance has been breeding both apathy and latent rebellion in Soviet society. Realizing that such a development might eventually undermine their power, early in their rule the Bolsheviks proceeded to indoctrinate the thoughts and to control the feelings of their subjects. It became imperative to evoke identification of the masses with Bolshevik leadership and gain their faith, enthusiasm and willing self-sacrifice in support of the Soviet system.[1]

In order to justify this need for ideological and emotional conformity, it became necessary to monopolize the Truth. The Bolsheviks therefore stated that all problems, those of the past and of the present, as well as those of the future, have found their answer in Marxist-Leninist theory. They asserted, however, that since this theory "is not a dogma, but a guide to action,"[2] the Bolshevik leadership is "able to enrich this theory with the new propositions and conclusions, . . . to *develop it and advance* it" and "to replace such of its propositions and conclusions as have become antiquated by new ones corresponding to the new historical situation."[3] And just as earlier the Russian Orthodox Church had claimed to represent the "true Christianity" centered in Moscow, the Third Rome, so now the Bolshevik rulers have usurped for themselves the right to represent the "true Marxism," centered in the Kremlin:

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

is "perfected until there are no shortcomings." Then on members of such a group one can make great demands.[33] They will be disciplined, enduring, courageous and faithful. Work will become "second nature" to them; they will not abhor hard effort, nor be afraid of "healthy sweat."[34] They will be industrious and efficient and will develop the "best and most worthy feelings of man," that is, devotion to labor, heroism in the struggle against the forces of reaction, untiring, ruthless and unwavering vigilance against the survivals of capitalism, and an irreconcilable attitude toward the slightest manifestations of deviationism.[35]

III

In the days of Czardom the system of economic and political regimentation found its support in religious sanction and in nationalism. In a like manner the Bolsheviks had early realized that great privations which their regime demands could be best elicited from their subjects with the help of an identification with the great, the absolute, the sublime. It is by such means that traditional cravings for attachment and acceptance could be satisfied. In such a manner also a sense of guilt and urge for self-sacrifice could be reinforced and employed for political purposes.

It is along such efforts that the Bolsheviks have revived and strengthened the traditional Russian images of God, Czar, Father and Mother and have projected these images to the Leader and to the Party. The likeness to God and religion is manifested in the Bolshevik claim of infallibility of their leaders, universality, eternity, and sanctity of their doctrines. Lenin's teachings, for instance, are extolled by the Bolsheviks as being "superior" to any other ideology, as embracing the whole of humanity, and as living forever:

> Lenin's thoughts represent a superior achievement of the Russian and of the world culture; an eternally living and eternally developing science of society—a fighting banner of the working class—living soul of the Bolshevik Party which led our Fatherland to the avant-garde of the whole human kind.
>
> The books of the vozhd and teacher are immortal. They live and

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771 829 will live eternally. Yes, Lenin lives, his spirit is immortal—his idea is eternal—the leaves of his wonder books are imperishable.[36]

769 643 Lenin is represented not only as the architect of a promised world, but also as a prophet, all of whose prophecies have come to pass (*svershayutsya vse prorochestva Lenina*). There is an officially sponsored cult of Lenin which is propagated by means of many legends that surround his life, his activities, his martyrdom, and his death. He lies mummified in a mausoleum where thousands of pilgrims daiiy come to worship him. And throughout the country there are numerous Lenin's museums which, like the churches, remind the faithful of the omnipresence of Lenin's spirit. It is the aim of the ruling hierarchy to make their subjects incorporate in their conscience the image of a holy, infallible, and immortal Lenin in whose name the Bolsheviks will be able to make great demands:

> Here everything is eternal,
> Here everything is holiness
> Here sleeps a great Man—
> He and the people are inseparable
> He is—the Conscience of my Motherland.[37]

771 643 Accordingly, as in its worship of Lenin, the Party of the Bolsheviks is tireless in propagating the cult and the iconolatry of Stalin, who is pictured as Lenin's best pupil, as his closest friend and collaborator, and as his legitimate successor. In poems dedicated to him, Stalin is acclaimed as the "master of the entire world"; he is pictured as foreseeing the coming events and disasters, as possessing miraculous powers and life-giving qualities, and as being able to conquer death itself.[38]

With the death of Stalin, the Party is faced with the problem of molding the image of a new Leader with God-like qualities and patriarchal prerogatives. The Soviet press is now picturing Malenkov, one of the present top Party men, as being the pupil of Lenin and comrade-in-arms of Stalin. It is by means of such filiation that a new ruler acquires the attributes of the old deities.

ooo Building on the traditional role of the Father in the Russian

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Building on the traditional role of the Father in the Russian family the Party portrays the Party Leader as a strict and distant but also watchful and solicitous man who takes good care of his family. Following the traditional image of God and of the Father, the Party Leader is pictured as being benevolent toward those who submit to him unconditionally, but as being wrathful and merciless toward his foes and all those who disobey. And just like the members of the Great-Russian family, the Soviet people are expected to show "filial gratitude" to their Elder for his care and vigilance. Hence the supreme Party Leader is addressed as "our own father" (*rodnoy otets*), teacher (*uchitel*), leader (*vozhd*), friend (*drug*), and feeder (*kormilets*). Articles and letters of gratitude published daily in the Soviet press invariably mention his fatherly solicitude (*otecheskaya zabota*), his wise (*mudry*) plan and his genius (*geny*). Without fail they thank him ardently (*goryachee spasibo*) for what he has done for the well-being (*blago*), happiness (*schastie*), and world mightiness of the Soviet state (*velichaishaya derzhava mira*). On the occasion of the Leader's birthday numerous songs and musical compositions include titles which convey the idea of dependence upon and filial gratitude to an All-Powerful and All-Wise Vozhd.

It is expected that such identifications will reinforce in the Soviet people the feeling of guilt and make them redouble their efforts in building and supporting the Soviet system. Thus in the letters which various institutions, organizations and associations write to Vozhd, pledges are given to fulfill and overfulfill their quotas and to improve quality of products in gratitude for his unceasing "paternal care" and solicitude. And if they have failed, stayed behind, or have not come up to the expectations of their "father and teacher," they admit their guilt and promise to spare no efforts to improve, and thus arrest his wrath and rejection.[39] Not only lowly and humble folk from the bottom of the Soviet social pyramid, but men and women on the lofty peaks of Soviet arts and sciences, write such letters to Stalin in the same tone of religious reverence and humility, that strongly remind one both of the servility of Czarist official classes and of the prayers to an All-Mighty and wrathful God in the Russian Orthodox Church.

The ruling hierarchy realizes, however, that deification of the

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562 611 [583] *korobka* (chest) of her own. When a girl married, she took her korobka, together with the property given her by her father or brothers, to her new home as a dowry and was allowed to dispose freely of it. At the same time her husband was not responsible for her debts.[10] When a married woman died, if childless, her [428] korobka, as a rule, returned to her mother (matrilineal succession) and only if her mother was not alive, to her father. In some provinces the husband would inherit his wife's property if he lived with her four years or more.[11] If she had children, her property was inherited by both sons and daughters equally.[12]

Matriarchal traits are evident in contemporary folk philosophy and many folk customs in the Bielorussian villages as well as in some parts of the Ukraine. In the oral poetry of these [772] people, for instance, the sun is represented as a female who is wooing the moon, her bridegroom. In some songs of these peasant folk the maidens contend with the male youths in duels and defeat them.[13] Even today in some of these regions it is often the girls who take the initiative in finding their suitors. During harvest festivals, it is the maidens who play the leading part. Traces [583] of the capture of the bridegroom still persist in the folk customs of the Ukraine. In Ukrainian and Bielorussian folk poetry [593] women, especially the mother, play a very significant role, while the place of the father is less outstanding. In popular opinion in this area, the consent of the mother in the marriage of a daughter is considered more important than that of the father.

582 Marriage among the Old-Slavonic peasant folk was endogamous within the village community and perhaps even within the joint household community (*verv, zadruga*)—not unlike in the Croatian zadruga of our days.[14] There was also, apparently, 593 a particularly developed brother-sister attachment as is manifested by brother-sister incest which seems to have taken place occasionally in some Russian regions until recently.[15] There were, therefore, abundant opportunities for emotional attachments in the Old-Slavonic family, since there were no external political, economic, or social pressures that might have disturbed internal equalitarian family relationships. Such relationships have persisted until present times in certain parts of Ukraine:

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

God a wrathful, irate and revengeful Old Man, but the Church leaders themselves, affected by the conditions of their society, were inclined to emphasize the fear aspect of the Christian God rather than his love and compassion. They also tended to preoccupy themselves with death, describing it as a terror-striking event. In some early Church sermons even the messengers of God, the angels, were represented in a terrifying manner:

> Then, two angels appear, sent by God for the soul. As soon as the soul has seen them, it will be horrified; all its image and beauty and face will change; feet and hands will be torpid, and the hearing as with the tongue will be chained by silence; and man will be all sorrowful and invalid and woeful; and afterwards, appears death. And then, with a terrible pain the soul will issue from the body . . .[37]

These feelings of anxieties and fears, combined perhaps with a strong sense of guilt of the Church leaders, are manifested in the life histories of most Russian saints. These people, as portrayed in their hagiographies, were being constantly threatened by temptations and intimidations of dreadful demons. Hallucinations about demons became very frequent among the monks, and struggle against demons became one of the main aspects of ascetic life. Whole herds of these fiends were sometimes seen by the ascetics. The demons would disguise themselves as humans, as angels, and even as Christ, or they would appear in their true beastly form.[38]

Consistent with this gloomy and terrifying view of life and death was also an apocalyptic picture of the end of the world as pictured by Church leaders. According to the old Russian sermons the end of the world was very near and it was to ensue in fire and floods of blood brought about by a wrathful and revengeful God, (a picture that strongly reminds one of the vision of the end of the world found in the beliefs of the steppe nomads of Central Asia):

> Then undying fire will flow from the East to the West, devouring mountains, stones, trees, and the sea. The firmament will be dried up and turned like brick bats, and all existing things, except men, will melt in a like way by the rate of the fire. All the earth will be burned; and through this undying fire all mankind has to pass.

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There will be no place to run and hide oneself; it will be woe and pain without comfort, particularly for the repenting sinners. They will see the anger of God, full of rage and wrath, bearing the woe of revenge.[29] 773

Also the folk religious poetry began to emphasize the gloomy aspects of *post-mortem* life, especially that of the *Strashny Sud*—The Terrible Judgment. It was perhaps in such conditions that Destiny, together with the Truth, became dissociated from the idea of a supreme Justice that reigned everywhere and came to be looked upon as being subject to the caprice of arbitrary and uncontrollable forces that now dominated the Universe. 538 775 777

Such circumstances[1] might have meant quick disintegration of this society, not unlike the rapid dissolution of the Turco-Mongol empires, had it not been for agents that favored the stabilization and the perpetuation of this social system in spite of its internal weaknesses. One of the most important instruments in this process of social consolidation was the Byzantine Church. 178 795

5
THE BYZANTINE CHURCH AND MUSCOVITE MILITARY THEOCRACY

I

FOLLOWING the traditions established by the Roman Caesars, the Emperor of Byzantium (Basileus) was looked upon as the supreme war-lord, the sole legislator, and the chief justice, as well as the universal ruler. Therefore, the Church, which was subjected to the absolute and autocratic will of the Emperor, developed a religious ideology in accordance with the dominant political philosophy and practices of the Empire. 795 771 779 643

The Emperor assumed the duty of defending the Church, combating heresy, and spreading Orthodox faith throughout all the globe. In return, God had promised him universal dominion

1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 52-55--Analyst]

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There will be no place to run and hide oneself; it will be woe and pain without comfort, particularly for the repenting sinners. They will see the anger of God, full of rage and wrath, bearing the woe of revenge.[20]

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Such circumstances might have meant quick disintegration of this society, not unlike the rapid dissolution of the Turco-Mongol empires, had it not been for agents that favored the stabilization and the perpetuation of this social system in spite of its internal weaknesses. One of the most important instruments in this process of social consolidation was the Byzantine Church.

5
THE BYZANTINE CHURCH AND MUSCOVITE MILITARY THEOCRACY

I

FOLLOWING the traditions established by the Roman Caesars, the Emperor of Byzantium (Basileus) was looked upon as the supreme war-lord, the sole legislator, and the chief justice, as well as the universal ruler. Therefore, the Church, which was subjected to the absolute and autocratic will of the Emperor, developed a religious ideology in accordance with the dominant political philosophy and practices of the Empire.

The Emperor assumed the duty of defending the Church, combating heresy, and spreading Orthodox faith throughout all the globe. In return, God had promised him universal dominion

[1] [cf. vol. II, pp. 52-55--Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Ukrainians RD4

need for personal responsibility is stressed in these sayings: "No one is to blame. He is to blame himself"; "For a good man all goes well."[21] And when they quarrel they are not expected to become vindictive, but to forget and say "Words are like wind."[22]

These people are very fond of intoxicating drink which in their society seems to be a way to increase sociability and channel aggressiveness rather than a means of escape. They drink in groups, not alone, and then they sing and dance and appeal to Lada, who was the Goddess of Love in their heathen past. They tend to turn even sad and mournful events into occasions for merry-making and are inclined to minimize fear of death.[23]

II

Interpersonal relations and philosophy of life of the early Slav plowmen seem to have been projected into their supernatural world. According to the early beliefs of these people, the universe was governed by a great many deities, fairies and spirits. Most of these supernatural beings were pictured as benevolent, some mildly malevolent. They lived in families and had children. They could be found everywhere; in the house as well as in the lakes and rivers; they could be seen swinging from every plant and tree; or heard singing and handclapping in every barn and on every threshing floor. Until very recently, the Bielorussian peasant could see the sun dancing if he got up early in the morning on a certain day of the year.

The whole cosmic view of the early Slav agriculturist seems to have consisted of pantheism and animism. All nature was possessed of spirits that behaved like human beings. Human beings themselves were identified with nature, with animals and plants. This identification of man and nature found its expression, for instance, in personal names which were those of seasons and natural spectacles, of trees, flowers and fruits, birds and other animals. These semi-matriarchal plowmen also apparently practiced a special cult of Mother Earth and of Rozhanitsy—the female beings who presided over the birth and destiny of man. Sacrificial meals were offered to these fairy-like spirits, consisting of meatless dishes.[24] The sermons of the first Christian missionaries

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

were directed not only against this cult, but also against that of the Fire and of the Sun.[25] There was no cult of war-gods in the mythology of the Old Slavs nor was there any epic poetry in their folklore.

Unlike the patriarchal, rigidly stratified and dualistic religious system of steppe nomads which was full of tensions and struggles, the supernatural world of the Slavs of Polesie was anarchic, equalitarian and peaceful. Apparently projecting their own social organization into the supernatural world, the Old-Slavonic plowmen conceived it as being composed of both sexes but without a hierarchy of power among themselves. The deities that inhabited that world were neither arbitrary nor corrupted, nor did they fight among themselves for the control over man. Festivals in their honor were celebrated with the accent on drink, song, dance and lovemaking.

Accordingly the Slavs of Polesie did not have to appease their deities nor try to be on good terms with both the bad and the good ones. They believed that after death bad and wicked people would roam the earth in the form of werewolves and vampires; but, they also possessed simple means of protection against these evil ghosts, such as pieces of torn clothes, which were accessible to everyone.[26] There were always persons of both sexes who maintained contact and control over the spirits of evil and were willing to help anyone in distress. Hence the Old Slavs trusted their wizards, the *veshchy*.[27]

According to the religious and social philosophy of the Slavs of the Dnieper, there are some general all-embracing rules of behavior to which all people, all the universe as well as all the deities, are subjected. In such a religious and philosophical system, the deities could not be capricious. They could be relied upon to behave according to commonly accepted rules of conduct and should not therefore be distrusted and feared. It is this optimistic view of destiny and of the universe, in which order and anarchic equity, not sword or might nor caprice prevail, that perhaps had found expression in the Old-Slavonic concept of law which was identified with truth and justice (*pravda*). The same view of life had perhaps found expression also in the Old-Slavonic concept of judgment which was identified with destiny

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

(*sud*). Accordingly, in the mind of these people, the universe and peace (*mir*) were also identical.[28]

Great calamities occasionally befell the Old-Slavonic communities—frequent raids and plundering by the invaders and slave hunters; then cattle plagues and epidemics. These were thought to have been brought on by certain demons and malevolent ghosts, but the Polesie people knew of ways to cope even with such disasters. Contagious diseases were prevented or stopped by means of magic, especially by the magical powers of women. As for their enemies, the soil cultivators of the Dnieper basin were not prepared for any offensive or defensive warfare and were an easy prey for many aggressors. Being not armed, their defense consisted of hiding themselves. They sought safety in impenetrable marshes and forests and even resorted to such ruses as lying submerged on the bottoms of marshes and breathing by means of cane sticks until the danger was over.[29]

Since the Old-Slavonic agriculturists contracted their marriage unions early in life, as a means of labor supply and since they were not exposed to exhaustion of constant warfare, the region which they originally inhabited soon reached its limits of population. Thus, in spite of their autarchic and intensive agricultural techniques and their attachment to the soil, the early Slav folk were forced to leave their original habitat in search of new lands. They did not migrate in a fury and did not traverse great distances like the mounted nomads of the steppes; rather, they moved slowly and quietly for short distances and by stages always keeping in touch with the mother community from which they had sprung.

In this manner the Old-Slavonic tillers penetrated new regions and territories, not by force and conquest like the predatory steppe raiders, but by cultivating new soil along the river basins, in the midst of forest clearings, drained marshes or irrigated steppes. Living in village communities which remained ethnically uninterrupted, they transplanted and perpetuated in their new homes their native agricultural techniques, their beliefs and customs, their family and community organization, as well as their philosophy of life. Thus as late as the twentieth century, the social organization and personality traits of the Zadruga peo-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

attractive forest fairies who used to help travelers changed into beastly demons who trick wayfarers into making them lose their way and then cause them to perish.

The imposition of the rule of nomadic warriors over the soil cultivators brought about not only insecurity of life and property, but disintegration of the old ways of life and of the old morals. Social disintegration favored detachment from the group, caused decline in group identification and solidarity, tended to increase self-concern, fostered destructive aggressiveness and anti-social behavior. Hence, drunkenness, debauchery, orgiastic practices, together with robbing and killing, became prominent. According to Fedotov, the old Christian sermons are so full of invectives against such behavior that some studies of Russia's religious life consider that these themes formed the main content of anti-pagan literature of those days.[33]

Perhaps as a result of such social disorganization the Old-Slavonic Goddess of Love (Lada) was relegated into the background and obscurity. Instead, male gods of bacchanalian passion and Dionysiac orgy (Iarilo, Pereplut) became outstanding in folk imagination.[34] A phallic rite was observed at wedding banquets and sexual promiscuity during the feast gathering of young people became prominent, according to the old sermons.[35]

It was under these conditions of social disorganization and insecurity, and ascendency of power-oriented patriarchal system over the old stateless, semi-matriarchal and equalitarian order that the attitudes toward women changed radically. Mounting hostilities generated by conditions of strife and insecurity can be vented not only through inordinate sex life, alcoholism and delinquency, but also by aggressive behavior against all the unprotected and the weak. And just as sex life tended to take the form of lechery, and love that of uncontrolled passion, the attitudes toward the women changed from respect and reserve to that of scorn and contempt. They came to be looked upon as impure and unclean physically and morally.[36]

It is possible that the new unsatisfactory social conditions might have also affected the concept of the Christian God and attitude toward death. Not only did popular imagination in conditions of disorganization and insecurity tend to see in this

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

178 771 God a wrathful, irate and revengeful Old Man, but the Church leaders themselves, affected by the conditions of their society, were inclined to emphasize the fear aspect of the Christian God rather than his love and compassion. They also tended to pre- [771] occupy themselves with death, describing it as a terror-striking event. In some early Church sermons even the messengers of God, the angels, were represented in a terrifying manner:

[776] Then, two angels appear, sent by God for the soul. As soon as the soul has seen them, it will be horrified; all its image and beauty and face will change; feet and hands will be torpid, and the hearing as with the tongue will be chained by silence; and man will be all sorrowful and invalid and woeful; and afterwards, appears death. And then, with a terrible pain the soul will issue from the body . . .[37]

793 776 152 These feelings of anxieties and fears, combined perhaps with a strong sense of guilt of the Church leaders, are manifested in the life histories of most Russian saints. These people, as portrayed in their hagiographies, were being constantly threatened by temptations and intimidations of dreadful demons. Hallucinations about demons became very frequent among the monks, and struggle against demons became one of the main aspects of ascetic life. Whole herds of these fiends were sometimes seen by the ascetics. The demons would disguise themselves as humans, as angels, and even as Christ, or they would appear in their true beastly form.[38]

773 Consistent with this gloomy and terrifying view of life and death was also an apocalyptic picture of the end of the world as pictured by Church leaders. According to the old Russian sermons the end of the world was very near and it was to ensue in fire and floods of blood brought about by a wrathful and revengeful God, (a picture that strongly reminds one of the vision of the end of the world found in the beliefs of the steppe nomads of Central Asia):

Then undying fire will flow from the East to the West, devouring mountains, stones, trees, and the sea. The firmament will be dried up and turned like brick bats, and all existing things, except men, will melt in a like way by the rate of the fire. All the earth will be burned; and through this undying fire all mankind has to pass.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Like Jupiter, he only interfered in the affairs of mortals in moments of crisis. But when he did interfere it was no laughing matter, and everybody, from cellar to attic, trembled in his shoes . . .[20]

This God-like, unapproachable, inscrutable, absolute and arbitrary power of a stern and violent but also benevolent, compassionate and solicitous father was apparently projected into the Russian supernatural world in the form of the *Domovoy*, the house spirit. According to the Great-Russian folk beliefs, the Domovoy was the protector of the house; he had patriarchal prerogatives over it, but also depended upon it. He demanded from the family all kinds of honors. At the same time he was as unpredictable in his behavior as any stereotyped family head in the Great-Russian patriarchal family system.

Thus the Domovoy was at times protective, benevolent and compassionate, but at other times he would become wicked, vindictive and mischievous. He was endowed with supernatural powers and could bring either fortune or calamity upon the family, depending upon his frequently changing moods and dispositions. It was, therefore, considered wise to address him as "Grand Father" and to propitiate and appease him by frequent offerings in viands. If such attention were shown to him he was likely to be helpful. But if he were neglected, he would become enraged and full of wrathful vengeance. In such a case, he could be atoned only by blood; the corners of the izba were sprinkled with blood of a cock that was killed for the occasion and various incantations were uttered.[21]

8
FAMILY CONFLICTS

I

THE FATHER treated his family members as wards and minors because he was responsible for their well-being, their behavior and their salvation. He had to show a constant solicitude for them (*neustannaya zabota*). The blame for their

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

592 Familycentrism, family isolation, and lack of trust in one's
771 neighbor were apparently projected into the supernatural world
776 where one's own Domovoy, though at times arbitrary, ill-tempered and spiteful, was generally considered to be benevolent—bringing good luck to the household which was under his care and solicitude. The neighbor's Domovoy, on the other hand, was always a malevolent and wicked being who could never be propitiated and who was likely to steal your hay or drive away your cattle for the benefit of the home which was under his protection.
[789] The Russian peasants, therefore, developed means of defense against the neighbor's Domovoy in the form of spells and exorcisms.

156 Lack of social trust is not favorable to the development of
621 solidarity within a community. Therefore lack of group identi-
578 fication among the peasants and burghers, the same as the lack of the *esprit de corps* among the nobility, contributed to the perpetuation of the autocratic rule. Lack of communal identifications was an obstacle to the turning of group hostilities against the ruling classes. In such circumstances a great deal of personal aggressiveness had to find outlets and targets within the local community and within the family circle itself. Only when the authorities suffered crushing defeat and loss of prestige the hostilities would turn against them and mass uprisings would take place, demanding re-establishment of old communal values.

With the ascendancy of the otsovskaya system, family relations came to be organized in a hierarchical system along the lines of paternity, marriage status, seniority and sex. At one time, only married male members formed the family council (soviet). The males had priority over the females. Within each sex category the elder had priority rights over the younger. When the family was partitioned, custom demanded that the older brothers leave
[428] the ancestral home while the youngest, following Mongol tradi-
[582] tions, remained on the paternal *koren* (root).[4] In marrying the daughters it was the eldest who had to be married first.

593 In the patriarchal family, in their relations to the father, all family members were expected to accept his rule with fear and awe (*strakh*) and with humility (*smirenie*). They had to show absolute submission and blind obedience (*besprekoslovnoe povinovenie*),[5] as well as love and gratitude (*blagodarnost*).[6]

6; Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

That image of God and attitudes toward him might be to a certain extent projections of social and political relations could be seen, for instance, in the *Hundred Chapters,* a practical code of several centuries of Russia's early Christian life. This code stresses the need for fear and awe of earthly powers as a way to train oneself in fear and awe of God. "A pupil fears the master's cudgel more than the master himself"; "After them (masters), bow your head with humility, before every rich man"; "Those who have received power and fortune from their Tsar require glory also from their friends and demand veneration from minors." "Bow your head to everybody senior to you . . . fear the prince with all your power . . . from him you will learn how to fear God. . . . Who does not fear the earthly lord, how will he fear Him whom he does not see." "With the fear of God, as with a bridle, restrain your mind, keeping a watch on yourself every hour."[7]

This tendency to project the fear of omnipotent earthly powers into the supernatural world persisted as long as the autocratic and despotic powers of the Father and of the Czar were perpetuated and as long as the Church identified itself with the state. Describing her confessor, a Russian princess said that: "His [the priest's] principles were exactly those of my uncle; he was an extreme monarchist representing God as absolute monarch of the universe, and identifying the ideas of religion with a kind of rigorous bureaucracy, controlling every detail of life."[8] The image of a demanding God giving nothing in return penetrated all the strata of Great-Russian society, the peasants and the merchants, as well as the nobility and the intelligentsia:

> *Nyanya* [nurse] was entrusted with my religious instruction . . . She thought God was just like the Czar, except that one lived in heaven and the other on earth. He was the most powerful of all beings and inclined to be stern rather than merciful. At any rate she always spoke of his severity and never of his goodness. "He'll teach you to behave yourself! He doesn't forgive people! He is pitiless when He is offended!" . . . The saints were of negligible importance in her eyes.[9]

Chaikovsky, the renowned Russian composer, had a similar idea of God as a fearful being: "I had toward Him (and even

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

771 now my feelings have not changed) a feeling of wonder but at
•776 the same time also of fear. He created Heaven and earth. He too created me—and still even though I bow before Him, there is no love."[10] Michael Bakunin only elaborated on this basic popular concept of the Russian Orthodox God when he pictured the Lord as "God of vengeance and rage" who delights in eternal torturing of human beings and who is so "bloodthirsty and cruel" that he decided that his own son should be tortured and put to death by means of crucifixion.[11] A similar image of a self-seeking, dominating, arbitrary, and cruel God is found also
[538] in some Russian religious folk poems:

> Your gifts are not dear to me
> But dear to me are your souls.
> And I will be God above Gods,
> I will be Tzar above Tzars.
> And I will pick the apostles myself,
> And I will give them my mark,
> And I will give them my baptism.
> I will send them in all countries
> Who will receive them, will save himself
> And who does not, he will be tortured.[12]

Before such a God, like before the omnipotent earthly powers, there is nothing one can do but resign himself to his fate and await for God's decision at his *Strashny Sud* (Terrible Judgment). Thus when Fletcher asked a Russian Orthodox Bishop if he knew he was going to be saved the answer was that ". . . he knew not whether he should bee saved or no: but if God would *poshallovat* (take compassion on) him, or gratifie him so much as to save him, so it was, hee would be glad of it; if not what remedie?"[13] Such an image of an omnipotent, fierce and arbitrary God, the same as that of an all-powerful and harsh Father or Czar, might inspire humility, blind obedience and unconditional submissiveness; it might provoke also strong feelings of guilt, and a need for repentance and expiation of one's sins. Thus, next to fear, Russian religion emphasizes meekness and asceticism as a means of survival in the face of all-mighty and arbitrary powers.[14]

In this manner popular religious ideas and practices which

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

that he might be rich and powerful in life.[6] For the same reason money was placed in the water when the child was bathed for the first time.[7]

In marriage customs the urge for power was expressed in certain activities performed during the marriage ritual and believed to contain magical properties that enabled either one or the other spouse to dominate. Also in the wedding party the bridegroom was called "knyaz" (prince) and his party "boyars"; an important part of the marriage ceremonies consisted in *velichat gostei,* that is in mutual glorification of the wedding guests.

The phrase *Kak vas velichat?*—how to glorify you?, which is employed when asking another person his name might indicate the same feelings. In early Russia personal names were formed by a combination of words which conveyed the image of rule, glory, power, holiness and destruction, such as Sviatoslav (the holy and glorious), Yaropolk (blazing power), Mstislav (the glory of revenge).

Another manifestation of power-seeking, mistrust and destructive aggression on the folk level is revealed, for instance, in attitudes toward women. The folk image of the woman is in remarkable contrast to the image of the mother. The derisive name for woman is *baba,* and baba is said "not to be a human being" (*Baba ne chelovek*), according to a proverb. Therefore mistreatment and abuse of women may be justified.[8] In the folk parlance distinction is made between *Krestyane* (Christians, peasants) and *zhenshchiny* (women). In the folk maxims women are pictured as immoral ("Three babas Sodom"), shameless ("A baba laughs where grandpa blushes"), more cunning than the devil ("Where the devil fails he sends a baba"), the cause of all man's troubles ("She was the cause of Adam's banishment"), and source of all evil ("We cannot expect any good from our rib").[9]

This folk concept of woman as an inferior being is found on all levels of Russian society. Comparatively few women have been admitted to the rank of saints in the Russian Church. Count Leo Tolstoy, a philosopher and novelist, who has been otherwise renowned for his ideas of Christian love, all-human brotherhood and an anarchic social and political equality, showed a great deal of misogynism. In his diary he pictures

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

III

Just as in the ideology of Nihilism and Anarchism, revolt against degrading submission and rejection and demand for acceptance in some sects took the form of extreme power-seeking and self-deification. In the sect *Lyudi Bozhii* (people of God), for instance, the craving to become God incarnate or to have a live incarnation of Deity actually present in their midst was so strong that since the time of the sect's founder who claimed to be God Zebaoth (Sabaoth) a whole series of Christs came into being, succeeding one another by a sort of filiation or adoption. Finally each religious community of this sect boasted of having a flesh-and-blood Christ in its midst. They claimed that it was in each man's own power to unite himself to the Deity and to incarnate it in his own body. A woman had the faculty to become *Boginya* (the Goddess) or *Bogoroditsa* (Mother of God) and many women did achieve such self-apotheosis, adding to the number of divinities of each community.[19]

It was by means of suffering and mortification of flesh that candidates for Messiahship competed among themselves for this supreme achievement. These exploits were accompanied with self-glorification. In this way both power-seeking and identification with suffering were realized. The followers would watch for years to see which of the rival pretenders to Christhood underwent the greatest sufferings. The rivals for Godship, on the other hand, often resorted to trickery to prove their claims.[20] But once the issue was settled and a God-incarnate was recognized, the whole congregation owed Him supreme reverence and unconditional obedience which satisfied the contender's craving for power: "I am God, foretold of the prophets. There is no other God than I. Seek ye none other. Where unto ye are appointed, abide therein."[21] On the part of the congregation the desire for Christ-incarnate in their midst manifested a strong need for protective dependence and acceptance.

Hence longing for a world in which truth and justice, kindness and love would reign, in which there would be no abusive serfdom, no subservience, tortures and sufferings, but happi-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

There will be no place to run and hide oneself; it will be woe and pain without comfort, particularly for the repenting sinners. They will see the anger of God, full of rage and wrath, bearing the woe of revenge.[39]

Also the folk religious poetry began to emphasize the gloomy aspects of *post-mortem* life, especially that of the *Strashny Sud*—The Terrible Judgment. It was perhaps in such conditions that Destiny, together with the Truth, became dissociated from the idea of a supreme Justice that reigned everywhere and came to be looked upon as being subject to the caprice of arbitrary and uncontrollable forces that now dominated the Universe.

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7: Lineva B-5 (no date)1893 RFl Great Russia RFl

called the *svat*. It is his business to praise up the person he represents and to obtain easy conditions. This part is sometimes taken by an old and experienced relation of the groom. 584

As there is but little time to arrange a marriage, the two *svats*, on starting out, receive the names of several families in which to enquire for brides, and therefore it is a busy week in the village—many *svats* going about from house to house. They are dressed in holiday attire, which is a sufficient sign of their mission (these visits taking place mostly in the evenings during the week). The *svat* carries with him a quart of brandy, that he may offer the necessary treat during the negotiations.

The two *svats* slowly and solemnly enter the house, where they find the girl dressed up in her best, sitting at the table with her father and mother. When a prospective bride sees them she goes away and hides. The negotiations are opened and conducted with a great deal of ceremony, as the peasants are great sticklers for propriety and the girl would be highly offended if any formality were omitted, or the wedding celebrated with a particle less pomp than the family can afford. After the first courtesies, the *svats* are asked to sit down at the head of the room by the table. They refuse, upon one pretext or another, (as being cold, etc.,) and try to get a place under the middle beam of the ceiling, that being a good omen. [777] Their attire, ceremonious behavior, etc., show plainly on what business they have come, and the actions and answers of the people of the house show them, in turn, whether or not they are welcome and what decision they may expect. Thus both sides proceed very cautiously.

The business opens with a general conversation about the weather, the price of wheat, etc. After a while the *svat* mentions casually, that he has heard the people of the house have a commodity to sell, and that he has a buyer for it, (this feature is [583] quite plainly a relic of the ancient form of marriage by purchase). If the father says there is a mistake, that he did, indeed, have a commodity, but it is sold (which means that the girl has already been promised), then the *svats* take their departure in a little while and go to the next house on the list. If an excuse is

6: Tomasic F-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

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1 [Cf. ref. 11b, pp. 52-55.--Analyst]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

795 771 •779 643 over the whole earth.[1] Through the support of the Church the absolute power of the Emperor became sacred, all-comprising and omnipresent. In the proclamation which announced his reign after he has been solemnly anointed by the Patriarch it was stated that he "proceeded from God, and not from man," and that to him, the "supreme master of the universe, absolute obedience was due from all."[2]

795 797 177 It was this Messianic ideology of politico-religious proselytism and world salvation which had united the Church and the state that helped Byzantium to solidify its rule and to spread its influence and control over the neighboring countries. In conquered, dependent and friendly territories numerous bishoprics of Eastern rite were established whose function was to obtain the moral support of the people for the Byzantine ruler. The conquered people were allowed a certain degree of autonomy in their internal affairs and one of their privileges was the right of the use of their native language in church rituals.

This politico-religious expansionism, however, had its weaknesses. The only tie that linked the subjected and the dependent peoples with the central power was the Church. Thus, as soon as the central power and the authority of the Byzantine Emperor weakened as a result of internal feuds, palace revolutions, civil wars, and invasions, some petty local potentates saw a chance to emancipate themselves from Constantinople and proclaim themselves as sovereign rulers. Such a local lord following Byzantine traditions would appoint from his own kinsmen bishops and Patriarchs whose function was to anoint the new king, to bestow upon him God-like qualities, and to sanctify his despotic rule among the subjects.

795 797 648 793 It is this pattern of Church and state relations that also developed between Byzantium and Russia by the end of the tenth century, when as a result of a political alliance with Byzantium Prince Vladimir of Kiev was converted to Christianity.[3] A Greek Metropolitan and a number of Greek Orthodox bishops were subsequently sent to Russia. Having an eye on the control of all other Russian principalities, the Byzantine Church bestowed upon the Metropolitan of Kiev the authority over all Russian

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

II

Following Byzantine traditions and being entirely dependent upon and identified with the dominant political power, the Russian Orthodox clergy supported the autocratic reign of Muscovite rulers by means of an apotheosis of the Czar. According to this theocratic ideology the role of the Church was to be the loyal ally and helper of the Czar who derived his authority directly from God. The Czar's judgment could be overruled by no prelate. In his effort, common with that of the Church to establish a divine order on the whole earth, the Czar had to be unconditionally supported.[6]

Native Russian, Byzantine and Turco-Mongol institutions and concepts were blended in this system of Russian imperial theocracy. According to the Mongol idea of imperial power the emperor was the owner of the body and of the property of each one of his subjects. He was, however, disinterested in their souls and conscience. Thus, as far as religious beliefs were concerned, the Mongol rulers showed a great deal of tolerance; being interested mainly in collecting the tributes and not in governing they did not look at religion and clergy as allies in ruling. The shamans among the Ural-Altaic peoples were not organized as a priestly class and the Mongol emperor, even after he had accepted Islam, did not see any potential threat to his imperial power in any religion. In that system of power there was a complete separation of religion and politics.

In Byzantium, on the other hand, the Church was a powerful and well-organized force with imperial ambitions. But the Church was subdued to the imperial and personal interests of the lay ruler. The Church often succeeded, however, in using the imperial power for its own ends. At the same time the Byzantine Emperor in legal theory did not rule in his own right, but derived his authority from the people. In legal theory, he was an elected monarch and was subjected to the supreme rule of law, even if the law emanated from him. There was thus in Byzantium a well established set of laws which bound equally the Emperor and his subjects and guaranteed also certain rights to the subjects.

the Monastery a great patriotic host came to its rescue under the leadership of a prince, a butcher, a monk and a Cossack, drove out the Poles, and established Michael as the first Tsar of the House of Romanov and his father Philaret as Patriarch. The House of Romanov was to last until the collapse of imperial Russia, and the advent of the Soviets. The Patriarchate was not so long lived. But in addition to Philaret himself it produced at least one outstanding figure in the vigorous personality of Nikon.

Nikon, of peasant origin, was a rigorist, vigorous and dominating, sincere and ascetic. As head of the Chudov monastery in Moscow he had been the close friend and adviser of the Tsar Alexis, the devout son and successor of Michael, for some years, when in 1652 with a good deal of reluctance and some stipulations he yielded to the Tsar's entreaties and accepted the Patriarchal Throne. Perhaps he foresaw that his own personality and conception of his duty as Patriarch were bound to clash with those of his friend and sovereign. Such in fact proved to be the case. Nikon felt himself bound in conscience to resist the encroachments of the secular power in the realm of spiritual affairs. But at the same time he had little scruple about intruding his own will into secular matters, where his harsh severity and arrogance made him many enemies among the boyars.

There was another aspect of the troubles which were to gather around Nikon and in the end overwhelm him. It was the question of the revision of the Service books of the Church —a thorny matter on which many men both in Russia and elsewhere have pricked their fingers.

The Old Slavonic books used by the Russian Church had been translated from the Greek, and in the course of centuries of transcribing, minor errors had inadvertently crept into the text. Beside these matters there were other questions in dispute, such as whether the sign of the Cross should be made with two fingers in the Russian manner or with three as the Greeks were accustomed to make it. And how often should Alleluia be sung on certain occasions? One may be pardoned some astonishment at the fury of the passions aroused by the mere discussion of these subjects. But this is to misunderstand. Men

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were not fighting about trivialities as such. In a sense nothing in the sphere of religion was a triviality. It is to overlook the fundamental fact that Orthodoxy was, and is, regarded by the Orthodox as one whole thing. To a man like Avvakum,[1] Orthodoxy, doctrine, rites, ceremonial, painting and music was one integrated whole. The slightest change in any detail was a breach in the fabric of Orthodoxy—and no such breach was to be tolerated at any price.

The question was not new in Nikon's day. A century before under Ivan the Terrible an attempt had been made to revise the Service books, and earlier still a learned Greek monk named Maxim had been brought to Moscow to undertake the work. The extraordinary history of that unhappy man reveals the intractable nature of the task in the atmosphere of ignorance, prejudice and passion which enveloped it. He came to Russia, as an invited guest, to carry out a work of scholarship. He spent thirty-eight years in Russia, twenty-six of them in captivity and sixteen in an actual dungeon, and for a long while excommunicate.

It did not ease the difficulty that the only standard by which the Russian books could be corrected was the corresponding Greek books. Russian ecclesiastics did not know Greek, and few, if any, wanted to know it. The Greeks were suspect, living now in the land of the infidel, and had they not surrendered to Western heresy at Florence, for which the judgment of God had swiftly overtaken them in 1453? Moscow was now the torch-bearer and champion of Orthodoxy, the third and final Rome, the guardian of the true faith.

No improvement in the Service books emerged from all this high feeling, and the matter cropped up again when Nikon became Patriarch. By nature an ardent reformer he would reform not only men but books.

The presence of Macarius the Patriarch of Antioch and his suite in Moscow presented an opportunity of which the Russian Patriarch was not slow to take advantage. Both informally and formally in a synod summoned for the purpose, he compared the Russian practice with the Greek and always accepted the latter as correcting the former, and the rulings

[1] See page 105.

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of the Greek visitors were acquiesced in. This did not add to Nikon's already scanty popularity, especially when he proclaimed with more honesty than tact: "I am a Russian and the son of a Russian but my faith and religion are Greek."

Even Avvakum had been prepared to amend the Russian books from the older Slavonic editions and manuscripts. But that was before Nikon's day as Patriarch, and when the latter proposed to appeal to the Greeks as the criterion, Avvakum and his friends from being moderate reformers went into the most violent and unappeasable opposition.

Avvakum was a remarkable man and he could write. He was in fact the most outstanding figure in Russian literature before Peter the Great. His autobiography which has been translated into English, should certainly be read. He defied the authorities with implacable obstinacy, goaded them with virulent abuse, suffered untold hardships as a consequence and in the end won the martyr's crown which he so eagerly desired.

In due course, the conflict between the ecclesiastical authorities and Avvakum's party (for he had many friends and sympathizers) developed into an open schism which has persisted to this day. Thus Russian Dissent, unlike English, owes its origin to opposition to reform, not to the advocacy of it. The Old Believers, as the dissenting party was called, became highly fissiparous and sometimes most eccentric. They suffered much persecution over a long period of time. "But on the whole," to quote Prince Mirsky,[1] "they have been the truest —in many cases the only—preservers of pre-Petrine Russian civilization. Were it not for them our contemporaries would hardly have rediscovered the Church music of Old Russia, nor the boundless wealth of its religious painting, which is the purest, strongest and most original flower of Old Russian civilization."

Nikon won against the Old Believers, but he lost against the nobility, which succeeded in detaching the sympathies of the Tsar from the Patriarch. The same Council which in 1667, in the presence of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch,

[1] In his introduction to *The Life of the Archpriest Avvakum by Himself* The Hogarth Press, 1924.

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excommunicated the Old Believers, deposed Nikon himself and banished him into monastic seclusion.

The line of Patriarchs continued until 1700 when Adrian the last of the original succession died. By this time the dynamic personality of Peter the Great had appeared on the scene and inaugurated a new period in Russian history. In building the city on the Neva which bore his own name he opened his famous "window upon Europe" through which a hurricane blew which disturbed, scattered and rearranged many things in the life of the Russians. Peter admired all things Western and was determined to make Russia a great nation after the pattern of the West. So far as the Russian Church was concerned Peter's reforms had little if any effect in the sphere of doctrine, but he saw to it that bishops were appointed who sympathized or at least were ready to co-operate with his critical ideas on traditional Russian customs and who were willing to acquiesce in the subservience of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to his own autocratic will. Most important of all, he permitted no election of a successor to the Patriarch Adrian, and twenty-one years later abolished the Patriarchate altogether. The formal instrument by which this change was made was entitled the "Ecclesiastical Regulation". There were to be no more Patriarchs in Russia, instead the supreme authority in the Church was to be vested in a body formed on the German Lutheran model and known as the Holy Governing Synod.

This was no synod in the ordinary ecclesiastical sense of the word, but a committee whose members were appointed and dismissed at the will of the Tsar. In addition a secular official called the Procurator was appointed by the Emperor. This layman was not indeed a member of the synod, but his function was to supervise all its proceedings, and without his consent the synod could enact nothing, nor even choose what matters it should discuss. The bishops were dragooned into acceptance of this system, completely foreign as it was to the spirit of the Russian Church. Yet Peter's organization lasted until the collapse of the Empire in 1917.

It is an eloquent testimony to the dynamic force of Peter's personality that the impetus of his reforming movement survived his death. But it introduced deep cleavages and

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III

Just as in the ideology of Nihilism and Anarchism, revolt against degrading submission and rejection and demand for acceptance in some sects took the form of extreme power-seeking and self-deification. In the sect *Lyudi Bozhii* (people of God), for instance, the craving to become God incarnate or to have a live incarnation of Deity actually present in their midst was so strong that since the time of the sect's founder who claimed to be God Zebaoth (Sabaoth) a whole series of Christs came into being, succeeding one another by a sort of filiation or adoption. Finally each religious community of this sect boasted of having a flesh-and-blood Christ in its midst. They claimed that it was in each man's own power to unite himself to the Deity and to incarnate it in his own body. A woman had the faculty to become *Boginya* (the Goddess) or *Bogoroditsa* (Mother of God) and many women did achieve such self-apotheosis, adding to the number of divinities of each community.[19]

It was by means of suffering and mortification of flesh that candidates for Messiahship competed among themselves for this supreme achievement. These exploits were accompanied with self-glorification. In this way both power-seeking and identification with suffering were realized. The followers would watch for years to see which of the rival pretenders to Christhood underwent the greatest sufferings. The rivals for Godship, on the other hand, often resorted to trickery to prove their claims.[20] But once the issue was settled and a God-incarnate was recognized, the whole congregation owed Him supreme reverence and unconditional obedience which satisfied the contender's craving for power: "I am God, foretold of the prophets. There is no other God than I. Seek ye none other. Where unto ye are appointed, abide therein."[21] On the part of the congregation the desire for Christ-incarnate in their midst manifested a strong need for protective dependence and acceptance.

Hence longing for a world in which truth and justice, kindness and love would reign, in which there would be no abusive serfdom, no subservience, tortures and sufferings, but happi-

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795 621 the communistic tenets of the Dukhobortsy in such a way as to turn them to his own profit and advantage. Like other Dukhobortsy, Kapustin too believed that God was in every man, and [781] therefore all men were equal. He said, however, that God first had revealed himself in Jesus and the soul of Jesus has then continually animated new bodies throughout many generations. And by virtue of its higher qualities, and the absolute command of God, the soul of Jesus as it passed from one man to another had invariably retained its identity, and the man in whom the soul of Jesus resided, unmistakenly knew he was Jesus:

> Thus Sylvan Kolisnikof at Nikisk whom many of older among you knew, was Jesus; but now, as truly as the heaven is above and the earth under my feet, I am the true Jesus Christ, your Lord! fall down therefore on your knees and worship me![28]

Kapustin introduced a complete community of goods among [476] his followers. They worked the fields in common and divided the harvest among them. Storehouses were erected to provide against years of dearth or famine. Also various kinds of industries were introduced and the colony showed visible progress in the first few years of its existence. Kapustin had also assembled an advisory Council of thirty Elders about him, from among whom an inner circle of twelve was selected. These were known as "The Apostles." Before he died he endeavored to impose his son as his successor and claimed that when he died the soul of Jesus would enter the body of his son.

[661] After Kapustin's death dissatisfactions grew stronger and manifested themselves in suspicion, mistrust, and denunciation. The Council of Elders developed into an inquisitional tribunal which ruled arbitrarily, interpreting justice according to their caprices. Those who submitted unconditionally were rewarded, those who were suspected of deviation were accused of treachery and of intention to go over to their "enemy" that is, the official Church, and were punished with torture and even with death. The house from which the Elders ruled became known as *Ray i muka*—paradise and torture.[29]

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and the West, but the fruit it has produced in so much tension and suffering may be such as other parts of the Christian Church may be glad to garner in time of need.

Christianity in Russia has had a very different history from Christianity in Western countries. For long it lived its life in isolation from the West. Its clergy knew no Greek or Latin and the discussions of the Schoolmen passed them by. It had no share in Luther's Reformation or the Counter Reformation and only indirectly felt their effects. It has had, and still has, its own problem of the relation of Church and State and its own ways of dealing with the education and training of its flock. If in modern times it has relied too much upon the external support of the State, it has nevertheless known that its real strength lay in the people's natural sense of religion and the reality of spiritual things.

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It is reported that an anti-religious agitator in haranguing a Russian crowd called upon God, if there were one, to strike him dead. When nothing happened he inferred to his hearers that there was no God because He had not killed him. "No," said the crowd, "He hasn't, but we will." And they did. The story, if true, illustrates also the "dionysian" element in the Russian temperament, which is so liable to sweep them into violent action and constitutes one pole in that striking dualism which runs through Russian character.

But there is better evidence of the religious spirit of the Russians in their feeling for God in nature, their sense of beauty as a link with the divine, their admiration, and in spite of all, their practice of the virtues of charity and humility. The ordinary Russian feels that he can hardly be less than charitable and forgiving in view of the shortcomings of all men before God. In spite of his own liability to outbreaks of violence, the idea of administering capital or indeed even corporal punishment in cold blood, sends a chill of revulsion through him.

There is indeed a strand in Russian religion which administers a shock of surprise to the modern Western who derives his impressions of Russia from newspaper accounts of the activities of the Russian State. Long before the Little Poor Man of Assisi changed clothes with the leper and gave his special

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781 inspiration to the religious life of the West, the deaths of the princes Boris and Gleb had made an indelible impression upon the religious thought of Russia. In the interpretation put upon their fate by the Russian Church they became the type of voluntary acceptance of suffering. This aspect of their religion which works so powerfully beneath the surface in the thought of Russians, and leads them to look upon suffering, and especially suffering which is voluntarily accepted, not merely with compassion but with veneration, is not to be dismissed as no more than a manifestation of the melancholy inherent in the Slav temperament. It has its reinforcement, if not its foundation, in the Russian stress upon the "kenotic" Christ, the Christ who emptied Himself of His glory and accepted humiliation and suffering to the culminating point of voluntary death. It is this that makes the Russian regard human suffering and humility, not only suffering for Christ but the mere fact of following Christ in His experience of it, with a sort of admiration and reverence.

It is closely associated with the aesthetic approach to religion and with the sense of man's kinship with the natural world. It makes itself felt in the Russian's scale of values in the sphere of law and of ethics and indeed in his general view of life.

As Fedotov points out, of all the iconographic representations of the Virgin and Child which the Russians took over from the Byzantine Church, the type which they call "umilenie" became easily the favourite. It does not so much claim awe before the majestic dignity of the Mother of God, as express that complex emotional reaction of the human heart to innocence and beauty and pain, for which English has no single word.

The "kenoticism" of Russian religion is but one aspect of it, by its very nature it does not claim attention through any violent expression of itself in the world of affairs. But it is an aspect which must not be overlooked.

792 In Russia, as in the rest of the Orthodox world,[1] the monastic life has always exercised an immense influence. The life of a good monk is regarded as the Christian life *par excel-*

[1] See Chapter X.

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were directed not only against this cult, but also against that of the Fire and of the Sun.[25] There was no cult of war-gods in the mythology of the Old Slavs nor was there any epic poetry in their folklore.

Unlike the patriarchal, rigidly stratified and dualistic religious system of steppe nomads which was full of tensions and struggles, the supernatural world of the Slavs of Polesie was anarchic, equalitarian and peaceful. Apparently projecting their own social organization into the supernatural world, the Old-Slavonic plowmen conceived it as being composed of both sexes but without a hierarchy of power among themselves. The deities that inhabited that world were neither arbitrary nor corrupted, nor did they fight among themselves for the control over man. Festivals in their honor were celebrated with the accent on drink, song, dance and lovemaking.

Accordingly the Slavs of Polesie did not have to appease their deities nor try to be on good terms with both the bad and the good ones. They believed that after death bad and wicked people would roam the earth in the form of werewolves and vampires; but, they also possessed simple means of protection against these evil ghosts, such as pieces of torn clothes, which were accessible to everyone.[26] There were always persons of both sexes who maintained contact and control over the spirits of evil and were willing to help anyone in distress. Hence the Old Slavs trusted their wizards, the *veshchy*.[27]

According to the religious and social philosophy of the Slavs of the Dnieper, there are some general all-embracing rules of behavior to which all people, all the universe as well as all the deities, are subjected. In such a religious and philosophical system, the deities could not be capricious. They could be relied upon to behave according to commonly accepted rules of conduct and should not therefore be distrusted and feared. It is this optimistic view of destiny and of the universe, in which order and anarchic equity, not sword or might nor caprice prevail, that perhaps had found expression in the Old-Slavonic concept of law which was identified with truth and justice (*pravda*). The same view of life had perhaps found expression also in the Old-Slavonic concept of judgment which was identified with destiny

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593 157 Like Jupiter, he only interfered in the affairs of mortals in moments of crisis. But when he did interfere it was no laughing matter, and everybody, from cellar to attic, trembled in his shoes . . .[30]

776 771 This God-like, unapproachable, inscrutable, absolute and arbitrary power of a stern and violent but also benevolent, compassionate and solicitous father was apparently projected into the Russian supernatural world in the form of the *Domovoy*, the house spirit. According to the Great-Russian folk beliefs, the Domovoy was the protector of the house; he had patriarchal prerogatives over it, but also depended upon it. He demanded from the family all kinds of honors. At the same time he was as unpredictable in his behavior as any stereotyped family head in the Great-Russian patriarchal family system.

Thus the Domovoy was at times protective, benevolent and compassionate, but at other times he would become wicked, vindictive and mischievous. He was endowed with supernatural powers and could bring either fortune or calamity upon the family, depending upon his frequently changing moods and dispositions. It was, therefore, considered wise to address him as "Grand Father" and to propitiate and appease him by frequent offerings in viands. If such attention were shown to him he was likely to be helpful. But if he were neglected, he would become [782] enraged and full of wrathful vengeance. In such a case, he could be atoned only by blood; the corners of the izba were sprinkled with blood of a cock that was killed for the occasion and various incantations were uttered.[31]

8
FAMILY CONFLICTS

I

593 THE FATHER treated his family members as wards and minors because he was responsible for their well-being, their behavior and their salvation. He had to show a constant solicitude for them (*neustannaya zabota*). The blame for their

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This is great fortune
For all the servants of the world,
Sharers in honesty and trust,
Executors of the Covenant of Christ.[23]

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Longing for acceptance was not only manifested in the worship of living "Christ," but also in carnal communion with the "Christs" and "Madonnas," in ecstatic trances and mass religious hallucinations, and apparently even in some cannibalistic practices.[23] Thus when in consequence of sacred rites a Bogorodica would bear a child, if a boy, he was known as *Khristosik* (the little Christ). According to some students of Russia's religious life the Khristosik was immolated on the eighth day after his birth. His heart and blood, mixed with flour and honey, were served to make the cakes for the Eucharist. This practice was called "Taking Communion in the blood of the Lamb."[24] At other times, according to the same sources, it was a young virgin, chosen as Mother of God who willingly gave her left breast to be cut out amidst ritual dancing and singing. The breast was then partaken of as the "true Eucharistic food."[25]

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Great emotional insecurity and extreme fear of rejection might explain why elements of power-seeking were present in all sects, even in those which professed complete repudiation of power in any form whatsoever. For instance, Popov, the founder of the Molokane sect which originally professed complete freedom of conscience and complete equality, eventually entirely suppressed liberty of discussion and interpretation. Unconditional submission to the authorities he declared to be the first duty, insubordination the greatest sin.[26] Andrey Selivanov, the founder of the Skoptsy sect, had himself designated in the prayers which were addressed to him in his lifetime, as "God of Gods and King of Kings," even though the Skoptsy sect professed complete freedom from any form of coercion.[27]

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Also early in the history of the Dukhobortsy we find that their communistic practices finally led to dictatorship and despotism.[28] The leaders of this sect knew how to take personal advantage of the longing of the sect members for protective dependence and acceptance. One of the leaders of this sect, Kapustin, in the beginning of the nineteenth century expounded

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newspapers, books, and pamphlets, some of which were printed abroad and circulated freely though often clandestinely among the leading circles of the Empire.

The ruling circles of the Bolshevik Party themselves were always aware that without criticism intellectual stagnation, lack of creative initiative, and bureaucratism would set in. But they could not afford to allow complete freedom of thought and of expression which might eventually undermine their own power. As a result the Bolsheviks introduced a system of "criticism and self-criticism," known as *samokritika.*

According to this practice it is the duty of every Soviet subject to criticize his own work and the work of others in his shop or office as a means of stimulating alertness, initiative, and hard work, and as a way to correct errors. But among the officials who closely watch each other's activities, each hoping to rise on the cadaver of the other, samokritika is often used as a means of intrigue and ruin in jockeying and struggling for ranks, positions, and power. Samokritika therefore has developed into a weapon employed to detect the ideological deviations and diversions and to criticize any lack of sufficiently positive attitude toward the "Party line." In this manner "self-criticism" in the Soviet Union has become another instrument of regimentation and means to increase conformity.

Samokritika is also employed by the ruling circles to manipulate hostilities generated by the Soviet system and to direct them away from themselves and against the managers and bureaucrats located mostly on the lower levels of the Soviet social pyramid. These people conveniently function as scapegoats. It is such people who, together with a sprinkling from the higher echelons, are periodically offered as sacrifice and "purged" or "liquidated." Samokritika is therefore employed also as a check against abuses of power, though mostly on the local level.

In an atmosphere of complete dependence upon and subordination to an overwhelming and infallible power which instils fear and awe, the slightest deviation from the line of thought and emotions as laid down by that distant and inscrutable force might easily provoke anxieties, and a strong sense of guilt. In circumstances in which one feels isolated and without support,

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one's helplessness, feeling of rejection, and dependence upon the controlling power is especially keenly felt. In such conditions even a slight deviation might provoke a feeling of guilt, need for self-punishment and suffering; it might call for public self-humiliation, confession of errors and pledges to repent and to correct the wrong done, especially when such practices are supported by the inherited traditions. There is therefore a certain degree of truth in the assertion of the Bolsheviks, that "Criticism and self-criticism is a great driving force in the development of Soviet society."[10]

II

In a "prison and barracks" society privileges of power and ideas of grandeur do not sufficiently compensate for lack of acceptance, isolation, humiliations, feelings of insecurity, and sense of inferiority and rejection. In an atmosphere of suspicion, intrigue, degradation, and lack of intimate personal and intellectual contact and of social support, anxieties, fears, extreme self-concern, and deep antagonisms easily flourish. Such a situation tends to magnify feelings of destructive aggression developed on the family level and is therefore likely to become overcharged with extreme hostilities and hatreds; it is likely to become full of potential explosiveness which may be directed against the ruling class itself unless convenient channels for discharge of aggressiveness are found.

In a society in which overt expressions of emotional behavior are under the control of a ruling clique, accumulating aggressions are readily directed against internal and external "enemies" of the regime, be they real or invented for the occasion. In this manner the feeling of hostility against the regime might be redirected against its opponents. It is therefore in the interest of survival of the ruling faction in such a society to cultivate hatred and destruction of the "enemy" by all means of public pressure, propaganda, agitation, education, as well as lawmaking.

These are the reasons why attitudes of extreme animosity against the "enemies of the Soviet Motherland" are propagated in the Soviet daily press and in the school textbooks. Stirring hatreds is one of the main tasks of Party agitators.[11] Accordingly

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inadequacy and dependency, lack of self-reliance and need for complete submissiveness to authority might be fostered. At the same time the attraction to an unapproachable and unattainable father and the feeling of revolt against his despotism, seeking solace from mother and reaction against her over-protection might cause a constant alternation between extremes of these emotional reactions and therefore reinforce the sense of guilt. The feeling of guilt might then provoke a need to confess, to accuse and punish oneself and to submit again completely to the parent's will in the hope to win his acceptance. Self-incriminatory tendencies which have been acquired in this manner might be generalized and extended to relationships on other social levels.

Lanin, an English writer who closely observed Russian behaviour in the second part of the nineteenth century, found that the sense of guilt was "extremely developed."[1] According to this observer there was not only a tendency to confess one's guilt but there was also on the part of the public an insistence on confession of guilt. Moreover, as in the teaching of the Russian Church, confession of guilt was often accepted in social relations as equal to an eradication of sin and therefore demanded forgiveness. "He who confesses has repented, and he who has repented has wiped out his sin," is a Russian folk saying.

Such attitudes and feelings supported the inquisitorial system of justice where the emphasis was on the formality of confession, regardless of the means by which confession has been extorted. Thus since the main emphasis was on confession everything was done to obtain it. If the victim showed any reticence or reluctance, his accusers did not hesitate to employ moral coercion and physical torture to force confession out of him. Once confession was obtained, the conscience of all the participants seemed to have been satisfied:

> . . . Straightway the people rushed
> At the three fleeing murderers; they seized
> The hiding miscreants and led them up
> To the child's corpse, yet warm; when lo! a marvel . . .
> The lifeless little one began to tremble!
> "Confess!" the people thundered; and in terror
> Beneath the ax the villains did confess . . .[2]

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Aware of such attitudes and practices and sometimes also moved by a genuine sense of guilt, many of the accused were ready to confess and to incriminate themselves. Hense self-accusatory confessions became common to all strata of Russian society, including the intelligentsia. Thus, for instance, when the Russian anarchist leader Bakunin had been extradited to the Czarist police he wrote a *Confession to the Czar* full of extreme self-recriminations. In his confession this leading Russian conspiritor and revolutionary said that he merited the sternest penalties known to Russian law because his thoughts and actions had been "in the highest degree ridiculous, senseless, presumptuous, and criminal . . . criminal against God, my Emperor, criminal against Russia, my country, criminal against all laws, political and moral, divine and human."[3] Formerly, said Bakunin, he stifled the voice of conscience which warned him of the wickedness of his ways. But now "he can only be thankful that his arrest has been brought to an end," before more harm could be done by "my idle, useless, and criminal career." In his confession Bakunin had put himself completely at the mercy of the "wrathful and dread" Czar, admitting that he deserved the sternest penalty. It is of interest to note that Bakunin had also compared himself to a repentant son before an irate father: (". . . a prodigal, estranged and perverted son before an insulted and angry father.")

In a like manner, Leo Tolstoy, the apostle of the philosophy of non-resistance, in his confession humbly repents and tends to go to extremes in castigating himself for the sins of his youth:

> . . . I wished with all my heart to be good but I was young, I had passions . . . I cannot recall those years without dread, loathing, and anguish of heart. I killed people in war and challenged to duells to kill; I lost money at cards, wasting the labour of the peasants; I punished them, fornicated, and cheated. Lying, stealing, acts of lust of every description, drunkenness, violence, murder. There was not a crime which I did not commit . . . At that time I began to write through vanity, avarice, and pride. In my writings I did the same as in life. In order to have glory and money, for which I wrote, I had to conceal what was good and speak what was bad. And so I did.[4]

On the folk level the strength and prevalence of guilt feelings combined with a deeply rooted need and demand for forgiveness

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might be indicated in the farewell greeting phrase: *prashchaite* (forgive me). The same sentiment is manifested in readiness to shed tears at the slightest provocation. Easy and frequent weeping is found in all strata of Russian society, men and women alike. Autobiographies, belles-lettres as well as folk literature, give ample evidence for this phenomenon. Religious practices of the Russian Church support such needs and demand that repentance be manifested in frequent tears. There are even practical precepts in Russian Church literature about how to provoke tears:

> If you have no tears, do not despair; sigh frequently and heavily from all the heart; for tears are the gift of God, and by and by, with sighs and prayers you will obtain them from God. . . . Having found tears, preserve them with all your strength.[5]

II

It appears that this sense of guilt and passion for confession and self-incrimination, which are rooted in patriarchal family structure, might be strengthened and promoted by a social system in which one is utterly at the mercy of arbitrary superior forces that are not bound nor limited by any moral obligations or any superior principles of law or justice. If one has aroused the anger of such forces he may have a slight hope of forgiveness and salvation only if he completely gives up his individuality, renounces all struggle, and prostrates himself before the omnipotent powers, begging for pity and commiseration.

The annals of Russia's political, social and juridical history give much evidence of such feelings and attitudes. It is perhaps in the field of religion where such sense of utter helplessness before a fearful superior force is projected. There is a tendency in Russian religious beliefs to picture at the one end of the Universe a stern and implacable God and at the other end of it a helpless mankind which is at the complete mercy of this detached and fearful Ruler. But the orphans, the poor, the needy and the repentant, in other words those who are utterly helpless and dependent can expect compassion from Him.[6] Hence there is emphasis both on fear and humility in Russian Orthodoxy.

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[Saint Theodosius]

593 159 792 rified by such behavior. After his father's death, Theodosius used "to go to the fields with the slaves and work humbly."[13] Later when Theodosius finally escaped from his mother's tyranny by entering a monastery, he became the founder of that school of Russian monastic philosophy which emphasizes self-abnegation and meekness, as well as charitable love and compassion for those who suffer. In that manner Theodosius identified himself and his Church with all those who were tyrannized. But he was also active in protecting those to whom injustice was done. He became "intercessor for many before judges and princes, rescuing people."[14]

152 695 Deep sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them might explain why the Russian juries and the peasant courts were so ready to acquit the repentants. Juries and courts would often set free criminals who were found guilty by well established evidence. The verdict in such a case might be "not guilty" because of "commiseration for the poor murderer." A jury sitting through Holy Week would tend to acquit everybody, because "at the time of our Lord's Passion, it does not become Christians to condemn their brethren."[15]

152 538 Sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them is an outstanding trait of Russian literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Russian writings of those days exhibit a preoccupation with great social, political, religious and psychological problems of mankind. They picture a gloomy, painful, and tragic world, full of misery, injustice, blood and death. In the same manner the school textbooks of those days contained many heartbreaking stories full of compassion and commiseration for the suffering, unprotected, weak.

152 ●783 538 668 When identification with suffering is a manifestation of revolt or is combined with the urge for revolt, strong feelings of guilt might develop. On such grounds compulsion to suffer and to be persecuted might thrive. This "Russian Kenotism" is found among the early Russian monastics[16] as well as among the Russian nineteenth century revolutionaries and men of letters. Some Russian revolutionary factions, for instance, emphasized sacrifice and martyrdom to the point of self-destruction.[17] In the like manner Count Leo Tolstoy claims in his diary that he, "often

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wanted to suffer, wanted persecution."[18] A number of heroes in Dostoyevsky's novels show the same urge.

Undoubtedly such feelings contributed to that tone of fanaticism and that readiness for self-sacrifice which was characteristic of many Russian revolutionaries and conspirators of pre-Soviet days and which gave a special vigor and intensity to their activities. Such extremes in emotional reactions were supported also by another trait in these people, that of emotional instability.

13
EMOTIONAL INSTABILITY

I

FEAR and awe (*strakh*), submission (*povinovenie*), and sense of guilt (*sovest*) are rooted in the structure of the Great-Russian society and are supported by its traditions. But so is compassion (*zhalost*), humility (*smirenie*), demand for truth and justice (*pravda*) and for egalitarian acceptance, as well as revolt and terror (*ustrashenie*), lack of trust and urge to destroy (*unichtozhenie*). It is the propensity to experience such contrasting sentiments that causes behavior which is alternatively bent in opposite directions. A person's behavior which has been conditioned by an environment which fosters such feelings and attitudes might show a lack of sense of moderation and a tendency toward extremes in responses to his social milieu.

It is such unbalanced peculiarities of behavior that have drawn the attention of many students and observers of Russian society.[1] A tendency toward diametrically opposite extremes, and frequent alternation between these poles has been often noticed. Kindliness and gentleness have alternated with lack of consideration, excessive severity, brutality and cruelty. Rebelliousness has been followed by resignation. Periods of feverish energy and confidence have been superseded by spells of inertia, languor and despair. Extremes in feasting have alternated with extremes in fasting. Tyrannical rule had its counterpart in demands for

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Building on the tradition/role of the Father in the Russian
family the Party portrays the Party Leader as a strict and distant 593
but also watchful and solicitous man who takes good care of his 771 208
family. Following the traditional image of God and of the 665
Father, the Party Leader is pictured as being benevolent toward those who submit to him unconditionally, but as being wrathful and merciless toward his foes and all those who disobey. And just like the members of the Great-Russian family, the Soviet people are expected to show "filial gratitude" to their Elder for his care and vigilance. Hence the supreme Party Leader is addressed as "our own father" (*rodnoy otets*), teacher (*uchitel*), leader (*vozhd*), friend (*drug*), and feeder (*kormilets*). Articles and letters of gratitude published daily in the Soviet press invariably mention his fatherly solicitude (*otecheskaya zabota*), his wise (*mudry*) plan and his genius (*geny*). Without fail they thank him ardently (*goryachee spasibo*) for what he has done for the well-being (*blago*), happiness (*schastie*), and world mightiness of the Soviet state (*velichaishaya derzhava mira*). On the occasion of the Leader's birthday numerous songs and musical compositions include titles which convey the idea of dependence upon and filial gratitude to an All-Powerful and All-Wise Vozhd.

It is expected that such identifications will reinforce in the 154
Soviet people the feeling of guilt and make them redouble their 783
efforts in building and supporting the Soviet system. Thus in the letters which various institutions, organizations and associations write to Vozhd, pledges are given to fulfill and overfulfill their quotas and to improve quality of products in gratitude for his unceasing "paternal care" and solicitude. And if they have failed, stayed behind, or have not come up to the expectations of their "father and teacher," they admit their guilt and promise to spare no efforts to improve, and thus arrest his wrath and rejection.[39] Not only lowly and humble folk from the bottom of the Soviet social pyramid, but men and women on the lofty peaks of Soviet arts and sciences, write such letters to Stalin in the same tone of religious reverence and humility, that strongly remind one both of the servility of Czarist official classes and of the prayers to an All-Mighty and wrathful God in the Russian Orthodox Church.

The ruling hierarchy realizes, however, that deification of the 000

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565 154 [761] (*S bedoyu ne perekoryaisya, terpi!*). And then if life is all suffering, why be afraid of death, he would ask himself. "Be afraid to live, do not be afraid to die! To live is more terrible than to die"; "We do not rejoice in life, but in death."[10]

565 785 788 Identification with suffering and preoccupation with death which has been conditioned by family experiences and reinforced on the community level led the Russian peasants to practice long and hard fasts, and to undertake difficult pilgrimages to far off places of worship. "There is only one salvation, fast and prayer"; "We don't live on bread, but on prayer" they would say. Long and hard fasting and prayer of the Great-Russian peasants were not only manifestations of his identification with suffering and his feeling of helplessness and complete dependency upon superior forces, but were perhaps also expressions of his tendency to completely retire from an unsatisfactory and an unhappy world.

792 156 The extremes of this suffering and withdrawal from the world were reached by anchorites who sought complete solitude in wild deserts "far away from men," and by those hermits who lived self-buried in the catacombs, away not only from man, but also from the light of day. Such people enjoyed among the peasants the fame of saints and were believed to possess miraculous powers. Many peasants would make vows of pilgrimage to places where such people lived self-buried, isolated and withdrawn from all human contact.

III

565 156 The peasant's complete submission to unpredictable and arbitrary forces was enhanced because of the lack of solidarity among the peasants themselves. After the peasant had been subjected to arbitrary regimentation and to permanent policing on the part of the authorities, he began to lose faith not only in the authorities but in his fellow peasants as well. Thus mistrust and suspiciousness rooted in patriarchal relations were heightened. In such circumstances the peasant became increasingly distrustful of his neighbors, tended to withdraw within his own family and to become himself ready to spy on others.[11]

In such conditions when isolated, helpless and self-oriented,

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attractive forest fairies who used to help travelers changed into beastly demons who trick wayfarers into making them lose their way and then cause them to perish.

The imposition of the rule of nomadic warriors over the soil cultivators brought about not only insecurity of life and property, but disintegration of the old ways of life and of the old morals. Social disintegration favored detachment from the group, caused decline in group identification and solidarity, tended to increase self-concern, fostered destructive aggressiveness and anti-social behavior. Hence, drunkenness, debauchery, orgiastic practices, together with robbing and killing, became prominent. According to Fedotov, the old Christian sermons are so full of invectives against such behavior that some studies of Russia's religious life consider that these themes formed the main content of anti-pagan literature of those days.[33]

Perhaps as a result of such social disorganization the Old-Slavonic Goddess of Love (Lada) was relegated into the background and obscurity. Instead, male gods of bacchanalian passion and Dionysiac orgy (Iarilo, Pereplut) became outstanding in folk imagination.[34] A phallic rite was observed at wedding banquets and sexual promiscuity during the feast gathering of young people became prominent, according to the old sermons.[35]

It was under these conditions of social disorganization and insecurity, and ascendency of power-oriented patriarchal system over the old stateless, semi-matriarchal and equalitarian order that the attitudes toward women changed radically. Mounting hostilities generated by conditions of strife and insecurity can be vented not only through inordinate sex life, alcoholism and delinquency, but also by aggressive behavior against all the unprotected and the weak. And just as sex life tended to take the form of lechery, and love that of uncontrolled passion, the attitudes toward the women changed from respect and reserve to that of scorn and contempt. They came to be looked upon as impure and unclean physically and morally.[36]

It is possible that the new unsatisfactory social conditions might have also affected the concept of the Christian God and attitude toward death. Not only did popular imagination in conditions of disorganization and insecurity tend to see in this

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a self-protection on any sign of hostility a preventive war or feud must be initiated.[14] Hence also craftiness and cunning, readiness to lie and to commit perjury[15] and a general wiliness and wariness might easily develop.[16] When a society is to a large extent governmentalized and regimented, such traits are reinforced because in such conditions the feeling of insecurity and lack of trust favor ruthless domineering and coercive submission on all levels of social organization.

In circumstances where power-seeking, extreme self-concern and lack of mutual trust prevail there is a readiness of many people to spy on one another and to inform. There is also an inclination to caluminate as a means of revenge and personal malice.

Destructive aggressiveness and feeling of insecurity, as well as need for succor, may explain the passion for hazardous games and intoxicating drink, and the inclination toward lechery. That liquor is used as a compensatory device which provides a feeling of power and security as contrasted to a reality in which one is cowed into submission is well expressed in folk philosophy. According to a proverb, "When the peasant is drunk, he feels equal to a nobleman; when he is sober he is afraid even of a pig."[17] Hence, in a society in which people find themselves subdued, degraded, and oppressed and where their needs for attachment and acceptance are thwarted, a safe way to rebel against such conditions or to find a convenient substitute may be in drunkenness and debauchery. The early Church documents, as well as the recent evidence, point to the perseverance of such practices:

> Numerous are the sermons devoted to invectives against drunkenness and the pagan character of banquets . . . This wild debauch of popular feasts was preserved until the twentieth century, with the same scenes of drunken fighting and killing as are depicted in this document of the thirteenth century. Orgiasm . . . unrestrained emotional outbursts, stimulated by alcohol, dancing, fighting, or sex, always has been an outstanding feature of Russian temperament.[18]

1 [Sic -- Analyst]

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This is great fortune
For all the servants of the world,
Sharers in honesty and trust,
Executors of the Covenant of Christ.[22]

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[786]

Longing for acceptance was not only manifested in the worship of living "Christ," but also in carnal communion with the "Christs" and "Madonnas," in ecstatic trances and mass religious hallucinations, and apparently even in some cannibalistic practices.[23] Thus when in consequence of sacred rites a Bogorodica would bear a child, if a boy, he was known as *Khristosik* (the little Christ). According to some students of Russia's religious life the Khristosik was immolated on the eighth day after his birth. His heart and blood, mixed with flour and honey, were served to make the cakes for the Eucharist. This practice was called "Taking Communion in the blood of the Lamb."[24] At other times, according to the same sources, it was a young virgin, chosen as Mother of God who willingly gave her left breast to be cut out amidst ritual dancing and singing. The breast was then partaken of as the "true Eucharistic food."[25]

[782]

Great emotional insecurity and extreme fear of rejection might explain why elements of power-seeking were present in all sects, even in those which professed complete repudiation of power in any form whatsoever. For instance, Popov, the founder of the Molokane sect which originally professed complete freedom of conscience and complete equality, eventually entirely suppressed liberty of discussion and interpretation. Unconditional submission to the authorities he declared to be the first duty, insubordination the greatest sin.[26] Andrey Selivanov, the founder of the Skoptsy sect, had himself designated in the prayers which were addressed to him in his lifetime, as "God of Gods and King of Kings," even though the Skoptsy sect professed complete freedom from any form of coercion.[27]

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Also early in the history of the Dukhobortsy we find that their communistic practices finally led to dictatorship and despotism.[28] The leaders of this sect knew how to take personal advantage of the longing of the sect members for protective dependence and acceptance. One of the leaders of this sect, Kapustin, in the beginning of the nineteenth century expounded

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154 ing, why be afraid of death, he would ask himself. "Be afraid to
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III

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156 bitrary forces was enhanced because of the lack of solidarity
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In such conditions when isolated, helpless and self-oriented,

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585 stand; the young men and women sing a song of glorification and praise. After its conclusion the groom thanks the company and rises; when he wants to lead the bride away, her brother resists him and has to be pacified with presents. This action hints at the old custom of purchasing the bride from her family or clan.

[788] SCENE 6TH. *The blessing of the bride.* The parents of the bride take a plate with bread and salt, and a holy image and advance into the middle of the room, where they stand facing the door. The groom leads the bride out to them, the young couple bow three times to each, kiss the image and then the old people, and receive their blessing. The bride embraces her mother and clings to her, crying. The *svakha* separates them and leads her out, preceded by the *droushka* and bridegroom. At the door the party is met by the girl's brother with a stick, and a girl friend with a spinning comb (*prialka*), who refuse to let them pass with threats and offers of violence. The *droushka* is obliged to buy them off again with a present, and then the young people go out to the waiting friends, who form into a procession and go to the church, with noise and merrymaking. The companions of the girl also leave the room; the parents of the bride remain behind after the leave-taking, and sit down at the table with bowed heads and crying.

ACT SECOND.—THE MARRIAGE FEAST.

SCENE 1ST. At the house of the groom. The parents of the groom busy themselves in preparing the room for the reception of the young couple, on their return from the church. Outside is heard the noise of an approaching party. The father of the groom takes a holy image, the mother some bread and salt on a plate (a sign of welcome), and both advance to the door to meet the procession.

SCENE 2D. The friends come in first, salute the old people and place themselves around the room; there are a few moments of expectation.

SCENE 3D. Finally the *droushka* (best man) appears, walking slowly and solemnly, leading the young couple, with the

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class the tendency was toward the concentration of power in the hands of the more mighty princes.[13]

This concentration of power in the hands of the city plutocracy found its expression in the principle of an unanimity vote in the city assembly (*Veche*). Data on the early political and social organization of the Russian urban communities show that the unanimity in decisions was the rule. The old documents about these gatherings tell us that "what has been established by the oldest city, is maintained by its boroughs," that "all thought and spoke as one man," that "all were unanimous in the desire," and that the decision was reached "by all the oldest and all the youngest men of the assembly."[14]

But we also learn that this unopposed group consensus was achieved by means of threat and terror against all those who might show an inclination to disagree or who disagreed after the assembly had been held and after a resolution had been passed. The dissenters were often beaten with rods, despoiled of their property, or murdered. Sometimes they might escape such fate if ready to pay a fine that varied according to the rank of the dissenter. In this manner a minority, backed by physical force was able to enforce its will on the rest under the guise of "unanimity."[15]

Pressure for the unanimous consent on the part of the people was applied also in the village assemblies, and later in the land commune (*mir*). In some other customs of the Great-Russian peasantry, even in our own times, the unanimous consent was considered necessary. In marriage ceremonies, for instance, custom demanded that the bride when leaving her parental home obtain blessing from all her neighbors. There was, however, a threat against neighbors who refused their blessing. Curses were invoked against them: "Those who do not bless her, may they never marry their sons and daughters" (*Kto ne blagoslovit tomu vek sinov ne zhenit a docheri za muzh ne vdavat*).[16]

The principle of unanimity was apparently the procedure in the local assemblies of the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators of the Dnieper river basin. Such an unanimity was also practiced until our times in the Zadruga society of Croatia.[17] But in those pacific and anarchic societies the principle of unanimity was real, not

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the mind of the burghers. As a result, the city folk changed their attitude and instead of haughty bearing they now "bow low" to Mikula.

Ilya of Murom, the other hero of peasant origin, is portrayed as "being crippled" for many years. Then suddenly he acquires gigantic strength from two sources: from psalm singers and from Svyatogor, a hero of supernatural origin and superhuman powers. By means of this acquired strength and by employing cunning, Ilya gets rid of Svyatogor and, like Mikula, joins the bandit-warriors. However, the professional warriors do not accept Ilya on equal terms because of his low origin. But by constant demonstration of superior physical strength employed as a means of intimidation Ilya is finally accepted by the ruling military aristocracy. After a terrifying demonstration of physical strength which shook the whole town to its foundation Prince Vladimir became so panicky that he hurried a messenger to humbly invite Ilya to a prince's feast:

> Knock upon the door five times
> Then cross yourself in the prescribed manner
> Make your bow as it is enjoined,
> Offer humble salutations, and beat with your forehead
> Upon the floor of bricks,
> Upon damp mother earth herself,
> Before the old Cossack, Ilya of Murom.[26]

It seems clear that in these two heroes of peasant origin we find reflected the vicissitudes to which the Old-Slavonic society has been exposed after it has been subjugated to warriors and traders. The moral and productive values of the peasants, symbolized by Mikula's strength, his skill in productiveness, his social responsibility and feelings of dignity and equality, were rapidly declining in the changing conditions. The peasants became an easy prey of the new ruling classes. The result was moral corruption on the part of the soil cultivators, disinterest in land, and an urge to revolt. The peasantry became "crippled." First they expected help from supernatural forces. Then finally they began to rely on guile and on terror to protect themselves. They realized that in the new political atmosphere it was superior physical force which was admired and respected. Many peasants

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ties—the state, the Church, the landlords, and the village tax commune—joined hands in backing the collective household system and the power of its head elder.

II

In this manner, under the pressure of circumstances, the *bolshaya* system of jointly ruled community household was gradually giving way to the *otsovskaya* system, that is, the patriarchal family in which the power-oriented steppe traditions tended to take precedence over the Old-Slavonic egalitarianism. Patriarchal traits prevailed especially in the urban strata. The father became absolute master as well as the exclusive owner of the family property in the otsovskaya system. As a result of this change in household structure all family members became economically and personally dependent upon the father; and as long as his power was supported by the state and the Church, they were expected to submit unconditionally to his will; there was no appeal against his arbitrariness, favoritism, and even misbehavior.

As a result of such a development the steppe traditions of life and death power of the father over his wife and children, the relationship of absolute dominance and complete subordination tended to be reinforced and perpetuated. The Church was particularly instrumental in this matter. Under the influence of the Church the father was likened, in the popular mind, to the Almighty. "As God is to the people, so is a father to his children" (*Kak Bog do lyudey, tak otets do detey*),[5] the people would say.

The father had at his disposal a number of ways to impose his will. Owing to the Church teachings, one of the main paternal sanctions consisted of invoking God's wrath This was done by means of malediction or withdrawal of blessing. Parental curse, as well as lack of parental blessing, was certain to bring great misfortune to the disobedient child (*Lisheniem otsovskogo blagoslovenia shchitaetsa chelovekom propashchim.*)[6] The emphasis on need of parental blessing and fear of disastrous consequences of parental curse is stressed in many Great-Russian folk customs and in their folk sayings, folk songs, and folk tales.[7]

Another instrument at the disposal of the father in imposing

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592 Family centrism, family isolation, and lack of trust in one's
771 neighbor were apparently projected into the supernatural world
776 where one's own Domovoy, though at times arbitrary, ill-tempered and spiteful, was generally considered to be benevolent—bringing good luck to the household which was under his care and solicitude. The neighbor's Domovoy, on the other hand, was always a malevolent and wicked being who could never be propitiated and who was likely to steal your hay or drive away your cattle for the benefit of the home which was under his protection.
• [789] The Russian peasants, therefore, developed means of defense against the neighbor's Domovoy in the form of spells and exorcisms.

156 Lack of social trust is not favorable to the development of
621 solidarity within a community. Therefore lack of group identi-
578 fication among the peasants and burghers, the same as the lack of the *esprit de corps* among the nobility, contributed to the perpetuation of the autocratic rule. Lack of communal identifications was an obstacle to the turning of group hostilities against the ruling classes. In such circumstances a great deal of personal aggressiveness had to find outlets and targets within the local community and within the family circle itself. Only when the authorities suffered crushing defeat and loss of prestige the hostilities would turn against them and mass uprisings would take place, demanding re-establishment of old communal values.

With the ascendancy of the otsovskaya system, family relations came to be organized in a hierarchical system along the lines of paternity, marriage status, seniority and sex. At one time, only married male members formed the family council (soviet). The males had priority over the females. Within each sex category the elder had priority rights over the younger. When the family was partitioned, custom demanded that the older brothers leave
[428] the ancestral home while the youngest, following Mongol tradi-
[582] tions, remained on the paternal *koren* (root).[4] In marrying the daughters it was the eldest who had to be married first.

593 In the patriarchal family, in their relations to the father, all family members were expected to accept his rule with fear and awe (*strakh*) and with humility (*smirenie*). They had to show absolute submission and blind obedience (*besprekoslovnoe povinovenie*),[5] as well as love and gratitude (*blagodarnost*).[6]

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585 Another picture refering to the wedding ceremonial is the one of Korsukhin, to be seen at the same place, and a copy of which we reproduce on page 16 of this book. It represents the return of the bride from the bath on the eve of the marriage, with her companions and the *svakha*, with songs and dances, 789 while one maiden sweeps the path before the bride. This is a bit of superstition, and illustrates the fear that the bride might be bewitched by something thrown in her way.

583 4. The blessing of the bride by her parents. As the parents of the young couple do not go to church, the wedding procession is evidently the relic of the ancient form of marriage by capture, which was customary with the Russians in prehistoric times.

5. The arrival of the groom with his kinsmen, representing the ancient clan, who used to help him capture the bride. The whole party goes in procession to the church, for the celebration of the sacred rite,—with shouting, bell-ringing, etc.

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(*sud*). Accordingly, in the mind of these people, the universe and peace (*mir*) were also identical.[28]

Great calamities occasionally befell the Old-Slavonic communities—frequent raids and plundering by the invaders and slave hunters; then cattle plagues and epidemics. These were thought to have been brought on by certain demons and malevolent ghosts, but the Polesie people knew of ways to cope even with such disasters. Contagious diseases were prevented or stopped by means of magic, especially by the magical powers of women. As for their enemies, the soil cultivators of the Dnieper basin were not prepared for any offensive or defensive warfare and were an easy prey for many aggressors. Being not armed, their defense consisted of hiding themselves. They sought safety in impenetrable marshes and forests and even resorted to such ruses as lying submerged on the bottoms of marshes and breathing by means of cane sticks until the danger was over.[29]

Since the Old-Slavonic agriculturists contracted their marriage unions early in life, as a means of labor supply and since they were not exposed to exhaustion of constant warfare, the region which they originally inhabited soon reached its limits of population. Thus, in spite of their autarchic and intensive agricultural techniques and their attachment to the soil, the early Slav folk were forced to leave their original habitat in search of new lands. They did not migrate in a fury and did not traverse great distances like the mounted nomads of the steppes; rather, they moved slowly and quietly for short distances and by stages always keeping in touch with the mother community from which they had sprung.

In this manner the Old-Slavonic tillers penetrated new regions and territories, not by force and conquest like the predatory steppe raiders, but by cultivating new soil along the river basins, in the midst of forest clearings, drained marshes or irrigated steppes. Living in village communities which remained ethnically uninterrupted, they transplanted and perpetuated in their new homes their native agricultural techniques, their beliefs and customs, their family and community organization, as well as their philosophy of life. Thus as late as the twentieth century, the social organization and personality traits of the Zadruga peo-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

of the Czar, they became increasingly rank-conscious, domineering and abusive toward all lower in rank or under their power.[12]

Such a ruling class, with its open misrule and arbitrariness, could not inspire the subjected classes with confidence and respect. The lack of social and political security was manifested in want of initiative, in disinterest in productive activities, in loose morals, in hazard games, in a low value of human life, and in a general lack of trust.[13]

On the other hand, perhaps as a reaction to these conditions of insecurity and of social disorganization, there was an urge of complete renunciation of the world and its strife, an urge to detach oneself from the group, a tendency to isolate oneself completely from human society and seek personal consolation and personal salvation in religion. This trend of social withdrawal and self-oriented feelings brought about a great development of hermitism and of monastic life. Many of these people, completely detached from human society and preoccupied exclusively with their own self, sought peace and communion with God in lonely, remote depths of forests, in the solitude of the wilds and deserts. Here "far removed from men" they spent their lives in prayer, fasting and self-maceration.

At the same time the masses of the people who lived in great misery and who were exposed to arbitrariness, exploitation, and other forms of oppression on the part of the mighty, sought consolation and hope in supernatural forces. Beliefs in miraculous powers of wonder-working icons and in life-giving properties of the Cross were taking deep roots. On all sides sprang up prophecies and apparitions. Saint men and prophets, often mentally unbalanced, would appear in the streets and openly voice their protest against the Czar and his government.[14]

These were the only signs of an open opposition to the existing system that was becoming increasingly unbearable. Such "idiots" were considered saintly by the people not only because of their strange behavior and their ability to endure extremes of hardship, but also for their unheard of courage to speak openly against the Czar:

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They used to go starke naked, save a clout about their middle, with their haire hanging long and wildely about their shoulders, and many of them with an iron coller in chaine about their neckes or middles, even in the very extremity of winter. . . . Among others at this time they have one at Mosco that walketh naked about the streets, and inveyeth commonly against the state and government. . . . Another there was, that dyed not many years agoe . . . that would take upon him to reproove the olde emperour, for all his cruelties and oppressions done towards his people. His body they have translated of late into a sumptuous church neere the emperours house in Mosco, and have canonized him for a saint. Many miracles he doth there. . .[15]

166

Another form of protest or of reaction against the existing conditions consisted of mass vagrancy. Many thousands of these restless people were roaming the roads, the forests, and the deserts, as beggars, as pilgrims or as agricultural nomads. Many of them spent whole lives wandering, unable to find peace and rest.

IV

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178

Conditions in which abusive dominance-submission relationships, self-concern, lack of trust, and destructive aggression thrive do not favor unification and stability of an empire. Yet the Czardom showed a steady and remarkable development in spite of such unfavorable circumstances. In the course of several centuries it had grown from a small principality into a great world power. Just as in the states of steppe nomads, the social agents which were responsible for self-seeking, power-orientation and internal restlessness and explosiveness encouraged also external expansion. But unlike the empires of the steppes, there were in the Empire of the Czars several circumstances which fostered ideological and moral unity, such as the politico-religious philosophy of the Orthodox Church and conditioning on the family and community level. It was perhaps this combination of the explosive and unifying tendencies which was responsible for steady expansiveness and growing consolidation of the Czardom.

[182]

From its very inception the Russian state was a military soci-

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6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

ture was detrimental to the development of trade and industry. For centuries its economy remained founded on a system of primitive agriculture. Lack of large centers of trade and industry adversely affected rural economy. There was no stimulation for agricultural improvements and for freeing of the serfs. Instead, the emphasis was on the exploitation of serf labor as the most expedient means to satisfy the demands of the landlords and of the state. The landlords were mostly absent on military campaigns or other state duties and were generally disinterested in land improvements. At the same time the system of using the land as a pay for military or other state services, in a country whose war campaigns and military contingents were increasing, tended to diminish the size of the donations and increase the burdens imposed on the serfs.

The lack of urbanization, together with the low standard of education of the service nobility, kept also the intellectual development of Russia far behind that in the West. Intellectual activity was limited mainly to the court circles. The ideology and practices of the Russian Church favored intellectual stagnation. Russia accepted Christianity from Byzantium after the Greek Church had already given up classical traditions of Hellenism. By the time Byzantine Christianity entered Russia, Byzantine literature had assumed an almost exclusively ecclesiastical character, and education consisted almost entirely of religious teaching and the reading of the lives of the saints. Art, too, became exclusively religious and stereotyped. All thought was regimented according to religious dogmas and political objectives of the power-holders.

In Russia this type of intellectual rigidity and inactivity was emphasized because of the use of the Old-Slavonic language in the Church, which resulted in neglect of Greek language. And it was considered a sin to learn the "thrice accursed Latin tongue." Thus, the Russian clergymen became isolated from the West because they lacked the possession of the only instruments in which human knowledge was communicated in those days. Moreover, Russian Orthodoxy, like the Byzantine Orthodoxy, was based on monasticism. But unlike the manifold monastic practices of the Western Church, the monks in the Russian Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.

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[Bakunin]

[Saint Theodosius]

593 159 [668]

inspired him with an insensate hatred of every restriction on liberty."[8]

Identifying himself with all the oppressed, this leading Russian anarchist revolted not only against the family and the state, but against God as well, because God was a symbol of authority and fear. To Bakunin the concept of a God of fear implied abdication of reason and of justice, and was the negation of human liberty. He expounded therefore the overthrow of God as a necessary precondition of human liberation.[9] To Bakunin the revolt of Satan against God was the first attempt of free thought, of science, and of human freedom.[10]

Not unlike this was the reaction of Turgeniev toward the despotism of his mother. This outstanding Russian novelist apparently developed a great compassion for the Russian serfs and became a champion in the struggle for freedom and for the emancipation of the peasants because he identified his own sufferings with the plight of the muzhiks on the estate of his mother. Turgeniev's mother apparently gave vent both on her son and on her serfs for the sufferings of her unhappy married life, and in bringing up her own son she made few concessions. The same excessive strictness that she applied against serfs she exercised also against her own son. "I was flogged almost every day for merest trifles," says Turgeniev.[11]

[538]

593 159 792 ●

An earlier case of reaction against a despotic mother and resulting identification with those who are humiliated is that of Saint Theodosius. This Russian saint was one of the founders of Russian monasticism in the eleventh century. According to Fedotov, the main theme in the hagiography of Theodosius is the "strife with his mother . . . the cruel treatment he endured, and his threefold escape. Many scenes are painted with truly artistic skill, particularly the portrait sketched of the mother, with her passionate transitions from outbursts of anger to caresses, with her appearance as a virago: 'She was strong in body, vigorous as a man: anybody who would not have seen her but only heard her voice would believe it was that of a man.' "[12]

Theodosius reacted to the despotism of his mother by wearing "uncouth and patched garb" like the poor and the beggars to the dismay of his parents, who were well-to-do people and felt hor-

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[Saint Theodosius]

593 159 792 rified by such behavior. After his father's death, Theodosius used "to go to the fields with the slaves and work humbly."[13] Later when Theodosius finally escaped from his mother's tyranny by entering a monastery, he became the founder of that school of Russian monastic philosophy which emphasizes self-abnegation and meekness, as well as charitable love and compassion for those who suffer. In that manner Theodosius identified himself and his Church with all those who were tyrannized. But he was also active in protecting those to whom injustice was done. He became "intercessor for many before judges and princes, rescuing people."[14]

152 695 Deep sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them might explain why the Russian juries and the peasant courts were so ready to acquit the repentants. Juries and courts would often set free criminals who were found guilty by well established evidence. The verdict in such a case might be "not guilty" because of "commiseration for the poor murderer." A jury sitting through Holy Week would tend to acquit everybody, because "at the time of our Lord's Passion, it does not become Christians to condemn their brethren."[15]

152 538 Sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them is an outstanding trait of Russian literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Russian writings of those days exhibit a preoccupation with great social, political, religious and psychological problems of mankind. They picture a gloomy, painful, and tragic world, full of misery, injustice, blood and death. In the same manner the school textbooks of those days contained many heartbreaking stories full of compassion and commiseration for the suffering, unprotected, weak.

152 783 538 668 When identification with suffering is a manifestation of revolt or is combined with the urge for revolt, strong feelings of guilt might develop. On such grounds compulsion to suffer and to be persecuted might thrive. This "Russian Kenotism" is found among the early Russian monastics[16] as well as among the Russian nineteenth century revolutionaries and men of letters. Some Russian revolutionary factions, for instance, emphasized sacrifice and martyrdom to the point of self-destruction.[17] In the like manner Count Leo Tolstoy claims in his diary that he, "often

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178 In the new secularized and urbanized society, also, the position
565 of the clergy became increasingly precarious. Like other insti-
793 tutions of the Czardom the Russian Orthodox Church was organ-
ized along the lines of sharp social differentiation and domi-
nance-submission relationships. Russian Orthodox clergy as a
whole formed a closed caste institution. All lay clergymen and
many monastics were recruited from among the members of the
[582] families of lay clergy. Endogamous marriage was practiced
within this caste. The church maintained its own schools for
both the sons and the daughters of clergymen. In this manner
[184] the clergy had been separated from the rest of the society and
had developed a sub-culture of its own. The clerics were set
apart from others not only by their priestly garb, but by their
manners, and even by their names.

• 792 Internally, however, within the ranks of the Orthodox clergy
793 there was a sharp distinction between the monastic order (black
554 clergy) and the secular priesthood (white clergy). The monastic
order was rich in land donations and other possessions and all
the Church hierarchy was recruited from among its ranks. The
secular clergy was not only subordinate to the monastics, but
also poor. Among the secular clergy sharp class distinction ex-
isted between the city clergy and the village priests. This dif-
ferentiation was manifested in the differences in income, educa-
tion and prestige, as well as in the lack of intermarriage between
these strata. The difference was also reflected in the attitudes of
[369] the laity. While the city clergy were socially accepted by the mid-
dle and lower urban layers, the village priests were rather iso-
lated from the rest of the population.

However, the sharpest difference and social distance existed between the Church hierarchy and the rank-and-file clergymen. The heads of monasteries, for instance, behaved like real magnates. They took in large revenues, kept servants, horses and carriages, and hardly shared in the life of their monastic brothers, even though these Church dignitaries resided in monasteries. In the same way, the bishops were inclined to belittle the lay clergy under their control. They treated them with a great want of respect. They would abuse them, insult them and then even flog them.

1/1 [i.e. developing in the second half of the XIXth century — Analyst]

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It was this contrast between the alleged lofty calling of the minister of a privileged Church and his sad fate that must have depressed many a priest and made him bitter and resentful. Even before he became priest, while still a student in the divinity school, where he was educated at the government's expense, he was exposed to abusive treatment at the hands of his superiors. He was ill-fed, insufficiently clothed, and frequently beaten with the rod or lash. At one time these Church seminaries were so unpopular that children of the clergy had to be forced into them with the help of the knut and of the police. Embittered because of bad treatment, many of these young men nursed a grudge against their disciplinarians, as well as against the Church, the state, and the society at large. The instructors in these institutions, ill-paid and badly treated by their own superiors, were often as wretched and as discontented as their pupils.[2] In this manner the conditions in these institutions tended to reinforce feelings of rebellion which were nursed in the family.

As a result of such circumstances, Russian-Orthodox seminaries became a fertile ground for revolutionary political propaganda which was spreading with an increasing intensity in all the middle schools and universities of the Czardom ever since the abortive uprising of the Decembrists.[3] In this manner many Russian-Orthodox seminaries became hot-beds of subversive radicalism. Mutinies occurred and even attempts to assassinate rectors.

In the meantime, however, that is since 1869, services other than priesthood were opened to a priest's son. Since then the most rebellious youths from divinity schools and priestly families tended to leave church calling and engage in other activities. It was from among such rebels that many Russian revolutionaries were recruited. Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov among the "Nihilists," Nechaev among the Terrorists, Stalin among the Bolsheviks, are only a few outstanding examples in a long list of Russian professional conspirators and revolutionaries. Said Stalin:

> In protest against the humiliating regime and the jesuitical methods that prevailed in the seminary, I was ready to become, and eventually did become, a revolutionary, a believer in Marxism . . .[3]

[3] [i.e. in December, 1825 -- Analyst]

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(*S bedoyu ne perekoryaisya, terpi!*). And then if life is all suffering, why be afraid of death, he would ask himself. "Be afraid to live, do not be afraid to die! To live is more terrible than to die"; "We do not rejoice in life, but in death."[10]

Identification with suffering and preoccupation with death which has been conditioned by family experiences and reinforced on the community level led the Russian peasants to practice long and hard fasts, and to undertake difficult pilgrimages to far off places of worship. "There is only one salvation, fast and prayer"; "We don't live on bread, but on prayer" they would say. Long and hard fasting and prayer of the Great-Russian peasants were not only manifestations of his identification with suffering and his feeling of helplessness and complete dependency upon superior forces, but were perhaps also expressions of his tendency to completely retire from an unsatisfactory and an unhappy world.

The extremes of this suffering and withdrawal from the world were reached by anchorites who sought complete solitude in wild deserts "far away from men," and by those hermits who lived self-buried in the catacombs, away not only from man, but also from the light of day. Such people enjoyed among the peasants the fame of saints and were believed to possess miraculous powers. Many peasants would make vows of pilgrimage to places where such people lived self-buried, isolated and withdrawn from all human contact.

III

The peasant's complete submission to unpredictable and arbitrary forces was enhanced because of the lack of solidarity among the peasants themselves. After the peasant had been subjected to arbitrary regimentation and to permanent policing on the part of the authorities, he began to lose faith not only in the authorities but in his fellow peasants as well. Thus mistrust and suspiciousness rooted in patriarchal relations were heightened. In such circumstances the peasant became increasingly distrustful of his neighbors, tended to withdraw within his own family and to become himself ready to spy on others.[11]

In such conditions when isolated, helpless and self-oriented,

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795 156 Another manifestation of withdrawal from degrading oppression was expressed by the *Molchalniki* (speechless) or *Bezslovestnye* (mutes), the sect whose members refused to speak. The moment one would join this sect he would suddenly become dumb and nothing could force even a syllable from his lips. The government was unable to obtain any information from such voluntary martyrs,[12] even under extreme torture.[13] The Theodosians and the Denisovtsy manifested feelings of dejection and withdrawal by means of complete asceticism. These sects demanded celibacy and abstinence not only from bachelors, but from married people as well. ("Let the unwedded wed not, the wedded separate"). The members of these sects therefore [792] founded settlements which were organized along monastic lines, where they attempted to live a solitary life of complete seclusion in the wilderness, and far away from worldly authorities.[14]

On the other hand, some sects apparently reacted to the existing unsatisfactory conditions by various forms of destructive aggressiveness, including self-destruction. The *Skoptsy* (castrated), for instance, practiced castration and mutilation of sex organs.[15] Other sects preached and practiced mass assassination and mass immolation. The *De'oubiytsy* (infant-killers), preached and practiced infanticide. The *Dushilshchiki* (stranglers) or *Tyukalshchiki* (clubbers) preached and practiced killing of adults.[16] Other sects, such as the *Samoszhigateli* (self-cremators) of *Morelshchiki* (self-immolators), organized mass immolation. Cases of such acts of extreme destructiveness have occurred until the end of the nineteenth century, and in the most different and distant parts of the Empire where the Great-Russians are settled.[17] As among the Anarchists, there was among these people an urge for pan-destruction:

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> I wish that all Romanov, every man, wife, and child, would come to the banks of the Volga, throw themselves into the waters, and sink to the bottom so that the temptations of the world should not attract them. And what is even better: that I might set fire to and burn down the entire city;—what joy if it were to burn from end to end destroying all the aged and infants, so that none could receive the stamp of Antichrist.[18]

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792 one of the outstanding tenets in the philosophy of Russian monas-
829 ticism whose history is even longer than that of the Czardom was
577 [795] charitable love. Many sects of the *Raskolniki* propagated and
practiced principles of humaneness. The Slavophils were espe-
829 577 cially prominent in advocating the return to an idealized state-
less society of benevolent paternalism where brotherhood, Chris-
[177] tian love, and compassion would reign. The "Westerners"
endeavored to introduce into Russia Western concepts of justice
and tolerance, and a humanistic, libertarian and juridical state.
Russian belles-lettres, Russian school textbooks, as well as laws
and regulations in the nineteenth century and up to the begin-
ning of World War I, bear witness to this trend toward Westerni-
zation and humanism.

178 661 In Soviet Russia, on the other hand, after a brief initial period
of reaction against the old regime which led toward an emphasis
on all-human values and equalitarian brotherhood, soon the
trend of events pushed the Bolshevik ideology in the opposite
direction. The determination of a ruling clique of professional
conspirators to maintain themselves in power by any and all
means dictated the emphasis on the internal and external
"threats" which would justify the intensification of internal
"measures of security," and of external aggression. Thus vigi-
lantism and war preparedness, and expansion of internal and
external Bolshevik power, became the main base of the policies
of the ruling class.[25] Such policies had to be constantly reinforced
by a deliberate incitement to hatred and destruction.

661 642 The image of Soviet society as being in a constant state of
war, not only against foreign enemies but against internal oppo-
sitionists, deviationists, spies, saboteurs, and remnants of bourgeois
mentality has been determined by a social structure which the
Bolshevik rulers themselves have created, but which makes their
own power uncertain and precarious. In such circumstances
Lenin's idea of a life and death struggle with the "class enemies,"
the idea that "it's them or us" (*Kto kogo*) has provided the main
motivating force of the Party's internal and foreign policies.
Fearing to be annihilated unless they themselves destroy their
enemies, conscious that they have "either to rule or to die," the
Bolsheviks have ruthlessly applied the principle of "obedience

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples
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781 inspiration to the religious life of the West, the deaths of the princes Boris and Gleb had made an indelible impression upon the religious thought of Russia. In the interpretation put upon their fate by the Russian Church they became the type of voluntary acceptance of suffering. This aspect of their religion which works so powerfully beneath the surface in the thought of Russians, and leads them to look upon suffering, and especially suffering which is voluntarily accepted, not merely with compassion but with veneration, is not to be dismissed as no more than a manifestation of the melancholy inherent in the Slav temperament. It has its reinforcement, if not its foundation, in the Russian stress upon the "kenotic" Christ, the Christ who emptied Himself of His glory and accepted humiliation and suffering to the culminating point of voluntary death. It is this that makes the Russian regard human suffering and humility, not only suffering for Christ but the mere fact of following Christ in His experience of it, with a sort of admiration and reverence.

It is closely associated with the aesthetic approach to religion and with the sense of man's kinship with the natural world. It makes itself felt in the Russian's scale of values in the sphere of law and of ethics and indeed in his general view of life.

As Fedotov points out, of all the iconographic representations of the Virgin and Child which the Russians took over from the Byzantine Church, the type which they call "umilenie" became easily the favourite. It does not so much claim awe before the majestic dignity of the Mother of God, as express that complex emotional reaction of the human heart to innocence and beauty and pain, for which English has no single word.

The "kenoticism" of Russian religion is but one aspect of it, by its very nature it does not claim attention through any violent expression of itself in the world of affairs. But it is an aspect which must not be overlooked.

792 In Russia, as in the rest of the Orthodox world,[1] the monastic life has always exercised an immense influence. The life of a good monk is regarded as the Christian life *par excel-*

[1] See Chapter X.

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples
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792

lence and his cloister the place where in this world of sin one may meet with God. The great monasteries of Russia, and pre-eminently the Lavra of St. Sergius near Moscow, have been focal points where national aspirations have been gathered up and presented before the mercy of God. Thither multitudes of men and women have flocked with their individual troubles of a burdened conscience or an anxious mind or perhaps simply a hungry body.

The monk may not be a priest, indeed in most cases he is not, but it is to him that the devout will turn for guidance and direction in spiritual matters and to him they unburden their souls. The starets is a characteristic and significant figure in Russian religion. His name means "elder"; he is old in spiritual experience, and distinguished by his piety and gift for guiding other souls. A new member of the monastic community is entrusted to the care of a starets, who trains and teaches him, and devout lay folk living in the world will choose their starets, and resort to him as to a father confessor and director.[1]

[1] For a picture of a typical starets see the writer's translation of *The Way of a Pilgrim*. London, 1931. Another is Father Zossima in Dostoyevsky's novel: *The Brothers Karamazov*.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

God a wrathful, irate and revengeful Old Man, but the Church leaders themselves, affected by the conditions of their society, were inclined to emphasize the fear aspect of the Christian God rather than his love and compassion. They also tended to preoccupy themselves with death, describing it as a terror-striking event. In some early Church sermons even the messengers of God, the angels, were represented in a terrifying manner:

> Then, two angels appear, sent by God for the soul. As soon as the soul has seen them, it will be horrified; all its image and beauty and face will change; feet and hands will be torpid, and the hearing as with the tongue will be chained by silence; and man will be all sorrowful and invalid and woeful; and afterwards, appears death. And then, with a terrible pain the soul will issue from the body . . .[37]

These feelings of anxieties and fears, combined perhaps with a strong sense of guilt of the Church leaders, are manifested in the life histories of most Russian saints. These people, as portrayed in their hagiographies, were being constantly threatened by temptations and intimidations of dreadful demons. Hallucinations about demons became very frequent among the monks, and struggle against demons became one of the main aspects of ascetic life. Whole herds of these fiends were sometimes seen by the ascetics. The demons would disguise themselves as humans, as angels, and even as Christ, or they would appear in their true beastly form.[38]

Consistent with this gloomy and terrifying view of life and death was also an apocalyptic picture of the end of the world as pictured by Church leaders. According to the old Russian sermons the end of the world was very near and it was to ensue in fire and floods of blood brought about by a wrathful and revengeful God, (a picture that strongly reminds one of the vision of the end of the world found in the beliefs of the steppe nomads of Central Asia):

> Then undying fire will flow from the East to the West, devouring mountains, stones, trees, and the sea. The firmament will be dried up and turned like brick bats, and all existing things, except men, will melt in a like way by the rate of the fire. All the earth will be burned; and through this undying fire all mankind has to pass.

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795 771 779 643 over the whole earth.[1] Through the support of the Church the absolute power of the Emperor became sacred, all-comprising and omnipresent. In the proclamation which announced his reign after he has been solemnly anointed by the Patriarch it was stated that he "proceeded from God, and not from man," and that to him, the "supreme master of the universe, absolute obedience was due from all."[2]

795 797 177 It was this Messianic ideology of politico-religious proselytism and world salvation which had united the Church and the state that helped Byzantium to solidify its rule and to spread its influence and control over the neighboring countries. In conquered, dependent and friendly territories numerous bishoprics of Eastern rite were established whose function was to obtain the moral support of the people for the Byzantine ruler. The conquered people were allowed a certain degree of autonomy in their internal affairs and one of their privileges was the right of the use of their native language in church rituals.

This politico-religious expansionism, however, had its weaknesses. The only tie that linked the subjected and the dependent peoples with the central power was the Church. Thus, as soon as the central power and the authority of the Byzantine Emperor weakened as a result of internal feuds, palace revolutions, civil wars, and invasions, some petty local potentates saw a chance to emancipate themselves from Constantinople and proclaim themselves as sovereign rulers. Such a local lord following Byzantine traditions would appoint from his own kinsmen bishops and Patriarchs whose function was to anoint the new king, to bestow upon him God-like qualities, and to sanctify his despotic rule among the subjects.

795 797 648 793 It is this pattern of Church and state relations that also developed between Byzantium and Russia by the end of the tenth century, when as a result of a political alliance with Byzantium Prince Vladimir of Kiev was converted to Christianity.[3] A Greek Metropolitan and a number of Greek Orthodox bishops were subsequently sent to Russia. Having an eye on the control of all other Russian principalities, the Byzantine Church bestowed upon the Metropolitan of Kiev the authority over all Russian

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territories. He was adorned with the title of the "Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias,"[4] a symbolic beginning of Russian religious and political unity.

When the Tartars in the beginning of the thirteenth century imposed their overlordship over all Russian lands, lacking an efficient administration and interested not so much in governing as in tributes, they restored to the native princes their old titles and gave them the right to collect tributes for them. In this manner in the beginning of the fourteenth century Ivan Kalita of Moscow succeeded in obtaining a *yarlyk* (charter of privileges) in which the Tartar Kahn recognized Ivan as the *Veliky Knyaz* (Grand Prince). A few years later Ivan also became the chief collector of tributes for the Kahn in Russian lands.

In his function as chief farmer of internal revenues Ivan practiced extortion from his Russian subjects and acquired a great personal wealth. His riches enabled him to purchase entire domains and apanages, and to buy the protection and backing of the Kahn. Seeing the ascendency of Ivan, and following Byzantine traditions of Church and state unity, the Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias moved his residence to Moscow and built a cathedral there, ready to support Moscow princes in their political ambitions.

The expansion of Moscow's power over other Russian lands was favored also by external circumstances and pressures. By the second part of the fourteenth century the central authority of the Tartar Empire, the Golden Horde, had weakened and as was customary in Turco-Mongol society, civil wars ensued among the contenders for the throne. This situation presented an opportunity for power wise princes of Moscow to change their policy of cringing and prostration before the Tartars into that of rebellion and bargain. From now on at times they fought the Tartars, at other times they were again kneeling before them; but they now knew how to take advantage of Tartar weaknesses and how to gain new possessions with Tartar assistance. In this policy of expansion at the expense of other Russian principalities the Muscovites had the support not only of the Khans but that of the Eastern Orthodox clergy as well. Their

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II

Following Byzantine traditions and being entirely dependent upon and identified with the dominant political power, the Russian Orthodox clergy supported the autocratic reign of Muscovite rulers by means of an apotheosis of the Czar. According to this theocratic ideology the role of the Church was to be the loyal ally and helper of the Czar who derived his authority directly from God. The Czar's judgment could be overruled by no prelate. In his effort, common with that of the Church to establish a divine order on the whole earth, the Czar had to be unconditionally supported.[8]

Native Russian, Byzantine and Turco-Mongol institutions and concepts were blended in this system of Russian imperial theocracy. According to the Mongol idea of imperial power the emperor was the owner of the body and of the property of each one of his subjects. He was, however, disinterested in their souls and conscience. Thus, as far as religious beliefs were concerned, the Mongol rulers showed a great deal of tolerance; being interested mainly in collecting the tributes and not in governing they did not look at religion and clergy as allies in ruling. The shamans among the Ural-Altaic peoples were not organized as a priestly class and the Mongol emperor, even after he had accepted Islam, did not see any potential threat to his imperial power in any religion. In that system of power there was a complete separation of religion and politics.

In Byzantium, on the other hand, the Church was a powerful and well-organized force with imperial ambitions. But the Church was subdued to the imperial and personal interests of the lay ruler. The Church often succeeded, however, in using the imperial power for its own ends. At the same time the Byzantine Emperor in legal theory did not rule in his own right, but derived his authority from the people. In legal theory, he was an elected monarch and was subjected to the supreme rule of law, even if the law emanated from him. There was thus in Byzantium a well established set of laws which bound equally the Emperor and his subjects and guaranteed also certain rights to the subjects.

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178 In the new secularized and urbanized society, also, the position
565 of the clergy became increasingly precarious. Like other insti-
●793 tutions of the Czardom the Russian Orthodox Church was organ-
ized along the lines of sharp social differentiation and domi-
nance-submission relationships. Russian Orthodox clergy as a
whole formed a closed caste institution. All lay clergymen and
many monastics were recruited from among the members of the
[582] families of lay clergy. Endogamous marriage was practiced
within this caste. The church maintained its own schools for
both the sons and the daughters of clergymen. In this manner
[184] the clergy had been separated from the rest of the society and
had developed a sub-culture of its own. The clerics were set
apart from others not only by their priestly garb, but by their
manners, and even by their names.

792 Internally, however, within the ranks of the Orthodox clergy
793 there was a sharp distinction between the monastic order (black
554 clergy) and the secular priesthood (white clergy). The monastic
order was rich in land donations and other possessions and all
the Church hierarchy was recruited from among its ranks. The
secular clergy was not only subordinate to the monastics, but
also poor. Among the secular clergy sharp class distinction ex-
isted between the city clergy and the village priests. This dif-
ferentiation was manifested in the differences in income, educa-
tion and prestige, as well as in the lack of intermarriage between
these strata. The difference was also reflected in the attitudes of
[369] the laity. While the city clergy were socially accepted by the mid-
dle and lower urban layers, the village priests were rather iso-
lated from the rest of the population.

However, the sharpest difference and social distance existed between the Church hierarchy and the rank-and-file clergymen. The heads of monasteries, for instance, behaved like real magnates. They took in large revenues, kept servants, horses and carriages, and hardly shared in the life of their monastic brothers, even though these Church dignitaries resided in monasteries. In the same way, the bishops were inclined to belittle the lay clergy under their control. They treated them with a great want of respect. They would abuse them, insult them and then even flog them.

1 [i.e. developing in the second half of the XIXth century -- Analyst]

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It was this contrast between the alleged lofty calling of the minister of a privileged Church and his sad fate that must have depressed many a priest and made him bitter and resentful. Even before he became priest, while still a student in the divinity school, where he was educated at the government's expense, he was exposed to abusive treatment at the hands of his superiors. He was ill-fed, insufficiently clothed, and frequently beaten with the rod or lash. At one time these Church seminaries were so unpopular that children of the clergy had to be forced into them with the help of the knut and of the police. Embittered because of bad treatment, many of these young men nursed a grudge against their disciplinarians, as well as against the Church, the state, and the society at large. The instructors in these institutions, ill-paid and badly treated by their own superiors, were often as wretched and as discontented as their pupils.[2] In this manner the conditions in these institutions tended to reinforce feelings of rebellion which were nursed in the family.

As a result of such circumstances, Russian-Orthodox seminaries became a fertile ground for revolutionary political propaganda which was spreading with an increasing intensity in all the middle schools and universities of the Czardom ever since the abortive uprising of the Decembrists.[1] In this manner many Russian-Orthodox seminaries became hot-beds of subversive radicalism. Mutinies occurred and even attempts to assassinate rectors.

In the meantime, however, that is since 1869, services other than priesthood were opened to a priest's son. Since then the most rebellious youths from divinity schools and priestly families tended to leave church calling and engage in other activities. It was from among such rebels that many Russian revolutionaries were recruited. Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov among the "Nihilists," Nechaev among the Terrorists, Stalin among the Bolsheviks, are only a few outstanding examples in a long list of Russian professional conspirators and revolutionaries. Said Stalin:

> In protest against the humiliating regime and the jesuitical methods that prevailed in the seminary, I was ready to become, and eventually did become, a revolutionary, a believer in Marxism . . .[3]

1 [i.e. in December, 1825 -- Analyst]

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Speaking of the character of the peasants Mr. Karnovitch observed, that whoever has to exercise authority over them must above all things guard against indecision, whether in word or act. The Russian always requires a definite command; and in disputes, if the settlement be distinct and pre-emptory, he will be satisfied, whether the sentence is favorable or unfavorable, wise or unwise. If there be hesitation, he immediately becomes intractable, while a resolute command has a magical influence which he cannot resist.[21]

In such a society which is kept together by naked force rather than by moral bonds, breakdown of controls easily results in revolt and upheavals, in widespread bloodshed and destruction. On such occasions, just like the raznochintsy intelligentsia, the peasants, too, tended to revolt against all forms of humiliation and oppressive submission and demanded reestablishment of the old community relations, in which truth and justice and equalitarian brotherhood of man prevailed.

Such forms of peasant protest, which were directed against all the authorities, the family, community elders, the landlord, the Church and the state, will be discussed on the following pages.

18
RELIGIOUS REVOLT OF THE PEASANTRY

I

THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH which in the course of its history came to be completely subjected to the state and was made an instrument of governing, supported the lay authorities in their policies of enserfment. But the state had meagerly rewarded the Church for such services. The revenues from the land donations given to the parishes by the state or by the landlords were not sufficient to maintain the parish priests and their families. The village priests therefore depended for their living upon the fees which the peasants

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had to pay for religious services. In addition many village priests had an inferior training, were often semi-literate. and were sometimes publicly humiliated by their superiors. Abased by hard conditions of life, some of them tended to lose self-respect and sought comfort in habitual drunkenness.

In the meantime as a result of the conditions of serfdom the economic situation of the peasants was deteriorating while the village priests whose main revenues consisted of fees received for their services tended to squeeze out of the peasantry all they could. Hence in many parishes the relations between the priests and the peasants gradually developed into a state of perpetual bickering and struggle.[1] In such circumstances peasants were likely to develop a negative attitude toward the clergy. To "have a priest's eye" meant in peasant idiom to covet everything. Similar meaning was conveyed in the phrase "Am I a priest to eat two dinners?" The peasants compared the greediness of the priests to that of the judges. "A priest waits for a rich dead, and a judge for a rich litigant"; "A judge's pocket is the same as a priest's belly," they would say. It was considered a bad omen to meet a priest on the street. It must be pointed out, also, that in a situation in which any expression of opposition against the lay authorities was very risky and dangerous, the attack against the priests might have served as a convenient substitute target for destructive aggression directed against the landlords and the state.

In such conditions government ukases and police measures were sometimes necessary to force the peasants into churches; they were made to confess and to take communion by means of threat. As a result, confession and communion tended to be looked upon as a commercialized formality. It was a tedious obligation that had to be paid for in cash, the same as all other tributes and taxes to which the peasants were subjected. In such circumstances, confession and communion tended to lose their function of consolation, comfort, relief from guilt and identification with divinity. As a result a growing number of peasants ceased to look upon the priests as their friends and protectors; they tended to look upon them as government agents who conspired with the landlords and the police against the

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peasants. Such a situation in many cases bred extreme antagonism against the priests, especially when hostility against the priests was stirred up by systematic agitation, as in the case of various sects of Dissenters (*Raskolniki*). This agitation often took the form of folk songs:

hairy ones . . . the beasts:
These beasts are the priests
They howl, like wolves. . . .

• • •

In the churches they praise the Lord hypocritically,
And ensnare innocent people with their words;
In the churches they offer glory to God,
And send the Uryadniks to hunt innocent people;

• • •

And they drive innocent people to Siberia.
In the churches they open their mouths,
But before the government they keep silent.
Their hair is long like women's,
But their brain is a great deal shorter.

• • •

They howl like beasts;

• • •

They extort from all.
Wicked hairy priests . . .[2]

• • •

The peasants were attracted to numerous sects of the Dissenters which were spreading in Russia, especially since the seventeenth century when the great movement of the Old Believers (*Starovery*) began. In these sects and their ideologies the peasants protested against the conditions of serfdom. The teachings of a number of these sects expressed yearning for a new life, and for an anarchic brotherhood of men in which nobody would be rejected and everybody accepted on equal terms. Peasant Sutayev, for instance, who founded the Sutayevtsy sect in 1880, was considered to be one of the most pious churchgoers before he revolted against the official Church. He rebelled when he was over fifty. The occasion was a dispute that he had with his parish priest over a fee for the burial of his grandson. It was after this quarrel that he stopped going to

the Monastery a great patriotic host came to its rescue under the leadership of a prince, a butcher, a monk and a Cossack, drove out the Poles, and established Michael as the first Tsar of the House of Romanov and his father Philaret as Patriarch. The House of Romanov was to last until the collapse of imperial Russia, and the advent of the Soviets. The Patriarchate was not so long lived. But in addition to Philaret himself it produced at least one outstanding figure in the vigorous personality of Nikon.

Nikon, of peasant origin, was a rigorist, vigorous and dominating, sincere and ascetic. As head of the Chudov monastery in Moscow he had been the close friend and adviser of the Tsar Alexis, the devout son and successor of Michael, for some years, when in 1652 with a good deal of reluctance and some stipulations he yielded to the Tsar's entreaties and accepted the Patriarchal Throne. Perhaps he foresaw that his own personality and conception of his duty as Patriarch were bound to clash with those of his friend and sovereign. Such in fact proved to be the case. Nikon felt himself bound in conscience to resist the encroachments of the secular power in the realm of spiritual affairs. But at the same time he had little scruple about intruding his own will into secular matters, where his harsh severity and arrogance made him many enemies among the boyars.

There was another aspect of the troubles which were to gather around Nikon and in the end overwhelm him. It was the question of the revision of the Service books of the Church —a thorny matter on which many men both in Russia and elsewhere have pricked their fingers.

The Old Slavonic books used by the Russian Church had been translated from the Greek, and in the course of centuries of transcribing, minor errors had inadvertently crept into the text. Beside these matters there were other questions in dispute, such as whether the sign of the Cross should be made with two fingers in the Russian manner or with three as the Greeks were accustomed to make it. And how often should Alleluia be sung on certain occasions? One may be pardoned some astonishment at the fury of the passions aroused by the mere discussion of these subjects. But this is to misunderstand. Men

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were not fighting about trivialities as such. In a sense nothing in the sphere of religion was a triviality. It is to overlook the fundamental fact that Orthodoxy was, and is, regarded by the Orthodox as one whole thing. To a man like Avvakum,[1] Orthodoxy, doctrine, rites, ceremonial, painting and music was one integrated whole. The slightest change in any detail was a breach in the fabric of Orthodoxy—and no such breach was to be tolerated at any price.

The question was not new in Nikon's day. A century before under Ivan the Terrible an attempt had been made to revise the Service books, and earlier still a learned Greek monk named Maxim had been brought to Moscow to undertake the work. The extraordinary history of that unhappy man reveals the intractable nature of the task in the atmosphere of ignorance, prejudice and passion which enveloped it. He came to Russia, as an invited guest, to carry out a work of scholarship. He spent thirty-eight years in Russia, twenty-six of them in captivity and sixteen in an actual dungeon, and for a long while excommunicate.

It did not ease the difficulty that the only standard by which the Russian books could be corrected was the corresponding Greek books. Russian ecclesiastics did not know Greek, and few, if any, wanted to know it. The Greeks were suspect, living now in the land of the infidel, and had they not surrendered to Western heresy at Florence, for which the judgment of God had swiftly overtaken them in 1453? Moscow was now the torch-bearer and champion of Orthodoxy, the third and final Rome, the guardian of the true faith.

No improvement in the Service books emerged from all this high feeling, and the matter cropped up again when Nikon became Patriarch. By nature an ardent reformer he would reform not only men but books.

The presence of Macarius the Patriarch of Antioch and his suite in Moscow presented an opportunity of which the Russian Patriarch was not slow to take advantage. Both informally and formally in a synod summoned for the purpose, he compared the Russian practice with the Greek and always accepted the latter as correcting the former, and the rulings

[1] See page 105.

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of the Greek visitors were acquiesced in. This did not add to Nikon's already scanty popularity, especially when he proclaimed with more honesty than tact: "I am a Russian and the son of a Russian but my faith and religion are Greek." 793 ● 774

Even Avvakum had been prepared to amend the Russian books from the older Slavonic editions and manuscripts. But that was before Nikon's day as Patriarch, and when the latter proposed to appeal to the Greeks as the criterion, Avvakum and his friends from being moderate reformers went into the most violent and unappeasable opposition.

Avvakum was a remarkable man and he could write. He was in fact the most outstanding figure in Russian literature before Peter the Great. His autobiography which has been translated into English, should certainly be read. He defied the authorities with implacable obstinacy, goaded them with virulent abuse, suffered untold hardships as a consequence and in the end won the martyr's crown which he so eagerly desired.

In due course, the conflict between the ecclesiastical authorities and Avvakum's party (for he had many friends and sympathizers) developed into an open schism which has persisted to this day. Thus Russian Dissent, unlike English, owes its origin to opposition to reform, not to the advocacy of it. The Old Believers, as the dissenting party was called, became highly fissiparous and sometimes most eccentric. They suffered much persecution over a long period of time. "But on the whole," to quote Prince Mirsky,[1] "they have been the truest —in many cases the only—preservers of pre-Petrine Russian civilization. Were it not for them our contemporaries would hardly have rediscovered the Church music of Old Russia, nor the boundless wealth of its religious painting, which is the purest, strongest and most original flower of Old Russian civilization." [795]

Nikon won against the Old Believers, but he lost against the nobility, which succeeded in detaching the sympathies of the Tsar from the Patriarch. The same Council which in 1667, in the presence of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch,

[1] In his introduction to *The Life of the Archpriest Avvakum by Himself* The Hogarth Press, 1924.

excommunicated the Old Believers, deposed Nikon himself and banished him into monastic seclusion.

The line of Patriarchs continued until 1700 when Adrian the last of the original succession died. By this time the dynamic personality of Peter the Great had appeared on the scene and inaugurated a new period in Russian history. In building the city on the Neva which bore his own name he opened his famous "window upon Europe" through which a hurricane blew which disturbed, scattered and rearranged many things in the life of the Russians. Peter admired all things Western and was determined to make Russia a great nation after the pattern of the West. So far as the Russian Church was concerned Peter's reforms had little if any effect in the sphere of doctrine, but he saw to it that bishops were appointed who sympathized or at least were ready to co-operate with his critical ideas on traditional Russian customs and who were willing to acquiesce in the subservience of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to his own autocratic will. Most important of all, he permitted no election of a successor to the Patriarch Adrian, and twenty-one years later abolished the Patriarchate altogether. The formal instrument by which this change was made was entitled the "Ecclesiastical Regulation". There were to be no more Patriarchs in Russia, instead the supreme authority in the Church was to be vested in a body formed on the German Lutheran model and known as the Holy Governing Synod.

This was no synod in the ordinary ecclesiastical sense of the word, but a committee whose members were appointed and dismissed at the will of the Tsar. In addition a secular official called the Procurator was appointed by the Emperor. This layman was not indeed a member of the synod, but his function was to supervise all its proceedings, and without his consent the synod could enact nothing, nor even choose what matters it should discuss. The bishops were dragooned into acceptance of this system, completely foreign as it was to the spirit of the Russian Church. Yet Peter's organization lasted until the collapse of the Empire in 1917.

It is an eloquent testimony to the dynamic force of Peter's personality that the impetus of his reforming movement survived his death. But it introduced deep cleavages and

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The Old Believers maintain, not without some show of reason, that it is the official Church which has left them, not *vice versa*. But in any case the vast bulk of the Russian people remained within the fold of that official Church. They lived their lives in close contact with their village churches oblivious of the disputes of Slavophils and Westernizers, pathetically constant in their belief in their Little Father, the Orthodox Tsar, and shocked but silent if they heard of time-serving prelates. Nor were men lacking to guide and uphold them. In the eighteenth century Tikhon Zadonsky is an instance of the devout hard-working and conscientious bishop by no means rare in post-Petrine Russia.[1] He stayed at his episcopal post although yearning for the life of secluded devotion for which he had to wait so many years. Some reflection of this man's personality is to be seen in the portrayal of Zossima in Dostoyevsky's *Brothers Karamazov*. In the monasteries were to be found men conspicuous for their sanctity and well qualified to give advice and spiritual help to the many who sought them out. Zossima is not alone in Russian literature and the counterparts of these men in real life, such as St. Serafim of Sarov, Ambrosius of the Monastery of Optina, and many less well-known men of the kind, stand in the true line of descent from Nil Sorsky, in their spirituality and unworldliness and their essentially Russian love of freedom.

The vitality of the Russian Church during the period after Peter and especially in the nineteenth century found expression in widespread missionary activity (see below, p. 162). If the expansion of the Church took place together with the expansion of the Empire, if the missionary bishop worked hand in hand with the secular official and imposed Russian religion and Russian rule at the same time, who is to say which was the dominating motive? At any rate it cannot be said that the Russian Church was blind or indifferent to the spiritual needs of its pagan fellow subjects of the Tsar. But if the State was benevolently interested in the Church, it was determined to control it, and the position of outstanding men like Platon under Katharine II and Paul, and Philaret under Alexander I

[1] Gorodetsky: *The Humiliated Christ in Modern Russian Thought*, pp. 99 ff.

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was a difficult one, so long as they held high office. Each of these men was a thinker and theologian of distinction whose writings are regarded as having high authority in the Orthodox Church. Philaret in particular was the author of the celebrated *Confession* which bears his name and the translator into Russian of the Acts of the Synod of Jerusalem, with its important variations from the original (see p. 89). He was interested also in projects for educational and financial reform. But the autocratic action of the sovereign and the paralysing effect of the régime of the Holy Synod with its Procurator made it clear that the State must find more pliable material to fill the highest offices in the Church. Both Platon and Philaret were dismissed to their own dioceses and retired in official disgrace, although each of them continued to exercise great influence through his writing and preaching.

In the summer of 1917, between the March and October Revolutions, the All-Russian Church Council met in Moscow. Its members were both clerical and lay and representative of all classes within the Russian Church. It embarked upon the planning of a wide programme of administrative reform, it swept away Peter's Holy Governing Synod, and restored the Patriarchate of Moscow. Tikhon, Metropolitan of Moscow, whose name was soon to become well-known throughout the world, was appointed by lot from among three elected candidates, to occupy the Patriarchal Throne.

After the triumph of the Bolsheviks and the establishment of the Soviet Government, the world was startled to witness the attempt of a modern Government to suppress religion.[1] No doubt the close association of the Russian Church with the hated Tsarist régime of which it had on occasion shown itself the willing agent, helped to exacerbate the hostility with which the men who had overthrown the Tsar regarded the Church. But it is important to note that their hostility was not directed to this or that bad feature of any particular manifestation of religion, but against religion as such, and, if some of their spokesmen are to be believed, against "good" religion even

[1] For a balanced and judicious examination of the whole struggle, see P. B. Anderson: *People's Church and State in Modern Russia*. S.C.M. Press, 1944.

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[IX Century]

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subjected agricultural population. In the ruling class of conquerors—who were marrying the native women—the steppe traditions of an unlimited paternal power, centered in a God-like, distant and strict father, tended to prevail. The principles of seniority, of priority of the male sex and of super-ordination and subordination among brothers and sisters favored sibling rivalry in this family system. At the same time, the mother, following her native traditions, tended to assert her marital equality, to maintain separate property rights, to teach her children the native speech and customs, and to protect them against the caprice and wrath of a domineering and warlike father.

[155]

It is likely that children in such families of clashing marital and social philosophies might be exposed to alternating experiences of rejection and over-protection; they might develop an exaggerated self-concern and power-orientation, as well as feelings of inadequacy and dependence. Extremes in emotional reactions ranging from blind submission to destructive aggression and violent revolt tend to develop in such circumstances.

Such traits which contain a core of emotional instability and perpetual strife did not seem to be favorable for the growth and consolidation of State. Instead, a number of small principalities were formed, whose ruling strata were torn by internal rivalries and splits, and by never-ending parricidal and fratricidal feuds. Moreover, these petty princes and war chieftains, following steppe tradition, were interested in waging warfare more than in promoting agriculture or industry—which was contrary to the view of life and the social philosophy of the subjected population. There was, therefore, a lack of common culture, lack of common interests and want of social solidarity between the subjects and their warlike lords. Such a situation fomented social unrest; local riots and mass uprisings, which in turn promoted increasing rigidity of controls, centralization of power, never-ending internal splits and never-ending warfare.

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795

By the ninth century A.D., these turbulent warriors came into conflict with the Byzantine Empire which had a political interest in the same area. This contact with Byzantium was of far-reaching consequence, because it introduced the Eastern Church into the social and political structure of Russian society. This institu-

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tion has provided moral and ideological foundations for the formation and the expansion of a globally oriented empire, while at the same time, it has also reinforced some of the elements in the structure of the Russian State which have been responsible for its explosiveness and instability.

In the Byzantine politico-religious system, the Church was not only a religious institution but also a political organization, and an arm of the political power. Byzantium therefore undertook to Christianize the Russian lands as a means of political penetration. Following Byzantine Church traditions and practices, the dominant native speech was adopted for Church services. Christianization therefore fostered also Slavization of these regions. Moreover, the Church of Byzantium carried with it the Byzantine concept of unity of Church and State, as well as that of a god-like monarchial power, with the mission to create a Universal Christian Empire.

The Eastern Church also sanctioned unlimited paternal authority and promoted protection-dependency relationships both on politico-administrative and on family levels. This Church sponsored unconditional obedience, attitudes of reverence and gratitude, and feelings of humility and self-effacement, fear and awe in the relations of man to his God, his Prince and his Father. According to the precepts of this Church-State philosophy, the authorities were held responsible for the well-being as well as for the failures and sins of their dependents. Thus the Byzantine Church was preparing psychological and ideological grounds for a politico-religious integration of Russian lands in a system of military theocracy, which became characterized by its Messianic ideology of world redemption and by its dominance-submission and protection-dependency relationships. But such a political system was in sharp conflict with the anarchic view of life and the equalitarian philosophy of family and community relations held by large sections of the population in that area.

This basic internal clash of ideologies in Russian society was intensified in the course of the following centuries when the pressure of the steppe nomads and of the expanding Western empires favored increased militarization, economic regimentation and centralization of total power in the hands of an auto-

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There will be no place to run and hide oneself; it will be woe and pain without comfort, particularly for the repenting sinners. They will see the anger of God, full of rage and wrath, bearing the woe of revenge.[39]

Also the folk religious poetry began to emphasize the gloomy aspects of *post-mortem* life, especially that of the *Strashny Sud*— The Terrible Judgment. It was perhaps in such conditions that Destiny, together with the Truth, became dissociated from the idea of a supreme Justice that reigned everywhere and came to be looked upon as being subject to the caprice of arbitrary and uncontrollable forces that now dominated the Universe.

Such circumstances might have meant quick disintegration of this society, not unlike the rapid dissolution of the Turco-Mongol empires, had it not been for agents that favored the stabilization and the perpetuation of this social system in spite of its internal weaknesses. One of the most important instruments in this process of social consolidation was the Byzantine Church.

5
THE BYZANTINE CHURCH AND MUSCOVITE MILITARY THEOCRACY

I

FOLLOWING the traditions established by the Roman Caesars, the Emperor of Byzantium (Basileus) was looked upon as the supreme war-lord, the sole legislator, and the chief justice, as well as the universal ruler. Therefore, the Church, which was subjected to the absolute and autocratic will of the Emperor, developed a religious ideology in accordance with the dominant political philosophy and practices of the Empire.

The Emperor assumed the duty of defending the Church, combating heresy, and spreading Orthodox faith throughout all the globe. In return, God had promised him universal dominion

1 [Cf. ref. 116, pp. 52-55.—Analyst]

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795 771 779 643 over the whole earth.[1] Through the support of the Church the absolute power of the Emperor became sacred, all-comprising and omnipresent. In the proclamation which announced his reign after he has been solemnly anointed by the Patriarch it was stated that he "proceeded from God, and not from man," and that to him, the "supreme master of the universe, absolute obedience was due from all."[2]

795 797 177 It was this Messianic ideology of politico-religious proselytism and world salvation which had united the Church and the state that helped Byzantium to solidify its rule and to spread its influence and control over the neighboring countries. In conquered, dependent and friendly territories numerous bishoprics of Eastern rite were established whose function was to obtain the moral support of the people for the Byzantine ruler. The conquered people were allowed a certain degree of autonomy in their internal affairs and one of their privileges was the right of the use of their native language in church rituals.

This politico-religious expansionism, however, had its weaknesses. The only tie that linked the subjected and the dependent peoples with the central power was the Church. Thus, as soon as the central power and the authority of the Byzantine Emperor weakened as a result of internal feuds, palace revolutions, civil wars, and invasions, some petty local potentates saw a chance to emancipate themselves from Constantinople and proclaim themselves as sovereign rulers. Such a local lord following Byzantine traditions would appoint from his own kinsmen bishops and Patriarchs whose function was to anoint the new king, to bestow upon him God-like qualities, and to sanctify his despotic rule among the subjects.

795 797 648 793 It is this pattern of Church and state relations that also developed between Byzantium and Russia by the end of the tenth century, when as a result of a political alliance with Byzantium Prince Vladimir of Kiev was converted to Christianity.[3] A Greek Metropolitan and a number of Greek Orthodox bishops were subsequently sent to Russia. Having an eye on the control of all other Russian principalities, the Byzantine Church bestowed upon the Metropolitan of Kiev the authority over all Russian

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territories. He was adorned with the title of the "Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias,"[4] a symbolic beginning of Russian religious and political unity.

When the Tartars in the beginning of the thirteenth century imposed their overlordship over all Russian lands, lacking an efficient administration and interested not so much in governing as in tributes, they restored to the native princes their old titles and gave them the right to collect tributes for them. In this manner in the beginning of the fourteenth century Ivan Kalita of Moscow succeeded in obtaining a *yarlyk* (charter of privileges) in which the Tartar Kahn recognized Ivan as the *Veliky Knyaz* (Grand Prince). A few years later Ivan also became the chief collector of tributes for the Kahn in Russian lands.

In his function as chief farmer of internal revenues Ivan practiced extortion from his Russian subjects and acquired a great personal wealth. His riches enabled him to purchase entire domains and apanages, and to buy the protection and backing of the Kahn. Seeing the ascendency of Ivan, and following Byzantine traditions of Church and state unity, the Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias moved his residence to Moscow and built a cathedral there, ready to support Moscow princes in their political ambitions.

The expansion of Moscow's power over other Russian lands was favored also by external circumstances and pressures. By the second part of the fourteenth century the central authority of the Tartar Empire, the Golden Horde, had weakened and as was customary in Turco-Mongol society, civil wars ensued among the contenders for the throne. This situation presented an opportunity for power wise princes of Moscow to change their policy of cringing and prostration before the Tartars into that of rebellion and bargain. From now on at times they fought the Tartars, at other times they were again kneeling before them; but they now knew how to take advantage of Tartar weaknesses and how to gain new possessions with Tartar assistance. In this policy of expansion at the expense of other Russian principalities the Muscovites had the support not only of the Khans but that of the Eastern Orthodox clergy as well. Their

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

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175 allies were also the local boyars who were traditionally always ready, at the critical moment, to abandon their own local princes and rush to join the ascending power.

[795] In the middle of the fifteenth century, the representatives of the Church of Byzantium, in the hope of obtaining the Pope's help against the Turks, agreed to a union with Rome. However, in Moscow, whose power was ascending in the face of the disintegrating Mongol Empire and where the Turks were not considered a threat, no need was felt for any Latin help. Thus the Metropolitan of Moscow who gave his approval for the union with Rome was deposed and the Russian Church was declared autocephalous and independent of the Greek Patriarch. This break with the Byzantine Church was of far-reaching conse-

[659] quences. It placed the Russian Church into a completely dependent position on the Grand Prince of Moscow. From now on, the objectives of the Russian state and those of the Russian Church became inseparable.

175 Another international event, the fall of Constantinople (1453),
795 removed the last ideological barrier to the growth of the Muscovite Principality into a world empire. Since the seat of the Greek Patriarch had fallen into the hands of the infidels, Moscow became the strongest and the leading Eastern-Orthodox state thus inheriting the Messianic ideology of world salvation and of a Universal Orthodox Empire.

In accordance with such traditions the Russian clergy began to consider Moscow as the only true successor of the first and of the second Rome, as the only depositor of the True Faith, and as the center of a Messianic politico-religious Orthodoxy. By the beginning of the sixteenth century this ideology of the "Third Rome" was fully developed. The Grand Prince of Moscow had already adopted the title of Czar (Caesar). At that time a monk of one of the old monastaries of Pskov stated this idea in a letter to Czar Vasili III, in the following manner:

[126] Two Romes have now fallen, and the third one, our Moscow, yet standeth, and a fourth shall there never be. In thy puissant Empire the council of our church doth shine throughout all the world with the light of holiness which is greater even than the light of the sun. In all the world thou alone art the Christian Tzar.[5]

3: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

ties—the state, the Church, the landlords, and the village tax commune—joined hands in backing the collective household system and the power of its head elder.

II

In this manner, under the pressure of circumstances, the *bolshaya* system of jointly ruled community household was gradually giving way to the *otsovskaya* system, that is, the patriarchal family in which the power-oriented steppe traditions tended to take precedence over the Old-Slavonic egalitarianism. Patriarchal traits prevailed especially in the urban strata. The father became absolute master as well as the exclusive owner of the family property in the otsovskaya system. As a result of this change in household structure all family members became economically and personally dependent upon the father; and as long as his power was supported by the state and the Church, they were expected to submit unconditionally to his will; there was no appeal against his arbitrariness, favoritism, and even misbehavior.

As a result of such a development the steppe traditions of life and death power of the father over his wife and children, the relationship of absolute dominance and complete subordination tended to be reinforced and perpetuated. The Church was particularly instrumental in this matter. Under the influence of the Church the father was likened, in the popular mind, to the Almighty. "As God is to the people, so is a father to his children" (*Kak Bog do lyudey, tak otets do detey*),[5] the people would say.

The father had at his disposal a number of ways to impose his will. Owing to the Church teachings, one of the main paternal sanctions consisted of invoking God's wrath This was done by means of malediction or withdrawal of blessing. Parental curse, as well as lack of parental blessing, was certain to bring great misfortune to the disobedient child (*Lisheniem otsovskogo blagoslovenia shchitaetsa chelovekom propashchim.*)[6] The emphasis on need of parental blessing and fear of disastrous consequences of parental curse is stressed in many Great-Russian folk customs and in their folk sayings, folk songs, and folk tales.[7]

Another instrument at the disposal of the father in imposing

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Speaking of the character of the peasants Mr. Karnovitch observed, that whoever has to exercise authority over them must above all things guard against indecision, whether in word or act. The Russian always requires a definite command; and in disputes, if the settlement be distinct and pre-emptory, he will be satisfied, whether the sentence is favorable or unfavorable, wise or unwise. If there be hesitation, he immediately becomes intractable, while a resolute command has a magical influence which he cannot resist.[21]

In such a society which is kept together by naked force rather than by moral bonds, breakdown of controls easily results in revolt and upheavals, in widespread bloodshed and destruction. On such occasions, just like the raznochintsy intelligentsia, the peasants, too, tended to revolt against all forms of humiliation and oppressive submission and demanded reestablishment of the old community relations, in which truth and justice and equalitarian brotherhood of man prevailed.

Such forms of peasant protest, which were directed against all the authorities, the family, community elders, the landlord, the Church and the state, will be discussed on the following pages.

18
RELIGIOUS REVOLT OF THE PEASANTRY

I

THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH which in the course of its history came to be completely subjected to the state and was made an instrument of governing, supported the lay authorities in their policies of enserfment. But the state had meagerly rewarded the Church for such services. The revenues from the land donations given to the parishes by the state or by the landlords were not sufficient to maintain the parish priests and their families. The village priests therefore depended for their living upon the fees which the peasants

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

peasants. Such a situation in many cases bred extreme antagonism against the priests, especially when hostility against the priests was stirred up by systematic agitation, as in the case of various sects of Dissenters (*Raskolniki*). This agitation often took the form of folk songs:

hairy ones . . . the beasts:
These beasts are the priests
They howl, like wolves. . . .

• • •

In the churches they praise the Lord hypocritically,
And ensnare innocent people with their words;
In the churches they offer glory to God,
And send the Uryadniks to hunt innocent people;

• • •

And they drive innocent people to Siberia.
In the churches they open their mouths,
But before the government they keep silent.
Their hair is long like women's,
But their brain is a great deal shorter.

• • •

They howl like beasts;

• • •

They extort from all.
Wicked hairy priests . . .[2]

• • •

The peasants were attracted to numerous sects of the Dissenters which were spreading in Russia, especially since the seventeenth century when the great movement of the Old Believers (*Starovery*) began. In these sects and their ideologies the peasants protested against the conditions of serfdom. The teachings of a number of these sects expressed yearning for a new life, and for an anarchic brotherhood of men in which nobody would be rejected and everybody accepted on equal terms. Peasant Sutayev, for instance, who founded the Sutayevtsy sect in 1880, was considered to be one of the most pious churchgoers before he revolted against the official Church. He rebelled when he was over fifty. The occasion was a dispute that he had with his parish priest over a fee for the burial of his grandson. It was after this quarrel that he stopped going to

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

church claiming that " . . . one is not better for going there . . . because everything there has to be paid for. Besides, I have the Church within myself."[3]

Sutayev then started a religious crusade aiming at "a new life, the organization of a Christian life." He preached that "the nobles and the rich must give back the land to those to whom it of right belongs." He disapproved of commerce, of money, of private property, of violence, and of any form of coercion. He claimed that if commerce, money and violence were eliminated, then the courts and the tax collectors would disappear too. The tax collectors and all the functionaries who live on the people will not be necessary any more, he said. The army and the war will be suppressed since "all men are brothers." "The Kingdom of God must be brought here on the earth," he asserted.[4] Similar protest against the existing conditions of serfdom and rejection, and demand for an all-human equalitarian brotherhood were expressed in many songs of the Dissenters:

All kinds of ignorance,
Moral wretchedness,
Falsehood and inconsistency,
Baseness, hypocrisy,
Coarse superstition,
Are contrary to Christianity!
Slavery, oppression,
Violence, constraint,
Every sort of pressure against people—
All this—
Is abomination before God,
Transgression of his commandments.
All people on earth
Are the children of one mother,
And above God there is no power.
And all without regard to standing in society,
Should be equal
And free in their conscience.
Everyone can pray,
According to what seems to him,
To be his obligation in relation to God.

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• • •

Why then in deeds of faith
Measures of compulsion
And all kinds of constraint?

• • •

Why then is this?[5]

795 641 Protest against the existing conditions of abusive dominance and subservient submission and longing for acceptance on terms of anarchic equality seems to have been the driving power behind the ideologies of a number of Great-Russian religious sects, such as the *Dukhobortsy* (the spirit-wrestlers), and the *Molokane* (the milk-drinkers). Not unlike the Nihilists and the Anarchists (whose reaction was also rooted in feelings of rejection), all these sects showed a strong resentment against abusive and distant authorities. At first the religious dissenters attacked the Church authorities but then this anti-authority attitude was generalized and extended to all the authorities, including the family, the landlords, the state and the Czar.

As a result all the authorities were blamed for the existing social ills and their removal was considered necessary in order to achieve a better life. There was no need for official clergy, courts, churches, sacraments, fasts, confession, communion, or any Church rituals except simple hymn singing, these sects said. There was no need for the Czar either, they claimed. Anything that smacked of authority and power was rejected. "We behold what a spirit of impiety works and shall work to the end of the world in all holders of power," they stated.[6] In 1868, a sect decreed that anyone who prays for the existing authorities shall be excommunicated. Now all the authorities, not just the priests, were identified with the beasts! "How will you ever find grace at the hands of the Beast?" A number of these sects identified the Czar with the Anti-Christ.

795 156 In their reaction against the suppression of the individual in the interest of those who hold power and in their strongly felt need for acceptance on terms of complete equality, the Dukhobortsy—not unlike the Nihilists—proclaimed the supremacy and the sanctity of the individual. Their demand for an anarchic acceptance was manifested in the emphasis of the

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

worth and dignity of the individual above all other values; the Dukhobortsy claimed that every human being was a god. "God is spirit; he is in us; then we are gods."[7]

Disapproval of oppressive authority on the family level led the Dukhobortsy to repudiate even the names of "father" and "mother." They therefore did not call their parents "father" and "mother," but only "old man" and "old woman." In the same way a father would not say of his children "mine," but "ours."[8] Proscribing the existing degrading subjection of the wife to her husband the Dukhobortsy—not unlike the early Slavs—stressed the complete equality of men and women, husbands and wives. "Among us a woman is not a beast of burden, but a helpmate and standby, a friend and companion in this vale of misery," the Molokane would say.[9] The men called their wives "sisters."

To satisfy their demands for complete acceptance and anarchic relations the Molokane attempted to build a society in which all things were to be possessed in common, and in which the evangelic principles of charity and equality, and the gospel of peace, truth and justice would reign supreme and forever.[10] They felt that it was only in such a communistic society that complete acceptance of all on equal terms could be achieved.

II

Just as in the ideology and practices of Russian monasticism, in some sects of the Dissenters reaction against the oppressive conditions and feeling of utter rejection took the form of extreme social withdrawal. For instance, the *Straniki* (wanderers) proscribed marriage and all family ties, and sought salvation in isolation and flight as the only way to avoid any contact with "Satan's representatives," that is, with the authorities. They would destroy and reject passports and all papers of identification, admit of no social distinction or ties, renounce private property and tramp from village to village, living by theft or by the hospitality of their sympathizers who provided food and secret shelter for them. "Have no city, no village, no home," they would advise.[11]

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795 156 Another manifestation of withdrawal from degrading oppression was expressed by the *Molchalniki* (speechless) or *Bezslovestnye* (mutes), the sect whose members refused to speak. The moment one would join this sect he would suddenly become dumb and nothing could force even a syllable from his lips. The government was unable to obtain any information from such voluntary martyrs,[12] even under extreme torture.[13] The Theodosians and the Denisovtsy manifested feelings of dejection and withdrawal by means of complete asceticism. These sects demanded celibacy and abstinence not only from bachelors, but from married people as well. ("Let the unwedded wed not, the wedded separate"). The members of these sects therefore [792] founded settlements which were organized along monastic lines, where they attempted to live a solitary life of complete seclusion in the wilderness, and far away from worldly authorities.[14]

On the other hand, some sects apparently reacted to the existing unsatisfactory conditions by various forms of destructive aggressiveness, including self-destruction. The *Skoptsy* (castrated), for instance, practiced castration and mutilation of sex organs.[15] Other sects preached and practiced mass assassination and mass immolation. The *De'oubiytsy* (infant-killers), preached and practiced infanticide. The *Dushilshchiki* (stranglers) or *Tyukalshchiki* (clubbers) preached and practiced killing of adults.[16] Other sects, such as the *Samoszhigateli* (self-cremators) of *Morelshchiki* (self-immolators), organized mass immolation. Cases of such acts of extreme destructiveness have occurred until the end of the nineteenth century, and in the most different and distant parts of the Empire where the Great-Russians are settled.[17] As among the Anarchists, there was among these people an urge for pan-destruction:

> I wish that all Romanov, every man, wife, and child, would come to the banks of the Volga, throw themselves into the waters, and sink to the bottom so that the temptations of the world should not attract them. And what is even better: that I might set fire to and burn down the entire city;—what joy if it were to burn from end to end destroying all the aged and infants, so that none could receive the stamp of Antichrist.[18]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

III

Just as in the ideology of Nihilism and Anarchism, revolt against degrading submission and rejection and demand for acceptance in some sects took the form of extreme power-seeking and self-deification. In the sect *Lyudi Bozhii* (people of God), for instance, the craving to become God incarnate or to have a live incarnation of Deity actually present in their midst was so strong that since the time of the sect's founder who claimed to be God Zebaoth (Sabaoth) a whole series of Christs came into being, succeeding one another by a sort of filiation or adoption. Finally each religious community of this sect boasted of having a flesh-and-blood Christ in its midst. They claimed that it was in each man's own power to unite himself to the Deity and to incarnate it in his own body. A woman had the faculty to become *Boginya* (the Goddess) or *Bogoroditsa* (Mother of God) and many women did achieve such self-apotheosis, adding to the number of divinities of each community.[19]

It was by means of suffering and mortification of flesh that candidates for Messiahship competed among themselves for this supreme achievement. These exploits were accompanied with self-glorification. In this way both power-seeking and identification with suffering were realized. The followers would watch for years to see which of the rival pretenders to Christhood underwent the greatest sufferings. The rivals for Godship, on the other hand, often resorted to trickery to prove their claims.[20] But once the issue was settled and a God-incarnate was recognized, the whole congregation owed Him supreme reverence and unconditional obedience which satisfied the contender's craving for power: "I am God, foretold of the prophets. There is no other God than I. Seek ye none other. Where unto ye are appointed, abide therein."[21] On the part of the congregation the desire for Christ-incarnate in their midst manifested a strong need for protective dependence and acceptance.

Hence longing for a world in which truth and justice, kindness and love would reign, in which there would be no abusive serfdom, no subservience, tortures and sufferings, but happi-

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ness, trust and all-human equality and fraternal aid was strongly felt in these sects. Many of these people expressed such yearnings in the form of religious hymns and rituals. It is to be expected that in these hymns and practices Christ and Mother of God, symbols of love and acceptance, not "Old God," symbol of rage and fear, would be worshipped and longed for:

The Czardom of Truth will be restored
Amongst us here on earth,
And the flame of heavenly life
Will be rekindled in our midst.
Only then, when malice and slander
Disappear from the face of earth,
And man acknowledges the Lord,
God of everlasting love,
When the world replaces pride and hypocrisy
With Truth and Justice of God,
And in the yearnings of the noble soul
Love and kindness are revived,
When all are equal under God
And the weak no longer are oppressed,
When man his thoughts to Lord will turn
And spread Truth and Justice of God,
When the force of dismal prisons, tortures and shackles
No longer reigns,
The living God will resurrect
Eternal freedom in the heart of man.
To this Czardom, thou seeker of God,
Hasten and sincerely yearn for
With a clear heart, tirelessly,
Pray thou to the Creator of the universe.
For to sow the seeds of good and love,
Are we summoned by the Lord;
So that torture and death do not appall us
In the living of our days,
We will have to be the executors
Of the Holy conceptions of Christ
Then the Czardom of Truth of God
Will tread upon the earth.
We shall have the destiny
Of creating Christ's Family.

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This is great fortune
For all the servants of the world,
Sharers in honesty and trust,
Executors of the Covenant of Christ.[22]

Longing for acceptance was not only manifested in the worship of living "Christ," but also in carnal communion with the "Christs" and "Madonnas," in ecstatic trances and mass religious hallucinations, and apparently even in some cannibalistic practices.[23] Thus when in consequence of sacred rites a Bogorodica would bear a child, if a boy, he was known as *Khristosik* (the little Christ). According to some students of Russia's religious life the Khristosik was immolated on the eighth day after his birth. His heart and blood, mixed with flour and honey, were served to make the cakes for the Eucharist. This practice was called "Taking Communion in the blood of the Lamb."[24] At other times, according to the same sources, it was a young virgin, chosen as Mother of God who willingly gave her left breast to be cut out amidst ritual dancing and singing. The breast was then partaken of as the "true Eucharistic food."[25]

Great emotional insecurity and extreme fear of rejection might explain why elements of power-seeking were present in all sects, even in those which professed complete repudiation of power in any form whatsoever. For instance, Popov, the founder of the Molokane sect which originally professed complete freedom of conscience and complete equality, eventually entirely suppressed liberty of discussion and interpretation. Unconditional submission to the authorities he declared to be the first duty, insubordination the greatest sin.[26] Andrey Selivanov, the founder of the Skoptsy sect, had himself designated in the prayers which were addressed to him in his lifetime, as "God of Gods and King of Kings," even though the Skoptsy sect professed complete freedom from any form of coercion.[27]

Also early in the history of the Dukhobortsy we find that their communistic practices finally led to dictatorship and despotism.[28] The leaders of this sect knew how to take personal advantage of the longing of the sect members for protective dependence and acceptance. One of the leaders of this sect, Kapustin, in the beginning of the nineteenth century expounded

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

the communistic tenets of the Dukhobortsy in such a way as to turn them to his own profit and advantage. Like other Dukhobortsy, Kapustin too believed that God was in every man, and therefore all men were equal. He said, however, that God first had revealed himself in Jesus and the soul of Jesus has then continually animated new bodies throughout many generations. And by virtue of its higher qualities, and the absolute command of God, the soul of Jesus as it passed from one man to another had invariably retained its identity, and the man in whom the soul of Jesus resided, unmistakenly knew he was Jesus:

> Thus Sylvan Kolisnikof at Nikisk whom many of older among you knew, was Jesus; but now, as truly as the heaven is above and the earth under my feet, I am the true Jesus Christ, your Lord! fall down therefore on your knees and worship me![28]

Kapustin introduced a complete community of goods among his followers. They worked the fields in common and divided the harvest among them. Storehouses were erected to provide against years of dearth or famine. Also various kinds of industries were introduced and the colony showed visible progress in the first few years of its existence. Kapustin had also assembled an advisory Council of thirty Elders about him, from among whom an inner circle of twelve was selected. These were known as "The Apostles." Before he died he endeavored to impose his son as his successor and claimed that when he died the soul of Jesus would enter the body of his son.

After Kapustin's death dissatisfactions grew stronger and manifested themselves in suspicion, mistrust, and denunciation. The Council of Elders developed into an inquisitional tribunal which ruled arbitrarily, interpreting justice according to their caprices. Those who submitted unconditionally were rewarded, those who were suspected of deviation were accused of treachery and of intention to go over to their "enemy" that is, the official Church, and were punished with torture and even with death. The house from which the Elders ruled became known as *Ray i muka*—paradise and torture.[29]

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792 one of the outstanding tenets in the philosophy of Russian monas-
829 577 ticism whose history is even longer than that of the Czardom was
[795] charitable love. Many sects of the *Raskolniki* propagated and practiced principles of humaneness. The Slavophils were especially prominent in advocating the return to an idealized stateless society of benevolent paternalism where brotherhood, Chris-
829 577 [177] tian love, and compassion would reign. The "Westerners" endeavored to introduce into Russia Western concepts of justice and tolerance, and a humanistic, libertarian and juridical state. Russian belles-lettres, Russian school textbooks, as well as laws and regulations in the nineteenth century and up to the beginning of World War I, bear witness to this trend toward Westernization and humanism.

178 661 In Soviet Russia, on the other hand, after a brief initial period of reaction against the old regime which led toward an emphasis on all-human values and equalitarian brotherhood, soon the trend of events pushed the Bolshevik ideology in the opposite direction. The determination of a ruling clique of professional conspirators to maintain themselves in power by any and all means dictated the emphasis on the internal and external "threats" which would justify the intensification of internal "measures of security," and of external aggression. Thus vigilantism and war preparedness, and expansion of internal and external Bolshevik power, became the main base of the policies of the ruling class.[25] Such policies had to be constantly reinforced by a deliberate incitement to hatred and destruction.

661 672 The image of Soviet society as being in a constant state of war, not only against foreign enemies but against internal oppositionists, deviationists, spies, saboteurs, and remnants of bourgeois mentality has been determined by a social structure which the Bolshevik rulers themselves have created, but which makes their own power uncertain and precarious. In such circumstances Lenin's idea of a life and death struggle with the "class enemies," the idea that "it's them or us" (*Kto kogo*) has provided the main motivating force of the Party's internal and foreign policies. Fearing to be annihilated unless they themselves destroy their enemies, conscious that they have "either to rule or to die," the Bolsheviks have ruthlessly applied the principle of "obedience

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CHAPTER VII

RUSSIA

THE important fact about Russian civilization is that it is Byzantine in its origin, and that in spite of what Toynbee refers to as Russia's "fits of Westernization", its convulsions due to the injection of ideas from the West, (e.g., under Peter the Great), and again in its adoption of Marxism, Byzantine it has remained.

If anyone cares to dispute this about Russian civilization as a whole, he can hardly do so about the Russian Church in particular. In the eleventh century the Russians, or rather their Scandinavian rulers, took over Orthodoxy as one whole thing from Constantinople. It was the reverse process of what happened in the Roman Empire when the State adopted Christianity after it had largely won the people. In Russia the princes accepted Christianity and then gradually imposed it upon their subjects. Christianity had a thousand years' experience behind it, and Orthodoxy had reached its final form when Russia embraced it. No disputes about fundamental Christian doctrines disturbed the Russian Church. The Trinitarian and Christological controversies were settled, the marriage of Christian revelation with Greek philosophy had been consummated, and the conflict to settle the relations between religion and art had been fought out. Together with the liturgical books and all the external apparatus of worship, Russia took over a fixed body of doctrine, a monastic system, a style of building and ornamenting churches, and a body of legal principles.

In all these matters Russia was to introduce modifications and to set a Russian stamp upon them, for in spite of its method of adoption Orthodoxy entered into the soul of the

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Russian people and became its very life. But the Byzantine character of Russian religion was conserved. As we have already seen the Russian Church was for long dependent upon Constantinople. Its literature consisted of translations or imitations of Byzantine writings. Its Metropolitan was a Greek consecrated in Constantinople and sent to rule the Russian Church. The two exceptions provided by the appointment in Russia of Hilarion in 1051 and Clement in 1147 are regarded as isolated cases which did not impair the theory and change the practice, which held good till 1448.

Politically the Russians lived for a century and a half under Mongol domination. From the battle of Kalka in 1223 the onslaughts of these mysterious, hideous and inhuman hordes, suddenly appearing from whence no man knew, burning, killing, capturing, had struck terror into the hearts of the dwellers on the Russian plain. Kiev, the cradle of Russian Christianity, the ancient and beautiful stronghold on the Dnieper, was sacked in 1240, and one by one the rest of the Russian towns speedily succumbed. Novgorod alone escaped, protected by its remote situation behind its marshes and forests, and by the courage, self-sacrifice and political wisdom of its prince, St. Alexander Nevsky. The Tartar rule bore less heavily upon the Church than upon the State. When their victory was assured the Tartars were at first, in matters of religion, easy-going pagans, and so long as they received their tribute, did not interfere unduly with the religion of the people they conquered. And as was also to be the case later on with the Balkan peoples under the Turk, it was their religion and their Church which, in the days of social and political disaster, saved the Russians from complete despair and preserved among them some sense of fundamental unity in spite of all their factions and divisions.

The Russian Church was the nurse of the growing national spirit of Russia. In the person of one of its great national saints, Sergius of Radonezh, who founded the Monastery of the Holy Trinity near Moscow, for centuries the citadel of Russian religion and national aspiration, it inspired the movement which thrust back the Tartar domination. In 1380 Dmitry of the Don, whose building of stone walls round Moscow had been a challenging gesture to which the Tartars were not slow

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to respond, came to seek the advice of St. Sergius and received the calm assurance: "Go forward and fear not, God will be with thee." Everything was at stake, including Russian religion, for the Tartars had by this time embraced Islam, and their easy-going tolerance of Christianity was a thing of the past. The hard-fought wavering battle of Kulikovo Pole followed and ended in a Russian victory, and the beginning of the end of the Tartar dominance.

Much missionary activity was displayed by the Russian Church during the period of Tartar domination. Even among the Tartars themselves this evangelistic work was carried on, while many a lonely outpost of monastic life in the forests and swamps of the north spread the faith of Christ in regions where it had been unknown before. Few names of individual pioneers have been handed down, but among them is that of the energetic missionary bishop, Stephen of Perm.

After the fall of Kiev, the centre of gravity in Russian life, both political and ecclesiastical, had moved northwards, first to Vladimir and finally to Moscow, around which Ivan the Great and his son Vasili IV built up the Tsardom of Muscovy at the close of the Tartar period.

It was at first but a small area in the centre of what is modern European Russia. Kiev and the south were not under its control, nor did it extend to the Baltic. It had no port until the commercial enterprise of the Englishman, Richard Chancellor and his fellow traders, provided one at Archangel in the sixteenth century. But to the east expansion was to prove surprisingly easy, the counterflow to the Tartar invasion swept into Siberia under Yermak towards the end of the sixteenth century, and the colonists that followed bringing the life and religion of Russia were soon to reach the shores of the Pacific.

But to return to the fifteenth century, the Tsardom of Moscow was for long to remain the only Orthodox Christian realm free from foreign and non-Christian suzerainty, and it became aware of itself as the heir of Constantinople. Nor were the Russians unwilling to see their Church play the leading rôle in Orthodox Christendom. From their point of view Constantinople had deserved its fate, for its act of apostasy in accepting the terms of Union at Florence. A Greek named

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Isidore had been appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople to be Metropolitan of Moscow. Isidore represented the Russian Church at Florence and in company with the other Easterns (except Mark of Ephesus) he signed the Act of Union, which two years later, on his leisurely return to Moscow, he caused to be solemnly read at the Liturgy in the Uspensky Cathedral. The response of his flock was to arrest him and imprison him in a monastery. He escaped and fled to Rome and the Russians elected their own Metropolitan in his place. The fact that Constantinople accepted, even for a time only, the Florentine terms of Union which the Russians themselves so energetically repudiated, convinced them that Constantinople had betrayed the Orthodox Faith, and the fall of that city so soon afterwards seemed to them to set the seal of divine approval upon their judgment.

It is a matter of some surprise that the Russian Church was content to remain for so long a period in its dependent position and did not claim its autocephalicity until 1448. Long before that date the number of its bishops far exceeded what was required for a Church to become autocephalous. Its adherents were ethnically different from those of its mother Church, and the difference of language between them must have been a source of difficulty. Politically the Russians owed allegiance to their Tsar, and were not subjects of Constantinople. Geographically they were far removed from the administrative centre of the mother Church and communication involved much expenditure of time, considerable inconvenience and some danger. There would seem then to be ample grounds for the independence of the Russian Church to be claimed and granted long before it was. On the other hand there were clear advantages accruing from the fact that the Metropolitan was a Greek who came from abroad and owed ecclesiastical allegiance outside Russian territory. It enabled him with impartiality and with better hope of success to mediate in the constant feuds which rent the early Russian State. It assisted the Church to play its part as peacemaker and a unifying power. The Russian princes themselves were often wise enough to recognize this.

A Russian writer[1] has recently claimed the reverence of

[1] S. Troitsky in the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, July, 1948.

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795 the Russians for ecclesiastical law as a further reason for the delayed independence of the Russian Church. For the canons require the consent of the mother Church before the daughter can become autocephalous, and Constantinople was reluctant to give this consent. "The income which Constantinople received from the broad and rich Metropoly of Russia formed a huge item in the Patriarchal budget." It is, however, not fair to assume that Constantinople was actuated entirely by mercenary motives. However that may be, in the end the Russians took the matter into their own hands, regarding themselves as absolved from their canonical obedience by the fact that in their view Constantinople had lapsed into heresy by accepting the Union of Florence.[1]

795 Thus the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the submergence
186 of the Balkans beneath the flood of Turkish invasion, roughly coincided with the emergence of Russia from beneath the yoke of the Tartars. As Orthodoxy was eclipsed in the south, it arose with new strength and splendour in the north and Moscow picked up the torch which fell from the dying hand of Constantinople. The legend of "Moscow the Third Rome" came to birth as the inspiration and expression of this renewal of life and ambition among the Russians after their long experience of depression under the Mongols, and brought with it a sense of their responsibility for the future destiny of Orthodoxy in history and of a Russian mission to the world. The message of the monk Philotheus to the Tsar Vasili III (1505 to 1533) assuring him that although two Romes had fallen a third had risen in the north which should never pass away, and acclaiming him as the supreme and only Christian ruler in the world, long haunted the minds of the Russians, and was expressly endorsed by the Stoglav Council in 1551 (see below, p. 101). A surprising ancestry was discovered for the Russian ruler, whose line of descent was traced back to the imperial house of ancient Rome, if not beyond. Correspondingly he assumed the imperial title, he became Tsar (Caesar) and "autocrat".

[1] According to the writer just quoted the Russians did apply in due form for the consent of Constantinople to the consecration of their nominee Jonah as Metropolitan of Moscow in 1448, but there is no evidence that any reply was received.

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Thus Church and State developed side by side and often worked harmoniously together. As time went on, however, the Metropolitan came to be more and more dependent upon the Tsar, who on more than one occasion dispensed with the form of election altogether and frankly appointed his chief bishop himself, a course of action for which Constantinople had supplied precedents. A case in point is that of the Metropolitan Daniel, and it is involved in the controversy between the Possessors and the Non-possessors which divided ecclesiastics in sixteenth-century Russia.

The Non-possessors desired a reform of the monasteries and in particular disapproved of the possession of landed property by monks whose vow of poverty, they held, should apply corporately as well as individually. They were led by scholars and mystics like Maxim the Greek and Nil Sorsky. The Possessors, under Joseph of Volokalamsk, while holding the opposite opinion on the subject of monastic property, were supporters of the steadily increasing autocracy of the Tsar, whereas their opponents took a more liberal and humane view both about the authority of the State and about the exercise of discipline upon heretics, whom Joseph and his friends felt little compunction in calling upon the secular arm to destroy. The Tsar Vasili III was childless and proposed to divorce his wife and marry another woman. The Metropolitan Barlaam whose sympathies inclined to the Non-possessors refused to sanction this or to perform the ceremony. He paid for his principles by life imprisonment in a monastery, and a pliant Possessor was found in the person of Daniel whom Vasili made Metropolitan in his place and by whom the new marriage was solemnized. Moralists have not failed to point out that the fruit of this marriage was Ivan the Terrible.

The dispute between the Possessors and Non-possessors went on. Some legal adjustments were introduced into the hitherto unrestricted right to bequeath lands to the religious houses. The celebrated Council of the Hundred Chapters or Stoglav[1] which met in 1551 enacted certain reforming measures,

[1] *Sto* means one hundred, and *glav* means chapter. The enactments of the Council were divided into a hundred chapters. Hence the name Stoglav, which is applied both to the document and to the Council which produced it.

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some of which were concerned with the monastic life. But the core of the Council was conservative and it set the seal of its sanction upon the general pattern of Russian life. It authorized a revision of the Service books, though little came of the authorization. It pronounced in favour of the old Russian customs in making the sign of the Cross and the singing of Alleluia. All these were matters which were to give much trouble to the Patriarch Nikon later on (see below, p. 103).

The differences between the Possessors and Non-possessors on the ethical and humanitarian sides of their controversy remained unresolved, and in general Nil Sorsky failed to establish the ideals he desired in Russian monastic life, and to secure the acceptance of more humane principles in the treatment of heretics. In this respect perhaps he lived before his time. More than a century later two deacons whose wives had died of the plague had forsaken their ministry and married again. They were sent to prison to be kept without food until they perished, and only escaped this fate through the special intercession of the Patriarch of Antioch who was in Moscow at the time.

As the power and dignity of the Russian Tsar increased, it seemed but fitting that his chief bishop should have a corresponding status and receive the supreme ecclesiastical title. With little difficulty this was achieved in 1589 and the title of Patriarch of Moscow was conferred upon the Metropolitan Job and subsequently recognized by the other Eastern Patriarchs.

Thus Russia became the fifth Patriarchate of the Church, and was held, in some sense, to have taken the place of Rome, which had "fallen away". The assumption of this new dignity was accompanied by the creation of a number of new Russian dioceses, and the raising of others to Metropolitan rank.

A generation later Russia again lay under the heel of an invader. The period of disturbances and civil war known as the Troublous Times brought with it foreign invasion. The Poles overran Russia and were in possession of Moscow. For sixteen months they had been laying siege to the famous Monastery of the Holy Trinity a few miles away. Then a dramatic episode occurred. In response to letters sent out from

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the Monastery a great patriotic host came to its rescue under the leadership of a prince, a butcher, a monk and a Cossack, drove out the Poles, and established Michael as the first Tsar of the House of Romanov and his father Philaret as Patriarch. The House of Romanov was to last until the collapse of imperial Russia, and the advent of the Soviets. The Patriarchate was not so long lived. But in addition to Philaret himself it produced at least one outstanding figure in the vigorous personality of Nikon.

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Nikon, of peasant origin, was a rigorist, vigorous and dominating, sincere and ascetic. As head of the Chudov monastery in Moscow he had been the close friend and adviser of the Tsar Alexis, the devout son and successor of Michael, for some years, when in 1652 with a good deal of reluctance and some stipulations he yielded to the Tsar's entreaties and accepted the Patriarchal Throne. Perhaps he foresaw that his own personality and conception of his duty as Patriarch were bound to clash with those of his friend and sovereign. Such in fact proved to be the case. Nikon felt himself bound in conscience to resist the encroachments of the secular power in the realm of spiritual affairs. But at the same time he had little scruple about intruding his own will into secular matters, where his harsh severity and arrogance made him many enemies among the boyars.

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There was another aspect of the troubles which were to gather around Nikon and in the end overwhelm him. It was the question of the revision of the Service books of the Church —a thorny matter on which many men both in Russia and elsewhere have pricked their fingers.

The Old Slavonic books used by the Russian Church had been translated from the Greek, and in the course of centuries of transcribing, minor errors had inadvertently crept into the text. Beside these matters there were other questions in dispute, such as whether the sign of the Cross should be made with two fingers in the Russian manner or with three as the Greeks were accustomed to make it. And how often should Alleluia be sung on certain occasions? One may be pardoned some astonishment at the fury of the passions aroused by the mere discussion of these subjects. But this is to misunderstand. Men

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of the Greek visitors were acquiesced in. This did not add to Nikon's already scanty popularity, especially when he proclaimed with more honesty than tact: "I am a Russian and the son of a Russian but my faith and religion are Greek."

Even Avvakum had been prepared to amend the Russian books from the older Slavonic editions and manuscripts. But that was before Nikon's day as Patriarch, and when the latter proposed to appeal to the Greeks as the criterion, Avvakum and his friends from being moderate reformers went into the most violent and unappeasable opposition.

Avvakum was a remarkable man and he could write. He was in fact the most outstanding figure in Russian literature before Peter the Great. His autobiography which has been translated into English, should certainly be read. He defied the authorities with implacable obstinacy, goaded them with virulent abuse, suffered untold hardships as a consequence and in the end won the martyr's crown which he so eagerly desired.

In due course, the conflict between the ecclesiastical authorities and Avvakum's party (for he had many friends and sympathizers) developed into an open schism which has persisted to this day. Thus Russian Dissent, unlike English, owes its origin to opposition to reform, not to the advocacy of it. The Old Believers, as the dissenting party was called, became highly fissiparous and sometimes most eccentric. They suffered much persecution over a long period of time. "But on the whole," to quote Prince Mirsky,[1] "they have been the truest —in many cases the only—preservers of pre-Petrine Russian civilization. Were it not for them our contemporaries would hardly have rediscovered the Church music of Old Russia, nor the boundless wealth of its religious painting, which is the purest, strongest and most original flower of Old Russian civilization."

Nikon won against the Old Believers, but he lost against the nobility, which succeeded in detaching the sympathies of the Tsar from the Patriarch. The same Council which in 1667, in the presence of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch,

[1] In his introduction to *The Life of the Archpriest Avvakum by Himself* The Hogarth Press, 1924.

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confusion into Russian life. The Court and governing classes in St. Petersburg became the least Russian of all sections of the nation, indeed they were more German than Russian, and for long the reform of Peter affected only the educated classes of society. Behind the St. Petersburg façade was the great mass of the people who continued to regard everything Western with suspicion and even abhorrence. Nevertheless, the movement gradually made headway and in due course the interplay of Western ideas and native Russian thought was to produce modern Russian culture and especially the astonishing achievement of Russian nineteenth-century literature.

The "Westernizers" who believed that the destiny of Russia was to follow the path of the West, and the "Slavophils" who put their faith in the Orthodox tradition of native Russian culture, sharpened their wits upon each other in drawing-room discussions and set forth their views in books. But behind all this and but little affected by it, the religious life of the Russian people went on as before. The official Church and the majority of the hierarchy supported the Government even if they disapproved of things Western. Tsar and Metropolitan needed each other, for each believed that in the preservation of the other his own well-being was involved.

But the schism inherited from the seventeenth century still continued and the "Old Believers", among whom was conserved much that was most profound and sincere in the traditional religion of Russia, would have no truck with the St. Petersburg Empire which was anathema to them, nor with the official Church which had come to terms with it. There were in course of time many groups of these interesting schismatics, some of whom had a clergy and some had not. If sections of them degenerated into sects which were psychologically abnormal, the bulk of them, consolidated by persecution and fanatically tenacious of their beliefs, upheld a high standard of conduct and their communities were a storehouse of many significant and beautiful elements of Russian Orthodoxy. Although after 1800 some availed themselves of more generous terms offered them for reconciliation to the Church, the Old Believers exist to this day as a well-organized body of some millions under their own bishops.

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795 The Old Believers maintain, not without some show of reason, that it is the official Church which has left them, not *vice versa*. But in any case the vast bulk of the Russian people remained within the fold of that official Church. They lived their lives in close contact with their village churches oblivious of the disputes of Slavophils and Westernizers, pathetically constant in their belief in their Little Father, the Orthodox Tsar, and shocked but silent if they heard of time-serving prelates. Nor were men lacking to guide and uphold them. In the eighteenth century Tikhon Zadonsky is an instance of the devout hard-working and conscientious bishop by no means rare in post-Petrine Russia.[1] He stayed at his episcopal post although yearning for the life of secluded devotion for which he had to wait so many years. Some reflection of this man's personality is to be seen in the portrayal of Zossima in Dostoyevsky's *Brothers Karamazov*. In the monasteries were to be found men conspicuous for their sanctity and well qualified to give advice and spiritual help to the many who sought them out. Zossima is not alone in Russian literature and the counterparts of these men in real life, such as St. Serafim of Sarov, Ambrosius of the Monastery of Optina, and many less well-known men of the kind, stand in the true line of descent from Nil Sorsky, in their spirituality and unworldliness and their essentially Russian love of freedom.

747 The vitality of the Russian Church during the period after Peter and especially in the nineteenth century found expression in widespread missionary activity (see below, p. 162). If the expansion of the Church took place together with the expansion of the Empire, if the missionary bishop worked hand in hand with the secular official and imposed Russian religion and Russian rule at the same time, who is to say which was the dominating motive? At any rate it cannot be said that the Russian Church was blind or indifferent to the spiritual needs of its pagan fellow subjects of the Tsar. But if the State was 657 benevolently interested in the Church, it was determined to 793 control it, and the position of outstanding men like Platon under Katharine II and Paul, and Philaret under Alexander I

[1] Gorodetsky: *The Humiliated Christ in Modern Russian Thought*, pp. 99 ff.

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were directed not only against this cult, but also against that of the Fire and of the Sun.[25] There was no cult of war-gods in the mythology of the Old Slavs nor was there any epic poetry in their folklore.

Unlike the patriarchal, rigidly stratified and dualistic religious system of steppe nomads which was full of tensions and struggles, the supernatural world of the Slavs of Polesie was anarchic, equalitarian and peaceful. Apparently projecting their own social organization into the supernatural world, the Old-Slavonic plowmen conceived it as being composed of both sexes but without a hierarchy of power among themselves The deities that inhabited that world were neither arbitrary nor corrupted, nor did they fight among themselves for the control over man. Festivals in their honor were celebrated with the accent on drink, song, dance and lovemaking.

Accordingly the Slavs of Polesie did not have to appease their deities nor try to be on good terms with both the bad and the good ones. They believed that after death bad and wicked people would roam the earth in the form of werewolves and vampires; but, they also possessed simple means of protection against these evil ghosts, such as pieces of torn clothes, which were accessible to everyone.[26] There were always persons of both sexes who maintained contact and control over the spirits of evil and were willing to help anyone in distress. Hence the Old Slavs trusted their wizards, the *veshchy*.[27]

According to the religious and social philosophy of the Slavs of the Dnieper, there are some general all-embracing rules of behavior to which all people, all the universe as well as all the deities, are subjected. In such a religious and philosophical system, the deities could not be capricious. They could be relied upon to behave according to commonly accepted rules of conduct and should not therefore be distrusted and feared. It is this optimistic view of destiny and of the universe, in which order and anarchic equity, not sword or might nor caprice prevail, that perhaps had found expression in the Old-Slavonic concept of law which was identified with truth and justice (*pravda*). The same view of life had perhaps found expression also in the Old-Slavonic concept of judgment which was identified with destiny

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This idealized image of mother as a helper and interceder that was projected into religious lore has been manifested also in widespread Madonna worship. The cult of the Bogoroditsa was noticeably developed in Russian society from the days of its conversion to Christianity. The old Russian princes of the Kiev period invoked the help of the Mother of God, dedicated their cities to her, and wrote prayers to her.[6] Throughout many centuries Madonna icons were very widely in use and prayers to Madonna were very frequent in the religious practices of the Russian Church. Some of the most outstanding Russian Orthodox cathedrals have been dedicated to the Mother of God.

Identification with mother is seen in the often used phrase "Mother Russia" and in the word *rodina*—"mother-country." Also rivers and cities are regularly identified with mother (Mother Volga, Mother Moscow). The days in the week which are considered holy or consecrated are sometimes identified with mother, such as Mother Wednesday, Mother Friday.[7] And in Russian epic poetry, the whole earth is invariably identified with mother in the often-repeated phrase *Mat syra zemlya*—moist Mother Earth.

Of course other attachments took place in the Great-Russian family as manifested in the identification of a younger brother with his older brother and in frequent father-daughter emotional ties. There were, also, families in which mother appeared not in her expected role of close friend and protector but in that of a domineering and tyrannical despot. All such relations had their particular effects on the development of a child's personality, as we shall see on the following pages.

10
DEPENDENCE, SENSE OF GUILT, FEAR

I

WHEN a child's demand for attention and love is thwarted by a dominating and forbidding father, feelings of

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had to pay for religious services. In addition many village priests had an inferior training, were often semi-literate, and were sometimes publicly humiliated by their superiors. Abased by hard conditions of life, some of them tended to lose self-respect and sought comfort in habitual drunkenness.

In the meantime as a result of the conditions of serfdom the economic situation of the peasants was deteriorating while the village priests whose main revenues consisted of fees received for their services tended to squeeze out of the peasantry all they could. Hence in many parishes the relations between the priests and the peasants gradually developed into a state of perpetual bickering and struggle.[1] In such circumstances peasants were likely to develop a negative attitude toward the clergy. To "have a priest's eye" meant in peasant idiom to covet everything. Similar meaning was conveyed in the phrase "Am I a priest to eat two dinners?" The peasants compared the greediness of the priests to that of the judges. "A priest waits for a rich dead, and a judge for a rich litigant"; "A judge's pocket is the same as a priest's belly," they would say. It was considered a bad omen to meet a priest on the street. It must be pointed out, also, that in a situation in which any expression of opposition against the lay authorities was very risky and dangerous, the attack against the priests might have served as a convenient substitute target for destructive aggression directed against the landlords and the state.

In such conditions government ukases and police measures were sometimes necessary to force the peasants into churches; they were made to confess and to take communion by means of threat. As a result, confession and communion tended to be looked upon as a commercialized formality. It was a tedious obligation that had to be paid for in cash, the same as all other tributes and taxes to which the peasants were subjected. In such circumstances, confession and communion tended to lose their function of consolation, comfort, relief from guilt and identification with divinity. As a result a growing number of peasants ceased to look upon the priests as their friends and protectors; they tended to look upon them as government agents who conspired with the landlords and the police against the

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peasants. Such a situation in many cases bred extreme antagonism against the priests, especially when hostility against the priests was stirred up by systematic agitation, as in the case of various sects of Dissenters (*Raskolniki*). This agitation often took the form of folk songs:

> hairy ones . . . the beasts:
> These beasts are the priests
> They howl, like wolves. . . .
>
> • • •
>
> In the churches they praise the Lord hypocritically,
> And ensnare innocent people with their words;
> In the churches they offer glory to God,
> And send the Uryadniks to hunt innocent people;
>
> • • •
>
> And they drive innocent people to Siberia.
> In the churches they open their mouths,
> But before the government they keep silent.
> Their hair is long like women's,
> But their brain is a great deal shorter.
>
> • • •
>
> They howl like beasts;
>
> • • •
>
> They extort from all.
> Wicked hairy priests . . .[2]
>
> • • •

The peasants were attracted to numerous sects of the Dissenters which were spreading in Russia, especially since the seventeenth century when the great movement of the Old Believers (*Starovery*) began. In these sects and their ideologies the peasants protested against the conditions of serfdom. The teachings of a number of these sects expressed yearning for a new life, and for an anarchic brotherhood of men in which nobody would be rejected and everybody accepted on equal terms. Peasant Sutayev, for instance, who founded the Sutayevtsy sect in 1880, was considered to be one of the most pious churchgoers before he revolted against the official Church. He rebelled when he was over fifty. The occasion was a dispute that he had with his parish priest over a fee for the burial of his grandson. It was after this quarrel that he stopped going to

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tion has provided moral and ideological foundations for the formation and the expansion of a globally oriented empire, while at the same time, it has also reinforced some of the elements in the structure of the Russian State which have been responsible for its explosiveness and instability.

In the Byzantine politico-religious system, the Church was not only a religious institution but also a political organization, and an arm of the political power. Byzantium therefore undertook to Christianize the Russian lands as a means of political penetration. Following Byzantine Church traditions and practices, the dominant native speech was adopted for Church services. Christianization therefore fostered also Slavization of these regions. Moreover, the Church of Byzantium carried with it the Byzantine concept of unity of Church and State, as well as that of a god-like monarchial power, with the mission to create a Universal Christian Empire.

The Eastern Church also sanctioned unlimited paternal authority and promoted protection-dependency relationships both on politico-administrative and on family levels. This Church sponsored unconditional obedience, attitudes of reverence and gratitude, and feelings of humility and self-effacement, fear and awe in the relations of man to his God, his Prince and his Father. According to the precepts of this Church-State philosophy, the authorities were held responsible for the well-being as well as for the failures and sins of their dependents. Thus the Byzantine Church was preparing psychological and ideological grounds for a politico-religious integration of Russian lands in a system of military theocracy, which became characterized by its Messianic ideology of world redemption and by its dominance-submission and protection-dependency relationships. But such a political system was in sharp conflict with the anarchic view of life and the equalitarian philosophy of family and community relations held by large sections of the population in that area.

This basic internal clash of ideologies in Russian society was intensified in the course of the following centuries when the pressure of the steppe nomads and of the expanding Western empires favored increased militarization, economic regimentation and centralization of total power in the hands of an auto-

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over the whole earth.[1] Through the support of the Church the absolute power of the Emperor became sacred, all-comprising and omnipresent. In the proclamation which announced his reign after he has been solemnly anointed by the Patriarch it was stated that he "proceeded from God, and not from man," and that to him, the "supreme master of the universe, absolute obedience was due from all."[2]

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It was this Messianic ideology of politico-religious proselytism and world salvation which had united the Church and the state that helped Byzantium to solidify its rule and to spread its influence and control over the neighboring countries. In conquered, dependent and friendly territories numerous bishoprics of Eastern rite were established whose function was to obtain the moral support of the people for the Byzantine ruler. The conquered people were allowed a certain degree of autonomy in their internal affairs and one of their privileges was the right of the use of their native language in church rituals.

This politico-religious expansionism, however, had its weaknesses. The only tie that linked the subjected and the dependent peoples with the central power was the Church. Thus, as soon as the central power and the authority of the Byzantine Emperor weakened as a result of internal feuds, palace revolutions, civil wars, and invasions, some petty local potentates saw a chance to emancipate themselves from Constantinople and proclaim themselves as sovereign rulers. Such a local lord following Byzantine traditions would appoint from his own kinsmen bishops and Patriarchs whose function was to anoint the new king, to bestow upon him God-like qualities, and to sanctify his despotic rule among the subjects.

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It is this pattern of Church and state relations that also developed between Byzantium and Russia by the end of the tenth century, when as a result of a political alliance with Byzantium Prince Vladimir of Kiev was converted to Christianity.[3] A Greek Metropolitan and a number of Greek Orthodox bishops were subsequently sent to Russia. Having an eye on the control of all other Russian principalities, the Byzantine Church bestowed upon the Metropolitan of Kiev the authority over all Russian

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territories. He was adorned with the title of the "Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias,"[4] a symbolic beginning of Russian religious and political unity.

When the Tartars in the beginning of the thirteenth century imposed their overlordship over all Russian lands, lacking an efficient administration and interested not so much in governing as in tributes, they restored to the native princes their old titles and gave them the right to collect tributes for them. In this manner in the beginning of the fourteenth century Ivan Kalita of Moscow succeeded in obtaining a *yarlyk* (charter of privileges) in which the Tartar Kahn recognized Ivan as the *Veliky Knyaz* (Grand Prince). A few years later Ivan also became the chief collector of tributes for the Kahn in Russian lands.

In his function as chief farmer of internal revenues Ivan practiced extortion from his Russian subjects and acquired a great personal wealth. His riches enabled him to purchase entire domains and apanages, and to buy the protection and backing of the Kahn. Seeing the ascendency of Ivan, and following Byzantine traditions of Church and state unity, the Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russias moved his residence to Moscow and built a cathedral there, ready to support Moscow princes in their political ambitions.

The expansion of Moscow's power over other Russian lands was favored also by external circumstances and pressures. By the second part of the fourteenth century the central authority of the Tartar Empire, the Golden Horde, had weakened and as was customary in Turco-Mongol society, civil wars ensued among the contenders for the throne. This situation presented an opportunity for power wise princes of Moscow to change their policy of cringing and prostration before the Tartars into that of rebellion and bargain. From now on at times they fought the Tartars, at other times they were again kneeling before them; but they now knew how to take advantage of Tartar weaknesses and how to gain new possessions with Tartar assistance. In this policy of expansion at the expense of other Russian principalities the Muscovites had the support not only of the Khans but that of the Eastern Orthodox clergy as well. Their

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to respond, came to seek the advice of St. Sergius and received the calm assurance: "Go forward and fear not, God will be with thee." Everything was at stake, including Russian religion, for the Tartars had by this time embraced Islam, and their easy-going tolerance of Christianity was a thing of the past. The hard-fought wavering battle of Kulikovo Pole followed and ended in a Russian victory, and the beginning of the end of the Tartar dominance.

Much missionary activity was displayed by the Russian Church during the period of Tartar domination. Even among the Tartars themselves this evangelistic work was carried on, while many a lonely outpost of monastic life in the forests and swamps of the north spread the faith of Christ in regions where it had been unknown before. Few names of individual pioneers have been handed down, but among them is that of the energetic missionary bishop, Stephen of Perm.

After the fall of Kiev, the centre of gravity in Russian life, both political and ecclesiastical, had moved northwards, first to Vladimir and finally to Moscow, around which Ivan the Great and his son Vasili IV built up the Tsardom of Muscovy at the close of the Tartar period.

It was at first but a small area in the centre of what is modern European Russia. Kiev and the south were not under its control, nor did it extend to the Baltic. It had no port until the commercial enterprise of the Englishman, Richard Chancellor and his fellow traders, provided one at Archangel in the sixteenth century. But to the east expansion was to prove surprisingly easy, the counterflow to the Tartar invasion swept into Siberia under Yermak towards the end of the sixteenth century, and the colonists that followed bringing the life and religion of Russia were soon to reach the shores of the Pacific.

But to return to the fifteenth century, the Tsardom of Moscow was for long to remain the only Orthodox Christian realm free from foreign and non-Christian suzerainty, and it became aware of itself as the heir of Constantinople. Nor were the Russians unwilling to see their Church play the leading rôle in Orthodox Christendom. From their point of view Constantinople had deserved its fate, for its act of apostasy in accepting the terms of Union at Florence. A Greek named

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The Old Believers maintain, not without some show of reason, that it is the official Church which has left them, not *vice versa*. But in any case the vast bulk of the Russian people remained within the fold of that official Church. They lived their lives in close contact with their village churches oblivious of the disputes of Slavophils and Westernizers, pathetically constant in their belief in their Little Father, the Orthodox Tsar, and shocked but silent if they heard of time-serving prelates. Nor were men lacking to guide and uphold them. In the eighteenth century Tikhon Zadonsky is an instance of the devout hard-working and conscientious bishop by no means rare in post-Petrine Russia.[1] He stayed at his episcopal post although yearning for the life of secluded devotion for which he had to wait so many years. Some reflection of this man's personality is to be seen in the portrayal of Zossima in Dostoyevsky's *Brothers Karamazov*. In the monasteries were to be found men conspicuous for their sanctity and well qualified to give advice and spiritual help to the many who sought them out. Zossima is not alone in Russian literature and the counterparts of these men in real life, such as St. Serafim of Sarov, Ambrosius of the Monastery of Optina, and many less well-known men of the kind, stand in the true line of descent from Nil Sorsky, in their spirituality and unworldliness and their essentially Russian love of freedom.

The vitality of the Russian Church during the period after Peter and especially in the nineteenth century found expression in widespread missionary activity (see below, p. 162). If the expansion of the Church took place together with the expansion of the Empire, if the missionary bishop worked hand in hand with the secular official and imposed Russian religion and Russian rule at the same time, who is to say which was the dominating motive? At any rate it cannot be said that the Russian Church was blind or indifferent to the spiritual needs of its pagan fellow subjects of the Tsar. But if the State was benevolently interested in the Church, it was determined to control it, and the position of outstanding men like Platon under Katharine II and Paul, and Philaret under Alexander I

[1] Gorodetsky: *The Humiliated Christ in Modern Russian Thought*, pp. 99 ff.

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was a difficult one, so long as they held high office. Each of these men was a thinker and theologian of distinction whose writings are regarded as having high authority in the Orthodox Church. Philaret in particular was the author of the celebrated *Confession* which bears his name and the translator into Russian of the Acts of the Synod of Jerusalem, with its important variations from the original (see p. 89). He was interested also in projects for educational and financial reform. But the autocratic action of the sovereign and the paralysing effect of the régime of the Holy Synod with its Procurator made it clear that the State must find more pliable material to fill the highest offices in the Church. Both Platon and Philaret were dismissed to their own dioceses and retired in official disgrace, although each of them continued to exercise great influence through his writing and preaching.

In the summer of 1917, between the March and October Revolutions, the All-Russian Church Council met in Moscow. Its members were both clerical and lay and representative of all classes within the Russian Church. It embarked upon the planning of a wide programme of administrative reform, it swept away Peter's Holy Governing Synod, and restored the Patriarchate of Moscow. Tikhon, Metropolitan of Moscow, whose name was soon to become well-known throughout the world, was appointed by lot from among three elected candidates, to occupy the Patriarchal Throne.

After the triumph of the Bolsheviks and the establishment of the Soviet Government, the world was startled to witness the attempt of a modern Government to suppress religion.[1] No doubt the close association of the Russian Church with the hated Tsarist régime of which it had on occasion shown itself the willing agent, helped to exacerbate the hostility with which the men who had overthrown the Tsar regarded the Church. But it is important to note that their hostility was not directed to this or that bad feature of any particular manifestation of religion, but against religion as such, and, if some of their spokesmen are to be believed, against "good" religion even

[1] For a balanced and judicious examination of the whole struggle, see P. B. Anderson: *People's Church and State in Modern Russia*. S.C.M. Press, 1944.

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•798 more than "bad". They adopted with enthusiasm the philosophy of Karl Marx and his interpretation of history, and were sincerely convinced that the welfare of mankind necessitated the "liquidation" of religion. No effort was spared and much skill and ingenuity were employed to achieve this end. But though great suffering was caused to individual men and women, and the external organization of the Russian Church was for a time unable to function, and although large numbers of people were induced to abandon at least the outward profession of their faith, yet the lapse of time made it clear that the religion of Russia was not to be eliminated either by physical repression or by argument and propaganda, and that the secular authorities would have to come to terms with it.

659 The process of finding a *modus vivendi* was greatly facilitated in consequence of the Second German War. When Hitler invaded Russia, the Russian Church unhesitatingly embraced its share in the sufferings of the whole people, gave its blessing to the armies which defended Russian soil and called for national solidarity under the leadership of the Soviet Government in the protection of the Fatherland. In turn the Government decided that it no longer had anything to fear from the Church and was glad to enlist its help in the conduct of the great struggle.

How far, if at all, the new relation of Church and State has been purchased by modification and adjustments of the Church's ideals and standards, time will show. The public utterances of Soviet churchmen today have nothing but thanks and congratulations to offer the secular authority. The Church, they say, is free to live its spiritual life and, what is more, always has been since the October Revolution. The outsider who reads this may be pardoned a suspicion that the lady doth protest too much and that the heroic spiritual power which held its own unbowed before the onslaughts of a foe, has to some extent succumbed to the seductive blandishments of a friend. Yet such a judgment may after all turn out to be unfounded and unfair. If the Russian Church has indeed found a way, with its spiritual integrity unimpaired, to co-operate with an atheist secular authority, not only can it do much if it will to contribute to the sorely needed understanding between Russia

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000 a thing of the past. We mean by this that the people—not the musically trained minority—of most European nations have lost the faculty of creating new musical themes, worthy to take rank as addition to their musical lore. The old songs and poetry are forgotten and do not form, as in earlier days, a portion of the artistic heirlooms of each family, generation after generation. Although every nationality has made valiant efforts to preserve in writing the remnants of its old songs, yet it is not at all certain that with the help of such collections we can form a true idea of the folk-songs and the manner in which they were sung *by the people* in olden times. Several circumstances concur to strengthen this doubt. The old collectors of folk songs, as a rule, were not trained musicians, so that often the melodies and the rythm were not correctly noted down. Any amateur who has tried his hand at this kind of work knows with what difficulties it is attended. It is as if an amateur painter should attempt to make a picture of some complicated building, without knowing anything about the law of perspective. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that all the old collectors were content merely to note down the principal melody and the words, leaving out the accompanying voices as superflous. The more recent publications of the same folk-songs were usually harmonized or provided with accompaniments by professional musicians who never heard the songs performed by the people, and moreover entertained a certain professional prejudice in musical matters. The musical lyre was silent, the jolly performers a thing of the past; and there was no means of comparing the real thing with its assumed presentment in books on musical folklore. Consequently, with regard to real *people's music* we are as much in the dark as about the music of the old Greeks; some scientific authorities affirming that the choruses in the classical tragedies were sung in unison, while others maintain that they were sung in fifths, etc.

814 The most valuable addition to the musical folklore and the
533 art of collecting songs have been made by Russian collectors during the last twenty years. An immense energy and almost devotional love for art were requisite to accomplish this result. As an example of an ideal collector of Russian folklore, we may.

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mention Pavel Yakoushkin, a nobleman of culture and means, who spent all his life amongst the humble classes, frequenting public houses, country taverns, fairs, etc., in order to obtain access to the great source of folklore, the Russian peasantry. In the tattered costume of a country peddler, coarse patched boots and headgear to match, he crossed and recrossed Great Russia in all directions, singing with his beautiful tenor voice the songs he loved best, and collecting fresh ones. Then of a sudden he would appear in Moscow to unburden his soul before his admiring friends and various scientific societies of the new material he brought with him. He would delight the few real connoisseurs of the national music by his masterly singing, and then disappear for years in the mass of the peasantry and laborers. The result of his life's study is a classical collection of Russian songs and ballads (words only), the most complete and reliable work of this kind ever produced.

With such an example, and no lack of enthusiastic song collectors amongst the educated classes; with the most beautiful music lore still flourishing, it was only natural that the musicians soon entered the field and surpassed the old traditional collections of Russian folk songs.

Russia possesses about the oldest musical collection of songs, the more important of which, by Pratch, was published at the end of the last century. This work was followed by similiar publications of Kirsha-Daniloff, Kashin, Ssacharoff and many others. Pratch was considered for a long time the classical book on Russian folk songs, but we must add that it shared the same faults which have been mentioned with reference to European collections. The old Russian collectors, without exception, were quite ignorant of the fact, that the scales, and consequently the intervals, used by the Russian people are different from those adopted by musicians of Western Europe; accordingly, in order to bring uniformity, melodies had to be "doctored," the mistakes of the people "corrected," sharps and flats added, the rhythm altered, and the song generally "improved" according to the scientific notions of the collector. And to add insult to injury, a piano accompaniment was provided of chords in true Italian *canzonetta*

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fashion! What wonder, then, that a Russian melody thus polished and "improved" should sound quite strange to the ear of the people, and artificial and commonplace to students? True, some fragments of the beautiful melody were still there, but, on the whole, the soul, the color and the emotional element of the song were eliminated.

As mentioned before, the new school of musicians, aimed at reproduction of folk songs *exactly as they were sung by the people.* This work was carried out with great energy and perseverance; not only were the principal melodies faithfully reproduced and each syllable of the words written down, as pronounced by the singers, but every other part of the accompanying voices was similarly noted. Such reproduction was to all intents and purposes a photograph of the song. This plan was first proposed and carried out with infinite pains by J. Melgounoff, a thorough musician, and now the great Russian authority on folk songs. For some years he carried on his investigations among the peasantry of the province of Kalooga, and for the first time in the annals of musical lore, a set of true folk songs was published in 1879, followed by another volume in 1885. This work accompanied by a theoretical introduction of the principles underlying Russian folk music produced an immense sensation in the musical and ethnological circles, not only in Russia, but abroad as well. It revealed most characteristic properties in the Russian songs; *natural* scales (major and minor) as basis of the music; and complete polyphony—*i. e.*, each voice in choral songs takes the principal melody slightly modified to suit the polyphonic requirements; the leading voice gives out the principal melody as a kind of solo, and the same thing in turn is done by other voices in true fugue style.

The harmonic treatment in Russian songs is so interesting that an example of it will not be out of place. As an instance, we will take "Notchka"—a *Khorovod* (choral dance) *song*, which stood usually first in the programmes of Mme. Lineff's concerts.

It is evident that each voice is reproducing the same melody with harmonic variations, and, if sung separately, the individ-

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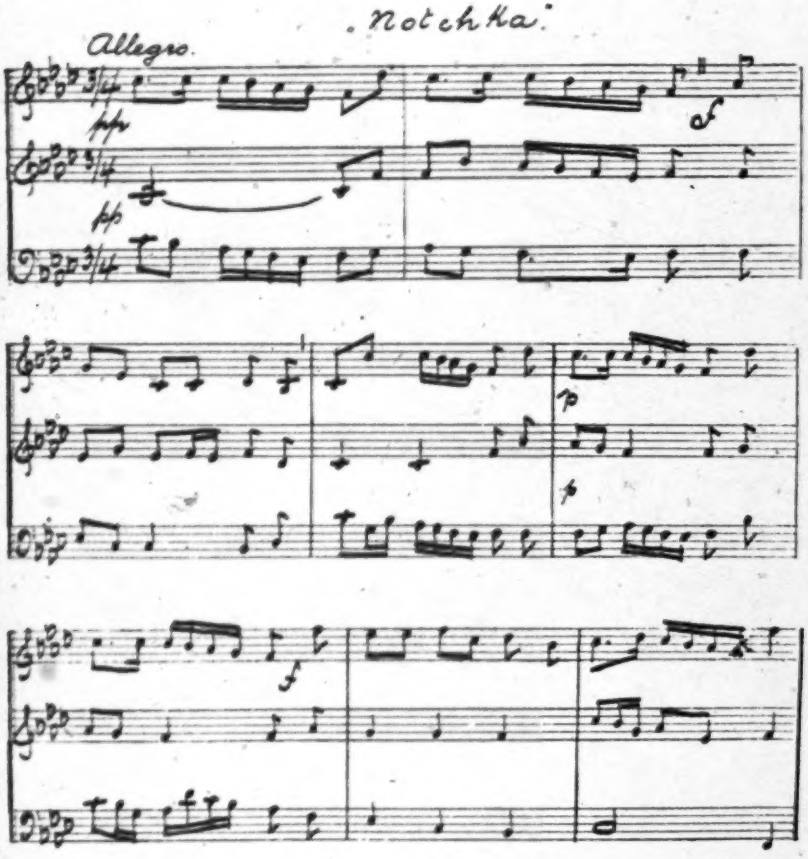
uality of the song can be recognized by the most inexperienced hearer. J. Melgounoff noticed when analysing the singing of large peasant choirs, that almost each singer joins the choir with a somewhat modified melody, not two singing alike, but always improvising some new variation of the same melody; hence that



wonderful harmonic fullness which is characteristic of Russian peasant singing. The peasants call each subordinate voice in the choir—*podgolosok* (*pod*—under; *golos*—voice) and by noting them down, Melgounoff found a rich source of melodic variations and in his now famous collection of "*Russian songs as sung by the people*," some of them are accompanied by dozens of such

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podgoloskies or improvised parts. The following parts from "Notchka" will serve as an example:

The careful study of these secondary parts or *podgoloskies* by Melgounoff was a great step forward in the studying of Russian folk-music, as it gave means to reproduce *exactly* the melodic and harmonic conception of the song as it existed in the consciousness of the people themselves. It is a matter of regret that the songs of other nations had not been treated in the same scientific manner when the folk-songs were still a living reality. Fortunately for Russia, where the natural part-singing is not yet extinct and in some remote parts even flourishing, this kind of study is still practicable and is pushed vigorously by a band of young and enthusiastic investigators.

A great movement was started in order to find means to carry on this work of investigation systematically in various parts of Russia. Since then very valuable additions have been made to the collection of musical lore, notably by Messrs. Lopatin and Prokoonine for Great Russia, and Mr. Lissenko for South Russia (Oukraina).

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To this faithful band of investigators belongs Mme. Lineff, with the difference that her training and experience as choir conductor eminently fitted her to make a powerful propaganda of these exquisite songs, not by mere books, but with a choir of singers trained by her, and therefore appealing to a much larger audience.

Mme. Eugenie Papritz-Lineff is a native of Moscow. Very early she showed a talent for music, and when a mere child she sang melodies heard from her mother, who is an accomplished musician, and pupil of the great Russian composer Michael Glinka.

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The trend toward pauperization of the intellect which develops in such a society will be emphasized the more when that society is bent upon increasing war preparedness. In such a case, particularly when faced with low labor productivity, the ruling faction will need to mobilize all available intellectual resources for its political and for its military objectives; basic research and many fields of knowledge not directly related to such objectives will have to be neglected and might even be completely paralyzed.

But dogmatism and lack of free criticism, anti-intellectualism and vigilantism lead to stagnation not only in the fields of theory, basic research, and art, but also in the fields of applied science, including political and military affairs. Even if industry, state administration and military science could conceivably make substantial advance on the basis of regimented, conscripted, and convict labor, they must be constantly fed with new ideas and inventions both in the field of technology, and in the field of organization to keep pace with the industrial and military development in the free enterprise countries which are looked upon as potential enemies.

The Bolshevik rulers are well aware of this problem. In Soviet publications it is often pointed out that various scientific institutes established to develop applied science in the field of industry and agriculture do not fulfill their plans, fail to assure proper cooperation, work on "secondary problems" and neglect questions of "vital importance." High cash prizes known as Stalin Premiums have been offered each year to stimulate the work on such problems of "vital importance." Nevertheless the Bolsheviks had to a great extent to rely on acquiring essential blueprints from abroad either by purchase or by intelligence.

In Czarist Russia a certain degree of criticism in civil and military matters was allowed while a considerable degree of criticism existed in philosophical, literary, and historical fields. The all-powerful Czarist bureaucracy was often very anxious to accept the ideas put forward by the opposition. Many reforms in the Czarist administration in the direction of liberalism and democratization originated in the leading minds of the opposition. The opposition was often able to express their views in

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6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

829 It may be said without fear of exaggeration that since the death of Engels, the master theoretician Lenin, and after Lenin, Stalin and other disciples of Lenin, have been the only Marxists who have advanced the Marxist theory and who have enriched it with new experience in the new conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat.[4]

This trend of thought, dictated by the determination to perpetuate themselves in power, led the Bolsheviks to reinterpret the philosophy of dialectical materialism and determinism. Con-
828 trary to early Socialistic doctrines the ruling Bolshevik faction
153 put forward the claim that by a correct manipulation of man's environment, his behavior and nature can be easily changed to suit predetermined objectives. The "unity of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice," the Bolsheviks say, enables them to know how and in what direction the events "ought to develop."

The Bolshevik design is, therefore, to develop a "new type of man" more amenable to submission and control. "We make tractors, but also want to make new men," they say, "since man can consciously change nature in the direction needed by him."[5]
●827 Therefore the chromosome theory of heredity according to which heredity depends upon the genes which cannot be controlled, had to be denounced as heresy from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism.[6] Instead, the Michurin-Lysenko theory according to which environment determines heredity ("hereditary transmission of individual characteristics acquired by the organism under the conditions of its life") was proclaimed as "the only scientific principles."[7] Thus since the physical environment becomes amenable to control, the hereditary characteristics of man could be planned in advance, according to these ideas.

Supported by such theories and encouraged by Party policies, some Soviet scientists advanced the claim to have been able to "conquer nature." They stated that they have shown the way how it is possible to produce "new species" under a planned change of environmental conditions.[8] Other Soviet scientists have initiated studies which are expected to lead to the "transformation of dead matter into living cells."[9] In like manner, the official endorsement of Pavlov's school in physiology has been prompted by the hope that studies of the functioning of the

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animal brain might lead to the knowledge of how to control the human brain.[10]

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Thus Marxian theory of dialectical materialism and determinism has been revised to allow the Bolshevik ruling hierarchy to control "matter" so as to affect events in a direction which seems to be most desirable from the point of view of the perpetuation of their regime. In the same manner the Marxian theory of "ideological superstructure" has been revised to suit Bolshevik needs. Morals and ethics, esthetics, character, thought and feelings are now to be planned in advance by an appropriate control of social surroundings and environmental influences in accordance with the decrees of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow. The Bolsheviks now say that "the best qualities in man are those that are planned beforehand and are inculcated into him."[11]

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Contrary to earlier Marxian doctrines the Bolsheviks now state that even when social roots of certain habits or ideas are eliminated "men's minds lay behind social actuality."[12] They claim now that "Subjective factors play a decisive role in turning possibility into reality." It is therefore necessary to influence human minds and eradicate "tenacious survivals of the past,"[13] by a planned and deliberate action even in a Socialistic society which is already transforming itself into a Communistic society.

The basic principle in this planned shaping of human thought and feeling is that human personality should be molded in a way which best suits the political needs of the Bolshevik hierarchy. Hence morals and ethics, literature and art, economic activities as well as private lives must be politicized. Just as earlier the Anarchists had subordinated ethics and morals to the need of the revolution, so now, according to Bolshevik philosophy, "that is moral which causes the Communist system to triumph."[14] Morals and ethics depend upon the question of "our political needs"; they stem "from our requirements in the building of socialism."[15] In the same manner the fundamental task of art and literature is said to consist in propagating "supreme devotion to the Soviet regime":

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tioned them to dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships, but yearning also for the Old-Slavonic anarchic and egalitarian justice, the "Slavophils" tended to idealize especially those institutions in which paternalistic, as well as equalitarian, relationships were well established, but which they saw distintegrating in new circumstances. Such was, for instance, the *mir* institution, according to their view.

According to the Slavophil interpretation, the old Russian and Slav community was founded on the principles of obedience, mutual responsibility, social justice and equality, Christian love and humility.[5] They asserted that the Russian land commune was the foundation of an original and highly satisfactory culture which was exempt from the vices of the Western civilization, untainted with proletarianization, pauperism, and the problem of wages. The mir was an institution in which man felt as an organic and integral part of his community. There was no uncertainty, no insecurity, and no frustrations in that social system since in it the values were absolute and unchallenged.[6]

The Slavophils idealized Russia's patriarchal relationships based on absolute and unchallenged values, on faith and on total fusion of man and community, as contrasted to Western individualism, cosmopolitanism, rationalism and skepticism. They contended that reason, if separated from faith, introduces doubts, splits and conflicts between man and his society. They stressed the organic totality and harmony of the Old-Slavonic and pre-Petrine Russian society in contrast to the materialism and class strife of the West.[7]

The old pre-Petrine order which the Slavophils idealized had greatly depended upon Church support and religious sanction for its perpetuation. The Slavophils therefore feared that Western liberalism which was beginning to penetrate Russia would undermine its religious foundation. As a defense against such demoralizing influences, the Slavophils pointed out that the Western world was rapidly disintegrating because of the spreading of free thought and because of the decline of the faith. The West was a prey to Roman heathenism, they said, and it was from this traditional anti-Christian spirit that revolutions, free thought, the papacy, and the Reformation had sprung.

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According to Slavophils the doom of the Western civilization was sealed when rationalism was allowed to destroy faith. It was then that the human spirit became divided against itself, which meant its disintegration. God and man, intuition and reason, beauty and truth are one, they claimed. As soon as man does not possess such a mystic unity with the absolute, he is plunged into skepticism and disbelief, his reason is separated from his soul and he becomes a "split man."

Owing to the organic totality of his body and soul, of his faith and reason, the Russian man possessed the "inner truth," which is the real truth, as against the "outer truth" or superficial truth of the Westerner, the Slavophils said. Therefore in contrast to the "split man" of the West, the Russian man was a "total man" (*vsechelovek*).[8] In this manner, the Russian man who has achieved his unity with God has achieved also the unity of his nation with God. The Russian nation is therefore a "God-bearing" nation (*Bogonosets*):

> . . . do you know who are the only 'god-bearing' people on earth, destined to regenerate and save the world in the name of a new God, and to whom are given the keys of life and of the new world . . . Do you know which is that people and what is its name?[9]

Aware that without strong religious feelings such a man and society could not exist, and fearing the decline of the old Orthodox-patriarchal values in a bureaucratized and secularized Russia, the Slavophils demanded a return to the old pre-Petrine theocratic system, one in which the Church would absorb the state. In accordance with such an ideology the Slavophils asserted that when the Church has absorbed the state, then the state will ascend and become a Church over the whole world, a Church kingdom ruling over all the earth which is the "glorious destiny ordained for the Orthodox Church."[10]

The Slavophils asserted that the political organization as developed in the West was a system of conquest and force. Being therefore an instrument of oppression, such a political organization was foreign to the Slavs and to the Russian people, and it should not be maintained.[11] In accordance with the anarchic and egalitarian traditions of the Old-Slavonic society, the Slavophils

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claimed that the commune should be the main unit of social organization of mankind. In the commune, it was not force or external coerciveness, not the minority or majority rule, but the collective mind, the inner motivations, the principle of unanimity and organic totality that prevailed.[13] It is only by being completely rooted in his own community and completely identified with his own people that man can be creative and can reach all-human ideas, they said.

In such a society in which the state disappears in the Church and in which the commune becomes the basic unit of social organization, instead of external and formal law and authority imposed from above, emotional bonds of unity, self-discipline, informal egalitarian justice and charity will prevail.[13] It is only in such an integrated community which has been fused with the Church and in which the total and organic unity of all members is established that real freedom of the individual can be realized,[14] according to Slavophilism.

Slavophil ideas exerted considerable political influence in Russia and in the rest of the Slav world. Exposed to the growing pressure of imperial designs of Western powers, and embarked on a program of their own imperial expansion in the direction of the Mediterranean and the Pacific, some of Russia's political circles welcomed Slavophil ideas as an ideological justification of Russia's foreign policies. Thus the idea of protection of Orthodox and of Slav peoples,[15] the idea of defense of the Slavs against the encroachments of the Germans and the idea of uniqueness and superiority of Slav culture played an important role in a series of nationalist movements and wars in which Russia became involved since the middle of the nineteenth century.

According to this Pan-Slav movement Russia was the only Christian land, the world outside Russia was "the land of the anti-Christ," the "incorporation of Satan." Accordingly, struggle with the West was not only inevitable, but necessary and salutary, both for Russia and the rest of humankind. And the victory will be undoubtedly on the side of Russia.[16]

For the continuance of its organic life the world required a centre. This centre must be found in a single nation able to

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lead the others. Russia was therefore predestined to fulfill this world mission. Hence the Pan-Slavs looked to Moscow, the ancient Russian capital, not the Westernized "City of Peter" (Petersburg) as the heart of Russia[17] and of mankind of the future—the Third Rome.

15
REVOLT OF THE RAZNOCHINTSY INTELLIGENTSIA (NIHILISM AND ANARCHISM)

I

BY THE second part of the nineteenth century, new changes were taking place in the economic relations as well as in the political and class structure of the Czardom. First of all, the process of disintegration of the old order under the impact of the industrialization and bureaucratization was rapidly coming to an end. Serfdom was abolished and with it there came the disastrous ruin of manorial estates which were not prepared to cope with the difficulties of a money and market economy. The result was that the number of impoverished and pauperized gentry was greatly increased.

At the same time the new laws tended to place emphasis on property. Thus, for instance, in the local assemblies of the noblemen the elective franchise was granted only to noblemen possessing a certain amount of land or a certain value of industrial establishment. This difference in civil rights according to the amount of property introduced a sharp cleavage into the gentry class. Earlier all dvorianstvo and all chinovnichestvo were considered equal in rights and had at least theoretically an equal chance to rise in power or to win the favor of the Czar. But now the new laws disfranchised and declassed a large part of the gentry. Similar laws favored the richer class among the merchants which meant that even in municipal affairs birth and education decreased in value in comparison with wealth.[1]

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This trend to expropriate the peasants and to overspecialize them as a means of political and economic control found its expression in the recent development of Bolshevik ideology. In the utterances of Party leaders and in the Soviet press it is being stressed that the conditions in the Soviet Union are already so advanced that the Soviet state is ready to move from socialism into the first levels of a limited Communism. This first phase of Communism will consist of the elimination of differences between industrial and agricultural work, between industrial workers and the peasantry ("Liquidating the contrast between the city and the village"). Thus it is pointed out, the old opposition between the country and the city will vanish and also cultural and psychological differences between these two strata will disappear. Every person will become engaged in a special "technical-engineering" task and all will be equal and like brothers.

As a result of such development, it is said that even the differences between the manual laborer and the intellectual worker will eventually be abolished and thus the classless and anarchic society envisaged in socialist writings and rooted in the traditions of the Slav culture will be finally achieved.[11] Productive forces will develop an abundance of all consumer goods whose distribution will be on the basis of exchange and according to one's needs. There will be no monetary relations and no differences in social status.

It is clearly and repeatedly emphasized, however, that nobody should mistake this change from socialism to communism as a "withering away" of the state. The state, say the Bolsheviks, must remain "strong" for the needs of defense,[12] until the Soviet system spreads over the entire earth.

II

Total power concentrated in the hands of Bolshevik conspirators as a means of perpetuation of their rule led to compulsory regimentation of all labor, to speed-up system, and to intensified differentiation in skill, income, and status within the working classes. The aim of these measures is to increase production and to control the working classes by breaking their group solidarity and by tying the laborer to his machine and the office worker to

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hearts of the Soviet subjects and to exert unremitting pressure on them, so that they never relax in their striving to conform to the Party's will. The secret police, in Lenin's words, is "our weapon of assault upon innumerable conspiracies . . . innumerable attempts against Soviet authority."[30]

23
CONTROL OF THOUGHT AND FEELING

MONOPOLIZATION of all social power by the Bolshevik rulers and their failure to satisfy the traditional demands for equality and acceptance has been breeding both apathy and latent rebellion in Soviet society. Realizing that such a development might eventually undermine their power, early in their rule the Bolsheviks proceeded to indoctrinate the thoughts and to control the feelings of their subjects. It became imperative to evoke identification of the masses with Bolshevik leadership and gain their faith, enthusiasm and willing self-sacrifice in support of the Soviet system.[1]

In order to justify this need for ideological and emotional conformity, it became necessary to monopolize the Truth. The Bolsheviks therefore stated that all problems, those of the past and of the present, as well as those of the future, have found their answer in Marxist-Leninist theory. They asserted, however, that since this theory "is not a dogma, but a guide to action,"[2] the Bolshevik leadership is "able to enrich this theory with the new propositions and conclusions, . . . to *develop it and advance* it" and "to replace such of its propositions and conclusions as have become antiquated by new ones corresponding to the new historical situation."[3] And just as earlier the Russian Orthodox Church had claimed to represent the "true Christianity" centered in Moscow, the Third Rome, so now the Bolshevik rulers have usurped for themselves the right to represent the "true Marxism," centered in the Kremlin:

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829 It may be said without fear of exaggeration that since the death of Engels, the master theoretician Lenin, and after Lenin, Stalin and other disciples of Lenin, have been the only Marxists who have advanced the Marxist theory and who have enriched it with new experience in the new conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat.[4]

This trend of thought, dictated by the determination to perpetuate themselves in power, led the Bolsheviks to reinterpret the philosophy of dialectical materialism and determinism. Con-
828 trary to early Socialistic doctrines the ruling Bolshevik faction
153 put forward the claim that by a correct manipulation of man's environment, his behavior and nature can be easily changed to suit predetermined objectives. The "unity of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice," the Bolsheviks say, enables them to know how and in what direction the events "ought to develop."

The Bolshevik design is, therefore, to develop a "new type of man" more amenable to submission and control. "We make tractors, but also want to make new men," they say, "since man can consciously change nature in the direction needed by him."[5]
827 Therefore the chromosome theory of heredity according to which heredity depends upon the genes which cannot be controlled, had to be denounced as heresy from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism.[6] Instead, the Michurin-Lysenko theory according to which environment determines heredity ("hereditary transmission of individual characteristics acquired by the organism under the conditions of its life") was proclaimed as "the only scientific principles."[7] Thus since the physical environment becomes amenable to control, the hereditary characteristics of man could be planned in advance, according to these ideas.

Supported by such theories and encouraged by Party policies, some Soviet scientists advanced the claim to have been able to "conquer nature." They stated that they have shown the way how it is possible to produce "new species" under a planned change of environmental conditions.[8] Other Soviet scientists have initiated studies which are expected to lead to the "transformation of dead matter into living cells."[9] In like manner, the official endorsement of Pavlov's school in physiology has been prompted by the hope that studies of the functioning of the

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is "perfected until there are no shortcomings." Then on members of such a group one can make great demands.[33] They will be disciplined, enduring, courageous and faithful. Work will become "second nature" to them; they will not abhor hard effort, nor be afraid of "healthy sweat."[34] They will be industrious and efficient and will develop the "best and most worthy feelings of man," that is, devotion to labor, heroism in the struggle against the forces of reaction, untiring, ruthless and unwavering vigilance against the survivals of capitalism, and an irreconcilable attitude toward the slightest manifestations of deviationism.[35]

III

In the days of Czardom the system of economic and political regimentation found its support in religious sanction and in nationalism. In a like manner the Bolsheviks had early realized that great privations which their regime demands could be best elicited from their subjects with the help of an identification with the great, the absolute, the sublime. It is by such means that traditional cravings for attachment and acceptance could be satisfied. In such a manner also a sense of guilt and urge for self-sacrifice could be reinforced and employed for political purposes.

It is along such efforts that the Bolsheviks have revived and strengthened the traditional Russian images of God, Czar, Father and Mother and have projected these images to the Leader and to the Party. The likeness to God and religion is manifested in the Bolshevik claim of infallibility of their leaders, universality, eternity, and sanctity of their doctrines. Lenin's teachings, for instance, are extolled by the Bolsheviks as being "superior" to any other ideology, as embracing the whole of humanity, and as living forever:

> Lenin's thoughts represent a superior achievement of the Russian and of the world culture; an eternally living and eternally developing science of society—a fighting banner of the working class—living soul of the Bolshevik Party which led our Fatherland to the avantgarde of the whole human kind.
>
> The books of the vozhd and teacher are immortal. They live and

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771 829 will live eternally. Yes, Lenin lives, his spirit is immortal—his idea is eternal—the leaves of his wonder books are imperishable.[36]

769 643 Lenin is represented not only as the architect of a promised world, but also as a prophet, all of whose prophecies have come to pass (*svershayutsya vse prorochestva Lenina*). There is an officially sponsored cult of Lenin which is propagated by means of many legends that surround his life, his activities, his martyrdom, and his death. He lies mummified in a mausoleum where thousands of pilgrims daily come to worship him. And throughout the country there are numerous Lenin's museums which, like the churches, remind the faithful of the omnipresence of Lenin's spirit. It is the aim of the ruling hierarchy to make their subjects incorporate in their conscience the image of a holy, infallible, and immortal Lenin in whose name the Bolsheviks will be able to make great demands:

> Here everything is eternal,
> Here everything is holiness
> Here sleeps a great Man—
> He and the people are inseparable
> He is—the Conscience of my Motherland.[37]

771 643 Accordingly, as in its worship of Lenin, the Party of the Bolsheviks is tireless in propagating the cult and the iconolatry of Stalin, who is pictured as Lenin's best pupil, as his closest friend and collaborator, and as his legitimate successor. In poems dedicated to him, Stalin is acclaimed as the "master of the entire world"; he is pictured as foreseeing the coming events and disasters, as possessing miraculous powers and life-giving qualities, and as being able to conquer death itself.[38]

With the death of Stalin, the Party is faced with the problem of molding the image of a new Leader with God-like qualities and patriarchal prerogatives. The Soviet press is now picturing Malenkov, one of the present top Party men, as being the pupil of Lenin and comrade-in-arms of Stalin. It is by means of such filiation that a new ruler acquires the attributes of the old deities.

ooo Building on the traditional role of the Father in the Russian

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jects as a means of permanent control. It is felt that only by Russifying the non-Russian parts of the Soviet Union and convincing them of the benefits of close ties with Russian people and Russian institutions[55] a common culture will be developed; on such a basis a feeling of unity, of common interests and of common objectives will grow.

It is in light of such circumstances that the earlier Marxian theory of linguistics had to be revised to suit the new situation. Present language is not considered any more to be just a "superstructure" destined to give way to a completely new language of Socialism. On the contrary, Russian language and even Russian script is looked upon now as the basic language and basic script of Soviet socialism. Contrary to earlier Marxian theory, Russian language is now looked upon as an agent of unification and control under Soviet rule.[56]

Myths of national and racial superiority, however, do not appeal equally to all strata of the population. The toiling multitudes, if dissatisfied with their status, might remain deaf to such calling unless convinced that in different conditions their situation would become worse and even more precarious. It was to strengthen the latter feeling that the Bolshevik Party undertook to propagate a myth of the inferiority, rottenness, and damnation of the non-Soviet world. Building on anti-Latin and anti-Western traditions of the Orthodox Church and of Slavophilism the Bolshevik propaganda has attempted to develop attitudes of horror, disgust, and utter contempt of the capitalist world and of Western culture. Accordingly the Western society has been pictured as exploitative, war-mongering, decadent, decaying, full of internal conflicts and contradictions, and therefore self-destructive. The miserable, exploited, toiling multitudes in Western countries and their dependencies have been pictured as living in inhuman, deplorable and destitute conditions, exposed to constant unemployment and hunger, and heartlessly exploited by pitiless capitalists.

Because of this inherent and unsurmountable conflict of interests between labor's demand for higher standards and the capitalist's demand for higher profits, there is an intrinsic self-destroying tendency in the very nature of capitalism, the Bolshe-

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viks say.[57] The bourgeois countries are therefore inescapably crippled and inevitably doomed beyond any hope of recovery whatsoever.[58] The only way out of such an unbearable situation for the capitalists is to "turn the whole planet into a police station, under American supervision."[59] Hence the capitalists prepare for war and imperialistic expansion as the only way to maintain their power. They tend to encircle the Soviet Union and attack it. Therefore, sooner or later "a series of the most frightful collisions between the Soviet republic and bourgeois states is inevitable."[60]

Propaganda concerning the inevitable doom of capitalism is aimed at discouraging hopes for change in the Soviet system. Such propaganda supports the myth of the infallibility and invincibility of the Soviet system; the inevitability of the coming economic crises in the capitalist world, especially in the United States, will lead to the final breakdown of the capitalist system, the victory of the Soviets, and the establishment of a World Soviet Republic.[61] At the same time the claim that the capitalistic powers will resort to aggression as a last hope to save their dwindling system functions as a justification for aggressive diplomacy and strategic expansion; it strengthens the demands for greater sacrifices and deprivations in favor of police measures and war preparedness. The emphasis on the inevitability of war justifies also the increasing centralization of power and "iron discipline" within the Party ranks.

VI

Following Turco-Mongol and Czarist traditions, Bolshevik leaders believe that training in unconditional submission to superiors, identification with the powerful and faith in victory can be best achieved if the whole society is militarized. Militarization is looked upon as the best morale builder. When militarily organized, people are more amenable to control. Also a powerful army under the Party's control strengthens the confidence of uneasy and mistrustful rulers in their ability to check internal opposition and withstand external pressures or attacks. A powerful army is also a necessary instrument for aggressive diplomacy and territorial expansion; it becomes an instrument

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665 701 with the real rank and uniform of general or perhaps even with that of marshal.

24
FAMILY BACKGROUND OF PERSONALITY IN SOVIET RUSSIA

I

PROMPTED by drives of destructive aggression and supported by the ideological traditions of Nihilism and Anarchism, the Bolsheviks were determined to destroy the family in order to have unchallenged control over the training of children and the molding of their personalities. Their view was that there was not much that they could do with the parents, but that "the children belonged to the Party." Such a trend of thought was supported also by an intense reaction of many people against the old patriarchal and despotic family pattern which existed in the Czardom. There was a strong desire on the part of many family members to liberate themselves from the old practices of parental and marital authority and discipline. It was in such an atmosphere that the Bolshevik Party at first introduced a series of decrees and measures which greatly facilitated the dissolution of family ties.[1]

The Bolsheviks, however, soon realized that the family could not be allowed to disintegrate without dire consequences for their regime which was bent upon rapid industrialization and militarization and was in great need of manpower. Also as a result of wars, famines and a growing number of broken families, there were hundreds of thousands of homeless and neglected children and aged people. Care for these proved too great a burden for an economy which had to use all its available resources primarily for state security and war preparedness. Thus instead of destroying the family the Bolsheviks decided to maintain it but to manipulate it so as to use it as an instrument

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of the new order. The family, therefore, as all other institutions of the Soviet society, was to be reconstructed and regimented in such a way as to best serve the purposes and the objectives of the new ruling class.

As a result of such a change in attitude and reversal of policy the Bolsheviks have introduced laws and decrees whose aim has been to impose mutual responsibilities and obligations on family members. The new laws have also favored "indissolubility" of marriage ties and encouraged large families. At the same time, however, the family has been placed under the guidance, control and overseeing of the Party and of the government authorities. In consequence of a series of laws and decrees, the Soviet family has been given the task of training children in discipline, in collective responsibility, in obedience to authorities and in faith in Bolshevism. Just as the Soviet school, the Soviet family has been given the task of helping to train willing toilers, zealous labor drivers and agitators, and fearless fighters for the cause of world Communism.[2]

Following the traditions of the Russian patriarchal family and in order to make the parents an instrument of the training of children in obedience to authorities, parents have been made legally responsible for the behavior of their children. Prosecution by civil and criminal law, administrative fines and prison terms[3] have been established against the parents whose children came into conflict with administrative regulations or existing laws. Just as in the Domostroi the parents are encouraged to be strict and non-indulgent, and to rely on frequent punishment as a means of correction; they are also encouraged to be authoritative and to keep a necessary distance from children so that their authority is not undermined by unnecessary intimacy. The parents have been given joint rights of discipline but subjected to government and Party control.[4]

This interference of the Party-state into the family relationships has been backed also by another law according to which parental rights have been subordinated to the interest of children. The "interests of children" are determined according to the Party interests and views; the court has been empowered to deprive the parents of their parental rights whenever the Party

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author, wrote a well known poem under the title *"Ubey ego"*—kill him.[14] In a similar manner Alexey Tolstoy, a well-known Soviet novelist, has published an essay entitled *Ubey Zverya*—Kill the Beast. "Kill him," writes Alexey Tolstoy, "that is your sacred command."[15] Mikhail Sholokhov, another prominent Soviet writer, wrote a pamphlet entitled *Nauka Nenavisti*—The Science of Hatred—in which he stressed, in a like way as the early Russian Anarchists and contemporary Soviet pedagogists, the necessity of ardent love for the Cause as a source of passionate hatred of all the opponents. To him, too, love seems to be necessary primarily as a means of hate.[16] "Hatred for enemies of the land of socialism is an inseparable feature of socialist ideology and the ideology of Leninism," the Bolsheviks repeatedly say.

Under the label "enemies" are classed not only the foreign "capitalists, imperialists, and reactionaries," and internal non-Party oppositionists, but also Party members who deviate from Party ideology, and "all sceptics, opportunists, capitulators, scabs, and traitors." Hatred and struggle against these "enemies" within the Party must be as merciless and ruthless as against external adversaries. This is considered to be imperative in a mortal struggle against the capitalist world:

> The history of the Party . . . teaches us that unless the Party of the working class wages an uncompromising struggle against the opportunists within its own ranks, unless it smashes the capitulators in its own midst . . . it cannot perform its role of organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution . . . If, while it is carrying on a life and death fight against the bourgeoisie, there are capitulators and traitors on its own staff, within its own fortress, the working class will be caught between two fires, from the front and the rear. Clearly such a struggle can only end in defeat.[17]

This conscious fomenting of intense hostility and animosity against internal, as well as external "enemies" as a means of survival in a "mortal struggle" is manifested in the language of Bolshevism. The words "liquidation" and "purge" which are often synonomous with killing and extermination of opponents became outstanding in Soviet vocabulary. There is an increasing use of words which convey ideas of hatred and violence and stimulate such feelings and practices. In Bolshevik stereotyped termi-

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dissenters, in the civil wars as well as in the struggle between the Czarist police and the revolutionary intelligentsia; it was even formulated as an ideology and became a credo of Anarchism.

In the Bolshevik ideology this anti-humanism is justified by representing the "enemies" as not being human beings. Just as in the folk attitudes toward enemy aliens, the oppositionists and the adversaries, actual and potential, real and imaginary, are identified in Bolshevik writings with "gnats," "insects," "reptiles," "dogs," "wild beasts," and "beasts of prey." It is by such ways of reasoning that the Soviet pedagogists have come to the assertion that indoctrination of the people with "burning hatred" of the enemy does not contradict the ideas of humanism, because, they claim, the ideas of humanism and humane feelings do not apply to beasts. In this manner even acts of cruelty toward the "enemies" are condoned and encouraged:

> Hatred of the enemies of the socialist Motherland by no means contradicts the principles of humanism, since it is devoted to the protection of the rights and liberty of the worker from the designs of beasts of prey.[24]

The need for such an appeal to extreme animosities against the adversaries is in itself an indication of instability of the Bolshevik system. The ruling faction had to resort to such a means in order to promote complete identification with and fanatical devotion to the Cause and to the Leader. Here, however, we see a noticeable difference between the Czardom and the Soviet Russia. Though the Czarist system often exhibited aspects of extreme ruthlessness, the whole ideological and intellectual development of the Czarist Russia, especially in the last century of its existence, was in the direction of increasing Westernization and humanization. This trend coincided with certain gains in the field of personal, economic, and cultural freedoms in the Czardom.

As a result terrorism and acts of violence, though widely practiced, were not openly advocated as official Czarist policy. Many moderate and conservative factions of the intelligentsia strongly denounced all acts of terror performed either by the government or under the auspices of the revolutionary intelligentsia. One

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One of the outstanding tenets in the philosophy of Russian monasticism whose history is even longer than that of the Czardom was charitable love. Many sects of the *Raskolniki* propagated and practiced principles of humaneness. The Slavophils were especially prominent in advocating the return to an idealized stateless society of benevolent paternalism where brotherhood, Christian love, and compassion would reign. The "Westerners" endeavored to introduce into Russia Western concepts of justice and tolerance, and a humanistic, libertarian and juridical state. Russian belles-lettres, Russian school textbooks, as well as laws and regulations in the nineteenth century and up to the beginning of World War I, bear witness to this trend toward Westernization and humanism.

In Soviet Russia, on the other hand, after a brief initial period of reaction against the old regime which led toward an emphasis on all-human values and equalitarian brotherhood, soon the trend of events pushed the Bolshevik ideology in the opposite direction. The determination of a ruling clique of professional conspirators to maintain themselves in power by any and all means dictated the emphasis on the internal and external "threats" which would justify the intensification of internal "measures of security," and of external aggression. Thus vigilantism and war preparedness, and expansion of internal and external Bolshevik power, became the main base of the policies of the ruling class.[25] Such policies had to be constantly reinforced by a deliberate incitement to hatred and destruction.

The image of Soviet society as being in a constant state of war, not only against foreign enemies but against internal oppositionists, deviationists, spies, saboteurs, and remnants of bourgeois mentality has been determined by a social structure which the Bolshevik rulers themselves have created, but which makes their own power uncertain and precarious. In such circumstances Lenin's idea of a life and death struggle with the "class enemies," the idea that "it's them or us" (*Kto kogo*) has provided the main motivating force of the Party's internal and foreign policies. Fearing to be annihilated unless they themselves destroy their enemies, conscious that they have "either to rule or to die," the Bolsheviks have ruthlessly applied the principle of "obedience

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of human lives. Soviet military policies are little concerned about systematic rotation of units, facilities for recreation, short leaves and furloughs, regular correspondence with home folks, or with the development of techniques to avoid exposure of men to unnecessary risks.[27] As a result of such attitudes the toll of a Soviet division in war time might come up to 90 percent of its men.[28] Even more indifference is shown toward men who were made prisoners, since "they had surrendered and could not fight any more."[29]

IV

Destructive aggressiveness might become self-destructive unless turned outward. Hence constant internal pressure, intrinsic to Soviet power structure, for aggression against the outside world. A policy of external aggressiveness is likely to provoke external threats against which the accumulating hostilities of the subjects can be mobilized. Successful external aggression is also a convenient way to bolster the prestige of the ruling class and to solidify its rule. The policy of aggression against the outside world implies also the urgency to enhance external security should the policy of expansion provoke international complications.

Early in the development of Bolshevik rule the Communist International and the Communist parties throughout the world have been regimented and employed as instruments of this policy of external expansion, as well as a means of defense against external pressures. It was in accordance with such a trend of events that the Program of the Communist International of 1928, as well as the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International of 1935,[30] emphasized complete identification of the world proletariat with the Soviet power:

> Our road is the road of revolution of the peoples against the oppressors and exploiters. Our will is the will of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Our goal is socialism for the whole of humanity. Our main slogan is the establishment of Soviet power.[31]

In accordance with such need for outward aggression as a relief of internal destructive tensions an ideological distinction

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has been made between "imperialist war of aggression" and "national and class liberation." The first is said to be an "unjust war" of imperalists, exploiters and war mongers, the latter is a movement of the peoples to liberate themselves from the capitalist yoke or from colonial oppression. It is said that in this "just struggle" of the peoples of the world against oppressors the Soviet Union will unselfishly interfere with its armies to help the people to liberate themselves and also to protect liberated peoples from counter-revolution. It is therefore the duty of the working class and of "progressive-minded people" all over the world to strengthen the might of the Soviet Fatherland as "the center of international revolution":

> Being the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of Socialist construction, the land of great working class achievements, of the union of the workers with the peasants, and of a new culture marching under the banner of Marxism, . . . the USSR inevitably becomes the base of the world movement of all oppressed classes, the center of international revolution, the greatest factor in world history. In the USSR, the world proletariat for the first time acquires a country that is really its own, and for the colonial movements the USSR becomes a powerful center of attraction.[32]

In order to make Communist parties a tool of this new "Third Rome" ideology all these parties had to follow in their internal organization the Bolshevik pattern of rigid centralism and of unconditional obedience of all the subordinate organs to the higher bodies.[33] Each local Party had to be centralized in such a manner that its leadership was "endowed with complete power, authority, and ample rights" which would enable it to impose "an iron discipline" over its members.[34] All members were expected to accept such centralized Party leadership with absolute power and to "submit to its dictates."[35] This was possible only if "the strictest military discipline" and "unconditional subordination" were established within the ranks of each Communist Party:

> . . . The Communist Party should be organized on the basis of strict proletarian centralism. In order to lead the working class successfully during the long, stubborn civil war, the Communist Party must

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It was such thoroughly regimented and indoctrinated Party organizations whose leaderships comprised a hard core of violent and unscrupulous fanatics without bonds of personal or local attachment but unconditionally subservient to the Kremlin, that became a powerful instrument in the international aggression of Bolshevism. Promising Utopias to all disgruntled, rejected and disaffected, such parties became the main instrument of the Soviet Union in its territorial annexations, as well as in the formation of a ring of satellite states. The objective of this expansion was always the same: to turn outward the internal tensions, to enhance the economic, the strategic, and the military potential of the Soviet Union, and to increase the power and influence of the Bolshevik hierarchy at home and abroad.

V

New modifications in Bolshevik ideology were necessary to explain such policies. The Communist parties in the capitalist countries are now said to be unable by themselves alone to overthrow local bourgeoisies or to prevent a counter-revolution after capitalism has been overthrown. These parties therefore need active help of the Soviet armed forces not only to overthrow the capitalist class, but also to eliminate the possibility of counter-revolution and to protect the national independence of the newly formed Communist controlled states—the "People's Democracies." This "liberating" and "protecting" role of the Soviet Army and complete dependence of liberated states upon the Soviet Union is a replica of the dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships on which the Soviet Union itself has been founded. The dependent states are expected to be ready to defend and protect the Soviets "unconditionally and without hesitation." Such a system of Moscow-satellite relationships is considered so overwhelmingly important by the Kremlin rulers that they demand that their satellite leaders constantly emphasize even in fundamental state laws their dependency upon and subordination to the Soviet Union:

The armed might of the great Soviet Union liberated our country from the yoke of German fascism, smashed the landlords and the capitalistic anti-popular state powers, and opened to our working

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people the road to democratic development. Coming to power after severe struggles with the lords and defenders of the old order, the Hungarian working class, in union with the working peasants, rebuilt our war-destroyed country with the unselfish support of the Soviet Union. Under the guidance of the working class hardened in decade long struggles, benefiting by the experience of the 1919 social revolution, depending on the Soviet Union, our people began laying the foundations of socialism.[40]

To emphasize the superiority of the Soviet Union, its undisputed leadership and dependence of the satellites upon it in the struggle for world revolution, an important distinction has been made in regard to the social and political structure of the dependencies in comparison with that of the Soviet state. Though both are said to be the "dictatorships of the proletariat,"[41] the Soviet state is said to be carrying out the transition from Socialism to Communism; the "people's democracies," on the other hand, are said to be carrying out only the transition from capitalism to Socialism.[42]

Complete political and economic dependence of the satellites upon the Soviet Union is ideologically justified by the claim that the general objectives of world revolution presuppose an industrially as well as a militarily powerful Soviet Union as a base. To this primary objective of all Communists local interests of the satellites must be subordinated. Therefore, any opposition to such plans or any hints that the "fraternal assistance" offered by the Soviet Union in the interest of the revolution might not be completely unselfish is immediately castigated as "nationalism," as "opportunism," and as "treason":

> The essential task, that of laying the foundation of Socialism in Poland, can be carried only in close alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union . . . Any tendency to weaken cooperation with the Soviet Union is directed against the very foundation of the People's Democracy . . . Anyone who imagines that the people's democratic state can be formed merely as a self-sufficient body, on a national scale, isolated from the class struggle on an international scale . . . will inevitably sink into the slough of nationalism and treachery.[43]

This system of political, military and economic dominance of the dependencies implies an elaborate system of watching, super-

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attractive forest fairies who used to help travelers changed into beastly demons who trick wayfarers into making them lose their way and then cause them to perish.

The imposition of the rule of nomadic warriors over the soil cultivators brought about not only insecurity of life and property, but disintegration of the old ways of life and of the old morals. Social disintegration favored detachment from the group, caused decline in group identification and solidarity, tended to increase self-concern, fostered destructive aggressiveness and anti-social behavior. Hence, drunkenness, debauchery, orgiastic practices, together with robbing and killing, became prominent. According to Fedotov, the old Christian sermons are so full of invectives against such behavior that some studies of Russia's religious life consider that these themes formed the main content of anti-pagan literature of those days.[33]

Perhaps as a result of such social disorganization the Old-Slavonic Goddess of Love (Lada) was relegated into the background and obscurity. Instead, male gods of bacchanalian passion and Dionysiac orgy (Iarilo, Pereplut) became outstanding in folk imagination.[34] A phallic rite was observed at wedding banquets and sexual promiscuity during the feast gathering of young people became prominent, according to the old sermons.[35]

It was under these conditions of social disorganization and insecurity, and ascendency of power-oriented patriarchal system over the old stateless, semi-matriarchal and equalitarian order that the attitudes toward women changed radically. Mounting hostilities generated by conditions of strife and insecurity can be vented not only through inordinate sex life, alcoholism and delinquency, but also by aggressive behavior against all the unprotected and the weak. And just as sex life tended to take the form of lechery, and love that of uncontrolled passion, the attitudes toward the women changed from respect and reserve to that of scorn and contempt. They came to be looked upon as impure and unclean physically and morally.[36]

It is possible that the new unsatisfactory social conditions might have also affected the concept of the Christian God and attitude toward death. Not only did popular imagination in conditions of disorganization and insecurity tend to see in this

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

593 861 the people would say. Hence, made secure by the prevailing philosophy of life, upheld by court decisions and supported by Church teachings on the supernatural sanction of his will, the father might be tempted to take advantage of his unlimited power and to expose his son to excessively severe and humiliating treatment. "I had born you and I shall kill you," said Taras Bulba to his son and shot him to death.[15]

593 The father might also take advantage of his uncontrolled power in the use of family property and funds. He might gamble them away, spend them on debauchery, or bring the family to ruin as a result of drunkenness or mismanagement. Such incidents in Russian families are often described in autobiographies and other writings of Russian men of letters. It is characteristic of Great-Russian family relations that the other family members were not expected to complain against such extreme abuse of paternal authority.[16] Hence in all strata of Russian society, there was a tendency to accept anything the father did, even the most degrading treatment, as his paternal prerogative. Even if a father had ruined his family because of gambling or lechery he was still held in reverence both by his society and by his children.[17]

606 835 Occasionally, particularly among the peasants, the father might take sexual advantage of his daughters-in-law, a practice which became known as *snokhachestvo* (*snokha* is daughter-in-law). This habit, which was already noticed by the writer of the Kiev Chronicle, was favored by the frequent absences of married sons who spent a part of the year in the city as workers or who were away from home for many years, or indefinitely, when conscripted for military duty. "The more women in the house, the more sin" (*Bolshe bab v semie, bolshe greha*),[18] the people would comment.

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6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFI Great Russia RFI

parents and brothers, and with her sisters-in-law was not any brighter. In folk sayings the father-in-law is often referred to as "worse than a dog," and the mother-in-law as a "wicked satan." Her expectations about the treatment on the part of other in-laws were not more cheerful, as witnessed by the folk songs.[13]

When married, she soon realized that "before the husband the wife is always guilty" (*Pered muzhem zhena vsegda vinovata*). And there was no one to whom to complain or from whom to seek comfort. Her own parents and brothers were "far away" or indifferent to her fate, now that she was "cut off from the loaf" and belonged to another family. And if she did not develop an attachment to her husband or to her children, she might have sought an escape from such a difficult emotional situation in extra-marital love affairs, or in fantasies about such affairs. The Great-Russian folk songs are abundant with such themes and often justify these liaisons as a need for love and attachment which was denied to the bride in the home of the husband.[14] Extreme husband-wife antagonism as expressed by murder is occasionally the theme of Great-Russian religious sagas and more frequently the theme of folk tales[15] and of folk songs:

Against my will was I married;
I have taken an evil wife,
An evil one, not to my liking,
Neither in feeling nor in thought.
Lovingly live with her—that will I not.
Across the stream will I go,
Love will I make to the girls.
As for that wife of mine
I will go pray for her death.
Along the bank of the stream
Death, the beautiful, goes.
"Ho there! My beautiful Death!
Turn thee back again, Death!
Make an end of my wife."
Scarce had I spoken—when Death
Began her work with my wife.
Scarce had I time to look around—
Shrouded in linen white was her corpse
Struck was the stroke on the bell.[16]

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chooses to consider that the interests of the children have not been safeguarded.[5] In such cases parental rights might be lost for up to five years.[6] According to the Soviet educational philosophy it is expected that the parents will *rear* the children, but that the public organizations under the Party's supervision will instruct and supervise parents in the ways of *Communist upbringing* of children.[7]

The Party considers it to be its duty to arouse antagonism of children against parents when such action is necessary in the interest of the survival of the Soviet regime. As mentioned earlier, planned rift between fathers and sons was, for instance, employed to speed up the process of collectivization. Commissar of Agriculture Jakovlev, speaking before a Party congress on the struggle against the kulaks, stated that "In a number of cases, the children of the kulaks are made to revolt against their parents, and thus the kulak families are divided and the kulaks still more isolated." The Party has also been known to take advantage of family conflicts to encourage the children to spy on their parents and to denounce them to the political police:

> Russian parents had to be very careful of what they said in the presence of their own children, and even of how they disciplined their children. One boy, Pavlik Morosov, was built up as a hero among youth because he had denounced his father who was organizing resistance against the kolhoz. Great propaganda was made about this boy. A book was written about him. Actually he became a hero to most children.[8]

In times of political "purges" there were frequent notices in the Soviet papers in which the children of the parents who were politically persecuted publicly renounced their parents.[9] That was the only way they could escape the vengeance of a regime which had revived the tradition of family hostages and used it as an instrument of political conformity.

The Bolsheviks consider that since "one's way of life is a social matter . . . a matter of national policy,"[10] the Party has the right to interfere even in pre-marital and extra-marital sex relations, as well as in the relations between the spouses. "Young Communist organizations cannot remain neutral when the con-

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duct of its members in love and family life run counter to the ethics of Soviet Man."[11] The fundamental motivation behind this interference in love and sex life is political control. "Moral corruption brings political corruption,"[12] the Bolsheviks say. It is in accordance with such a line of thought that it is considered to be the duty of one to inform on his or her own spouse. Such behavior is especially expected of a Party member. Therefore "A prudent Russian today hesitates to confide in even his wife too fully."[13]

At the same time while the Soviet family laws and Soviet philosophy and practices tend to favor Party and government supervision of family relations and in some cases sharpen family conflicts, they also endeavor to enforce family discipline over children, and to strengthen the sense of mutual responsibility among family members. The Bolsheviks, however, do not encourage development of the sense of kinship loyalty which might go counter to the interests of the state. The Soviet family laws have broadened the concept of family to all ascending and descending lines and to brothers and sisters. In case any one of these relatives is needy or incapacitated, the others have the obligation of support.[14] Emphasis on family responsibility is manifested also in the provision of the law of 1926 which, contrary to the Russian traditions, abolished the principle of separate property of the spouses.[15]

In accordance with new policy, factual or non-registered marriage which earlier enjoyed state protection was denied that privilege and a decree in 1944 ruled that "only registered marriage confers the rights and obligations of spouses."[16] A decree of the same year ruled that divorce is allowed only in case the wish of one or even both parties who seek divorce coincides with the "government's recognition of necessity to dissolve marriage."[17] Moreover in order to make divorce proceeding prohibitive and marriage practically indissoluble, a long judicial procedure was established. In the course of this long procedure the parties must clarify the motives for divorce and bring witnesses. Also high divorce fees were introduced. And to facilitate state interference, no grounds for divorce were stated or specified in the decree.

However, the procedural instructions concerning this decree

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[Dobrolyubov]

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humiliating treatment which Dobrolyubov experienced at the hands of his father. As a reaction to such a family situation, Dobrolyubov developed strong needs for emotional attachment and felt very disillusioned and deeply embittered when his need for dependency was frustrated. When he was sixteen years of age this "forerunner of Bolshevism" wrote in his diary:

> No matter how many attachments I had formed in the past, always the evil fate would whisk the beloved being far away from me; and in my soul remains only the sorrowful memory and bitter realization of my despair . . . I could never live without love, without attachment to someone. This has been so ever since I remember myself. But this constant irony of fate, which makes all my hopes and dreams usually crash into dirt, constantly hardens and chills my heart, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that soon it will be both hard and cold as stone.[5]

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Later, apparently, Dobrolyubov found an outlet for his repressed hostilities, in his writings in which he tended to emphasize the dark sides of Russian society ("Realm of Darkness"). He joined that group of "Nihilists" who excelled in their philosophy of extreme individualism, who attacked the existing society and devised the ways to destroy "coldbloodedly" its very foundations, including the family. It was in this ideology of "Nihilism" that Russian Anarchism as well as Bolshevism have been rooted.

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The demand for unlimited power as a means of compensation for humiliations and deprivations and as a means of satisfying craving for acceptance and support tends to perpetuate a political system which gives one a chance to indulge such needs through relationships of absolute dominance and unconditional submission and through destructive action. Such a social and political structure, in its own turn, tends to reinforce paternal despotism and absolute obedience in the family. In this manner, just as in the society of steppe marauders, power-seeking, mistrust and destructive aggression are perpetuated, become generalized and are manifested in many social relations.

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On the folk level desire for power was manifested, for instance, in the customs connected with childbirth. On that occasion the midwife would place the child on a sheepskin coat or furcoat so

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that he might be rich and powerful in life.[6] For the same reason money was placed in the water when the child was bathed for the first time.[7]

In marriage customs the urge for power was expressed in certain activities performed during the marriage ritual and believed to contain magical properties that enabled either one or the other spouse to dominate. Also in the wedding party the bridegroom was called "knyaz" (prince) and his party "boyars"; an important part of the marriage ceremonies consisted in *velichat gostei*, that is in mutual glorification of the wedding guests.

The phrase *Kak vas velichat?*—how to glorify you?, which is employed when asking another person his name might indicate the same feelings. In early Russia personal names were formed by a combination of words which conveyed the image of rule, glory, power, holiness and destruction, such as Sviatoslav (the holy and glorious), Yaropolk (blazing power), Mstislav (the glory of revenge).

Another manifestation of power-seeking, mistrust and destructive aggression on the folk level is revealed, for instance, in attitudes toward women. The folk image of the woman is in remarkable contrast to the image of the mother. The derisive name for woman is *baba*, and baba is said "not to be a human being" (*Baba ne chelovek*), according to a proverb. Therefore mistreatment and abuse of women may be justified.[8] In the folk parlance distinction is made between *Krestyane* (Christians, peasants) and *zhenshchiny* (women). In the folk maxims women are pictured as immoral ("Three babas Sodom"), shameless ("A baba laughs where grandpa blushes"), more cunning than the devil ("Where the devil fails he sends a baba"), the cause of all man's troubles ("She was the cause of Adam's banishment"), and source of all evil ("We cannot expect any good from our rib").[9]

This folk concept of woman as an inferior being is found on all levels of Russian society. Comparatively few women have been admitted to the rank of saints in the Russian Church. Count Leo Tolstoy, a philosopher and novelist, who has been otherwise renowned for his ideas of Christian love, all-human brotherhood and an anarchic social and political equality, showed a great deal of misogynism. In his diary he pictures

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and harder and to produce more for Socialist Motherland. Not infrequently the brigade leaders have to use physical force to make him get up early enough to work on collective property.

Yet in spite of such unfavorable circumstances, compared to city workers, the peasant might still be in a somewhat better position in regard to security and stability, attachment to his family, to his cottage, to his small plot of land, and to his village. For this reason he has been able to put up resistance against the Party and the government.[23] It is against these scanty remnants of emotional and economic security, of personal independence, of group solidarity and resistance that the Bolshevik rulers are campaigning; it is to eradicate this psychology of group intimacy and opposition that the Party had recently attempted to resettle the farmers and move them into concentrated and urbanized surroundings; the Bolsheviks are exerting all efforts to eradicate these "residues of kulak psychology" root and branch and to make the peasants as completely helpless, insecure and subdued to the Party will as they have done with the industrial and intellectual workers.

There is a considerable disproportion in sex ratio in Soviet rural areas. Owing to great casualties in wars it is estimated that at present there are about fifteen million more women than men in the Soviet Union. And due to the increasing need of manpower to maintain huge military forces and to feed the inefficient city industries, the Soviet leaders are constantly draining both male youths and adult men from the villages in the form of military and labor drafts. They are therefore increasingly relying for agricultural work on peasant women. Hence peasant villages and peasant families tend to be composed predominantly of women.

Here too a family structure with semi-matriarchal traits, similar to the Old-Slavonic family, is being formed. Though in such circumstances the number of illegitimate children is increasing, it is quite possible that the women, especially those who are traditionally strongly attached to their family, are exerting a moderating and softening influence on the personality of the peasant child. An indication of such possible differences in the psychological atmosphere of the city and the country is given in

5: Amer. Russ. Inst. (no date) 1950 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[Constitution as of 1949]

Chapter XI. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

641 Art. 122. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to work, that is, are guaranteed the right to employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment.

Art. 123. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to rest and leisure.

[466] The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the fixing of the working day for factory and office workers at eight hours and the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in workshops where conditions of work are exceptionally arduous; by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers; and by the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest-homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

[857] Art. 124. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at State expense, free medical service for the working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

[871] Art. 125. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal compulsory elementary education; by free education up to and including the seventh grade; by a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who excel in their studies; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language; and by the organization in the factories, State farms and machine and tractor stations and collective farms of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

[862] Art. 126. Women in the Russian SFSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured to women by granting them an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education and by State protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

[863] Art. 127. Equality of rights of citizens of the Russian SFSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality and also any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness, hatred and contempt - are punishable by law.

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another instrument at the disposal of the father in imposing

discipline on his son consisted of threat of disinheritance and banishment. If an unmarried son left the paternal house during the lifetime of his father to establish his own separate household, the father was not obliged to give him anything and might even let him go "with nothing but his cross" (*s odnim krestom*).[8] But if a married son left with his father's consent, it was the privilege of the father to determine what his share should be.[9] Also in his testamentary disposition, the father was entitled to dispose of family property at will. The father also had the right to disinherit his son and chase him away from home as a punishment for bad behavior, especially disobedience.[10] He also had the power to select the disobedient son for military conscription. According to some sources the father had the right to sell his son "four times."[11] He might show predilection in testamentary disposition.[12] Many tales tell of a father's favoritism toward an obedient son.[13]

But the way the father used most often to impose his will and assert his power was coercion (*prinuzhdenie*) by means of physical beating (*poboi*). The horse whip and the birch rod (*rozga*) were used freely in family relations. The *Domostroy*, a code of Great-Russian family practices and ethics of the urban strata compiled and edited in the sixteenth century by Priest Sylvester, a councillor and confessor of Ivan the Terrible, prescribes in detail the application of corporal punishment as a sanction of the father's authority and rule:

> Beat your son in his youth, and he will comfort you in your old age . . . And do not weaken in beating the child. Beating with a rod will not kill him, but will make him healthier . . . If you will be weak in his childhood, he will make you suffer when he grows up . . . And give him no power in youth but crush his ribs while he is growing, because when he is big he will not obey you, and you will feel annoyed and ill at heart, and your house will be ruined . . . and your enemies will rejoice at your misfortune.[14]

The popular philosophy of life as expressed in the Great-Russian folk proverbs approves of the teachings of the Domostroy. "If God gives you sons, don't be lazy, teach them and beat them"; "If he did not obey his father, he will obey the whip,"

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593 861 the people would say. Hence, made secure by the prevailing philosophy of life, upheld by court decisions and supported by Church teachings on the supernatural sanction of his will, the father might be tempted to take advantage of his unlimited power and to expose his son to excessively severe and humiliating treatment. "I had born you and I shall kill you," said Taras Bulba to his son and shot him to death.[15]

593 The father might also take advantage of his uncontrolled power in the use of family property and funds. He might gamble them away, spend them on debauchery, or bring the family to ruin as a result of drunkenness or mismanagement. Such incidents in Russian families are often described in autobiographies and other writings of Russian men of letters. It is characteristic of Great-Russian family relations that the other family members were not expected to complain against such extreme abuse of paternal authority.[16] Hence in all strata of Russian society, there was a tendency to accept anything the father did, even the most degrading treatment, as his paternal prerogative. Even if a father had ruined his family because of gambling or lechery he was still held in reverence both by his society and by his children.[17]

606 835 Occasionally, particularly among the peasants, the father might take sexual advantage of his daughters-in-law, a practice which became known as *snokhachestvo* (*snokha* is daughter-in-law). This habit, which was already noticed by the writer of the Kiev Chronicle, was favored by the frequent absences of married sons who spent a part of the year in the city as workers or who were away from home for many years, or indefinitely, when conscripted for military duty. "The more women in the house, the more sin" (*Bolshe bab v semie, bolshe greha*),[18] the people would comment.

593 562 As much as the traditions of the steppe warriors prevailed in the Great-Russian patriarchal family the wife was placed on an equal footing with her children in relation to her husband. She had to show absolute submission and blind obedience to her husband. "The husband is father to his wife" (*Muzh zhene otets*);[19] "Christ is the head of the Church, the husband that of

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These attitudes implied complete dependency and self-abnegation on the part of the wife and children in relation to their master. The wife and the children were expected always to speak with respect to the father, that is, in the second person plural instead of the second person singular—the way the children addressed each other or their mother. The wife did not address her husband by his first name, but by his first and second name (patronymic) which was the way less intimate acquaintances addressed each other. The children had to demonstrate their thankfulness for the father's care and solicitude by kissing his hands. Before a bride left her parental home, custom demanded that she say to her father, "God will help you for bread and salt." And he would advise her to be obedient to her new relations: "Be obedient to them the way you were obedient to me" (*slushay kak menia slushala*).[7]

Emphasis on fear and awe, obedience and gratitude was very outstanding in the Great-Russian patriarchal family relations. These feelings and attitudes had a supernatural sanction. As a result of the teachings of the Russian Orthodox Church, it was considered in popular opinion that any disobedience or disrespect of the father's will was mercilessly punished by God who brought life-long misery and misfortune for such unfilial behavior. Even after death, the soul of a disobedient and ungrateful child could hardly escape punishment in the eternal fire of hell. Many Great-Russian folktales place a great emphasis on obedience and gratitude and stress the cruel penalty and fearful fate that awaited a disobedient and ungrateful son.[8]

Such family relations in which demands of a harsh and detached, and even capricious and arbitrary father had to be answered by humility, unconditional submission, blind obedience, love and gratitude; in which family members fought over priorities and rights; where all felt dependent upon one another and isolated from the rest of the world, could not fail to provoke tensions and cause intense family antagonisms and animosities. Such tensions and conflicts became characteristic of the Great-Russian patriarchal family and were manifested in the relations between husband and wife, father and sons, between the siblings and between the in-laws.[9]

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ment of moderation and emotional integration. In the early Slav society, mother's role in all family affairs was very significant. With the growth of the patriarchal family, one of her important duties came to be that of intercessor and of protector against the wrath of the father. In the patriarchal family the mother was not the chief disciplinarian; therefore she did not have to resort to threat, violence, privations, and humiliation as a means of discipline. Her punishments were mild and her main means of control were those of love and reasoning. Her authority and self-respect were therefore not endangered by being close to children and by being on familiar terms with them. She was always available and approachable. The children, therefore, felt much more at ease and free in the presence of their mother than in that of their father.[1]

The mother, if feeling neglected, abused or degraded by a remote and harsh husband, was likely to seek compensation for the lack of love and for wounded self-esteem by being over-protective and over-affectionate in relation to her children, expecting indulgent response from them. The son, if barred in his desire for attachment to his father or if abused and humiliated by him, might feel the more attracted to his mother as a means of emotional outlet and as compensation for feelings of rejection and humiliation.

It is this role of the mother as warm protector and close friend that has been expressed in folk sayings and other products of folk philosophy and imagination. "Fear your father, and respect your mother" says a Russian folk proverb pointing out the sharp contrast in the attitude of a child toward his father and his mother. The folk sayings emphasize also the intimate and tender bond that exists between mother and child and the importance of such close ties for the child. "Without a father the child is half orphan, without a mother a child is a complete orphan"; "Mother's beating does not hurt"; "Mother raises her hand high, but does not strike hard." Because of such close mother-child relationship, it was considered in the popular view of life that mother's influence on the child was in the long run deeper than that of the father. "What mother puts into the child's head, the father will not knock out," the people would say.

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Some Russian intellectual leaders and men of letters, such as Dobrolyubov, Ostrovsky, Herzen and Kropotkin were very much impressed by the effect which Russian family atmosphere had in shaping the personality of the Russian people, especially the intelligentsia. Herzen pointed out that in a family in which there was "much to hate and despise, and almost nothing to love and to respect," the psychological development was not full, but warped. In a similar manner Kropotkin explains that people who are brought up in families in which the personal relationships between children and their parents are based not on love and mutual respect but on fear and unconditional submission become both domineering and servile, as well as rebellious:

[861] A child's spirit is weak. It is so easy to coerce it by fear . . . They make the child timid, and they talk to him of the torments of hell. They conjur up before him the sufferings of the condemned, and vengeance of an implacable God . . . and by that habit of submission the thought of the next generation attains this religious twist, which is at once servile and authoritative: for authority and servility walk ever hand in hand. . . . Then the degradation of the ruler and of the judges, of the clergy and of the more or less comfortable classes becomes so revolting that the pendulum begins to swing the other way.[16]

The family environment, however, is itself an integral part of the society to which it belongs and is therefore interacting with it. Hence an understanding of the structure of the whole society, of the view of life, traditional culture and general orientation of its various strata, of the configuration of its interpersonal, institutional and power relationships is necessary in order to explain personality formation and peculiarities of behavior of a people.[17] It is in such a total context that also the direct and the indirect influences of physical environment or of any other "external" pressures might be correctly appraised.

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group which claims perfection and monopoly on Truth cannot afford to lay itself open to any fundamental criticism of its accomplishments. Figures are therefore manipulated so as to achieve the desired effect.[22] "In the land of the Soviets statistics have become a weapon for Socialism and Communism," the Bolsheviks say.

II

Shaping of the "new man" must begin early in his childhood. To answer to this need, the schools have become in the Soviet system one of the fundamental instruments of character molding in the hands of the ruling faction. Special measures must be applied by educators to fashion character since "the life itself would not do it," the Bolsheviks say. The schools in the Soviet society have therefore a twofold objective. The first is to develop in each and every child psychological traits which are considered most desirable from the point of view of the perpetuation of the Soviet system and Bolshevik rule. The other is to develop needed skills and to train specialists which are of fundamental importance in a system of total control, such as experts in conspiracy, political organization and agitation, in overseeing, in vigilance and violence.

In a thoroughly regimented society training in unconditional obedience and in identification with and dependence upon the leader is of paramount importance. Such personality traits, already rooted in the Russian social and political structure, are being reinforced by the system of training in the Soviet schools whose pedagogical principles in their essentials do not differ from the precepts of the Domostroy. "From early years we must educate children so that a state of discipline will remain as their permanent possession," says a textbook on Soviet pedagogy.[23] "This discipline must be *firm*, that is, unquestioned obedience and submission to the leader, the teacher, or the organizer . . . " Submission to the will of the leader "is a necessary and essential mark of discipline."[24]

According to these pedagogical ideas the teacher does not coax pupils, he *demands* obedience.[25] The teacher is expected to be "authoritative and strict." Whenever necessary he must give

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in the political philosophy expressed in Soviet writings and in the speeches of outstanding Party members, extreme hatred of the internal and external adversaries is considered as a precondition of Bolshevik victory and of survival of Soviet society. Thus, for instance, in a May Day Order of the Day, Stalin, as People's Commissar of Defense declared: "You cannot defeat any enemy without having learned to hate him with all the power of your soul." In Soviet writings Lenin is hailed as a man who had "a holy hatred of the oppressors of the people . . . "[12]

Just like the Anarchists before them, the Bolsheviks claim that a deliberate cult of hatred is a precondition for the development of a "revolutionary passion." They justify hatred as a means to achieve their revolutionary goals. Following the same traditions the Bolsheviks insist that fanatical devotion should be instilled in people as a means to arouse passionate hatred. Therefore deliberate cultivation of hate together with the training in extreme identification with the Leader, the Party, the Motherland, and the Communist cause must start with kindergarten and with school training of Soviet children. Passionate hatred and passionate love are expected to mutually strengthen each other. According to pedagogical teachings, the Soviet children should be "saturated with irreconcilable hatred toward the enemies of socialist society," as well as with "passionate love of the Motherland." But here too just as in the Anarchist precepts, hatred appears to take the first place and love the second:

> Hatred gives birth to class revolutionary vigilance and creates a feeling of irreconcilability toward the class enemy; the weakening of such vigilance undermines the cause of the socialist revolution. It is necessary to learn, not only to hate the enemy, but also to struggle with him, in time to unmask him and finally, if he does not surrender, to destroy him . . . to vanquish the enemy is impossible without the most burning hatred of him . . . Passionate love of the motherlands breeds inevitably strong hatred of the enemy.[13]

Many outstanding Soviet novelists in their writings emphasize this cult of destructive aggression. Maxim Gorki, for instance, wrote an essay entitled "If the enemy does not surrender, he must be destroyed." Konstantin Simonov, another outstanding Soviet

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group which claims perfection and monopoly on Truth cannot afford to lay itself open to any fundamental criticism of its accomplishments. Figures are therefore manipulated so as to achieve the desired effect.[22] "In the land of the Soviets statistics have become a weapon for Socialism and Communism," the Bolsheviks say.

II

Shaping of the "new man" must begin early in his childhood. To answer to this need, the schools have become in the Soviet system one of the fundamental instruments of character molding in the hands of the ruling faction. Special measures must be applied by educators to fashion character since "the life itself would not do it," the Bolsheviks say. The schools in the Soviet society have therefore a twofold objective. The first is to develop in each and every child psychological traits which are considered most desirable from the point of view of the perpetuation of the Soviet system and Bolshevik rule. The other is to develop needed skills and to train specialists which are of fundamental importance in a system of total control, such as experts in conspiracy, political organization and agitation, in overseeing, in vigilance and violence.

In a thoroughly regimented society training in unconditional obedience and in identification with and dependence upon the leader is of paramount importance. Such personality traits, already rooted in the Russian social and political structure, are being reinforced by the system of training in the Soviet schools whose pedagogical principles in their essentials do not differ from the precepts of the Domostroy. "From early years we must educate children so that a state of discipline will remain as their permanent possession," says a textbook on Soviet pedagogy.[23] "This discipline must be *firm*, that is, unquestioned obedience and submission to the leader, the teacher, or the organizer . . . " Submission to the will of the leader "is a necessary and essential mark of discipline."[24]

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665 The ruling hierarchy realizes, however, that deification of the
208 Party leader would not produce desired effects unless supported by rewards, that is, actual gains or hopes of gains ascribed to his wisdom. It is for this reason that Stalin's name is invariably linked with and symbolically attached to all the outstanding accomplishments of the Soviet system. Stalin is also pictured as incorporating in himself longings and aspirations, dreams and yearnings both of the Soviet people and of all the oppressed and humiliated in the world, of all those who are rejected and deprived of good things in life. Such an image of Stalin strengthens culturally and structurally rooted identification with suffering. He is therefore represented as a symbol of the interests and hopes of all hard-working and suffering mankind. Hence the epoch in which we live, the epoch that is renowned for the strivings of the working masses (of those who suffer), for acceptance in an equalitarian society is to be known as "Stalin's Epoch" (*Stalinskaya Epokha*).

869 But even this linking of Stalin's name with all significant
643 achievements of Soviet society in the field of economy, government, science, and art is not considered sufficient to prevent doubts and skepticism. Deep faith in the Vozhd and identification with him which will be so strong that it will endure most adverse circumstances and make people ready for great and supreme sacrifices must be instilled early in childhood. Thus already in nurseries the children were given toys on which it was inscribed "Thanks to Comrade Stalin for happy and joyful childhood" (*Spasibo tovarishchu Stalinu z schastlivoe i radostnoe detstvo*). Small children are taught to recite stories which emphasize the dependence of the whole country upon Vozhd who is compared with the rising sun. The Soviet children are told that no child and no youth is so fortunate in any other place in the world. They are assured that Vozhd is doing everything in his power to make their lives prosperous and happy. The children are expected therefore to show a feeling of gratitude toward Vozhd, the Party, and the government and must grow up as worthy fighters to take the place of the present leaders:

> We, the children of the Soviet Union, the happiest country in the world, feel the constant solicitude for us by the Party, the government, and our beloved leader, comrade Stalin.

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Comrade Stalin is the best friend of us children, of all the children of the world. It is he who builds for us the best schools, palaces of culture, stadiums and camps, where we can become strong and healthy, so that we can study more and better in the winter time, when we go to school. We must grow up as fighters worthy to take the place of those now present here (*Applause*)—as fighters devoted to the cause of the Party, devoted to the cause of the Communist International (*Applause*). Long live our beloved Stalin! (*Applause*).[40]

Accordingly the study and imitation of the life of the two deified Soviet leaders, Lenin and Stalin, is considered to be one of the primary duties and a sacred obligation of every Pioneer and Komsomol. The aim of the Party is to form the conscience of the young according to an idealized image of Lenin and Stalin. Young people are told to think constantly of their leaders, to be inspired by them, to follow them, and to love them. It is often pointed out that the reason that Stalin became so great and achieved the leading position in the Party was because he was such a faithful follower and loyal disciple of Lenin. "We must do everything so that our life is such as the unforgettable Iliich wanted it to be."[41] "In the soul of each one of us there is one and only one image which governs all of us. That is the image of the great Stalin."[42] And if a Pioneer or Komsomol is relaxing in his duties and vigilance, he is instantly reminded: "Comrade Iliich would not have approved of you." Stalin himself in his speeches often stressed the need to imitate Lenin:

> Remember, love, study, Iliich, our teacher, our leader. Fight and defeat enemies, internal and external—like Iliich. Build a new existence, a new mode of life, a new culture—like Iliich. Never refuse to do even the smallest jobs, because out of little things the great things are constructed—this is one of the important legacies of Iliich.[43]

IV

The apotheosis of Stalin did not seem to have sufficient appeal among sophisticated and disaffected intelligentsia, nor among dissatisfied and apathetic laboring masses who tended to blame Stalin for their ills. Nor was the identification of the Party with Mother sufficient to inspire faith in Bolshevik system. It was

[Constitution as of 1949]

Chapter XI. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

641 Art. 122. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to work, that is, are guaranteed the right to employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment.

Art. 123. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to rest and leisure.

[766] The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the fixing of the working day for factory and office workers at eight hours and the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in workshops where conditions of work are exceptionally arduous; by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers; and by the provision of a wide network of sanitoria, rest-homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

[857] Art. 124. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at State expense, free medical service for the working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

[871] Art. 125. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal compulsory elementary education; by free education up to and including the seventh grade; by a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who excel in their studies; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language; and by the organization in the factories, State farms and machine and tractor stations and collective farms of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

[862] Art. 126. Women in the Russian SFSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured to women by granting them an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education and by State protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

[863] Art. 127. Equality of rights of citizens of the Russian SFSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality and also any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness, hatred and contempt - are punishable by law.

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631 625 responsible only to the Czar; and the police, not being responsible to the public, but only to their immediate superiors, tended to be arbitrary.

647 What mattered in Russia's bureaucratic system was obedience to one's superiors. That was the primary criterion of judgment of the fitness of a civil servant, not his ability or personal integrity. Seldom was an employee dismissed because of corruption and injustice. A functionary could not be prosecuted for acts committed in the exercise of his functions except with the consent, or, on the initiative of his superiors. And the higher placed the offender, the less real was his responsibility. At the same time a subordinate employee, a soldier, or an inferior officer had no redress if wronged by his superior. A subordinate did have the right by law to lodge a complaint against mistreatment on the part of his chief, but according to the rules of Russian hierarchical discipline, no public servant, civil or military, could present a petition or complaint except through his own superior officer.[5] Few ever dared to do so.

647 871 This bureaucratic irresponsibility and impunity assumes an especial significance if one has in mind the low status of education and training of Russian officials. By the end of the nineteenth century in the provinces, according to an official investigation, out of a hundred employees, only one or two were found to have attended a university, five or six to have graduated from secondary schools, ten or twelve from primary schools. Eighty out of a hundred had had no formal schooling whatever and had passed no examination.[6] Many former soldiers and war veterans with little or no formal schooling crowded civil administration. At times the higher the education the less chances one had to enter state service.[7]

II

647 557 In such a system excess in zeal was often rewarded. On the other hand, initiative and originality, if not successful, were fraught with great personal risks. Therefore, shirking from work and responsibility, and struggling for office and rank became the rule. It was only by achieving higher position and by winning

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668 647 701 554 In a similar manner revolt was brewing in the bureaucracy and the armed forces. In a system which was founded on the principles of absolute dominance, subservience and unconditional submission, it is to be expected that the civil service employees as well as many officers would be often exposed to caprice, arbitrariness and wrong doings on the part of their superiors. These, too, were left without possibility of redress as were the clergymen. Strong sense of rank and social distance were as marked in these strata as among the clergy.

871 565 The lay schools[1] were not much different in strictness and discipline from the priests' seminaries, and students in these schools were often as ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and as exposed to the rod and other degrading treatment. The student's parents, who were often impoverished gentry, petty chinovniks, or small traders with meager incomes and big families, were not always able to support their children throughout long years of schooling. At the same time in an economically and technologically [555] undeveloped society with strong traditions of service nobility, there was nothing that young people from such families could do but to enroll at a university or a military academy in order to obtain government office, or to engage in free learned professions. In Russian society of those days these were the only possibilities of obtaining positions of some prestige. Many of these students from impoverished strata had therefore to depend upon public or private munificence to finish their studies. Some of them became police informers to secure a meager income and to finish schooling. Many had to drop out of school because of lack of financial resources.

871 668 All Russian schools, therefore, on the middle as well as on the university level, became centers of revolt against an order which exposed them to humiliating treatment, but did not offer them opportunities in accordance with the established traditions of higher classes. Hence the higher the school, the more it was imbued with the revolutionary spirit. And the words "student" and "revolutionary" became synonymous.

517 647 641 When new laws were introduced and these ambitious and rebellious young men and women finally entered state service they found that in addition to being ill-treated and ill-paid, a

[1] [i.e. in the second half of the XIX th century -- Analyst]

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ease the entrance of the upper classes into the Party ranks. This was done in 1939.[12] According to Pravda's figures, in 1947 out of five to six million Party members and candidates, about one-third had university or middle school education (1,700,000).[13] The extent to which these upper classes imposed their dominance over the Party is indicated by the figures according to which at the Eighteenth Party Conference in 1941, the percentage of delegates with a complete college or university education was 41.8 as against only 6.5 percent of the voting delegates with higher education at the Party Congress in 1924.[14]

Such a Party structure is very much out of proportion to the general ratio of educated to non-educated classes in the Soviet Union, since at least four-fifths of the Soviet subjects have less than high school education. The Bolshevik Party structure is also greatly out of proportion to the vocational composition of the Soviet Union where still about three-fourths of the population belong to the strata of peasants and of industrial labor. The conspiratorial nature of the Party, the complexity of the Soviet system of rule and the need for increasing specialization of Party members in activities on which the Bolshevik power rests, favor limitation of Party membership to the educated and ruling classes.

The meaning of education and specialization in Soviet power structure becomes clearer if the system of controlled schooling in the Soviet Union is kept in mind. Both university and middle school education are mainly within the reach of higher classes.[15] It is extremely difficult for the average industrial wage-earner or peasant to send any of his children to more than elementary school because the tuition fees and the living costs in educational centers are above his income. The low wages of the industrial labor and the peasantry make it necessary for all family members, including mother and young children, to contribute to the family income by full time or part time work. Also the government conscripts youths for labor reserve battalions mainly from these strata. The children and youths from these strata depend therefore entirely upon the government stipends if they have any ambition and necessary pretraining for higher education. However in selecting candidates for schooling at govern-

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ment expense the Party recruits these in the first place from among specific categories of children, such as war orphans, illegitimate and delinquent children, and children of Party functionaries. Such children are considered to be most promising from the point of view of Party objectives.

It is mainly from the university student body that the new ruling classes and all needed experts of the Soviet Union are being recruited.[16] It is therefore of paramount importance that this reservoir of the ruling strata is kept well under control and that it is thoroughly ideologically indoctrinated and trained in unswerving loyalty and conformity to the Party. "Ideological training of Soviet students is a vital and integral part of all the work of district, city, province, and territory party committees."[17] It is therefore imperative that this body is highly selective and not overcrowded. Recruitment of university students from among higher classes and from selected categories of children serves well the Party objectives to perpetuate its power and to command unconditional submission of all to its will. Such policies also tend to solidify Soviet social structure along caste lines.[18]

III

The Bolsheviks have also employed other means to establish their absolute dominance. Following Anarchist precepts and practices, and driven by power-seeking and destructive aggression, they have justified a number of oppressive measures as being necessary "to hasten the liquidation of the capitalistic elements and to organize defense against capitalist encirclement which is as yet far from being, and will not soon be destroyed."[19] Their objectives were to be achieved not only by means of economic dependency, systematic indoctrination, planned social isolation and lack of trust, but also by means of relentless vigilance and systematic terror.

One of the most important instruments of such policies have been the courts of law. Soviet socialist law is defined as the "totality of the rules of conduct, established in the form of legislation—to the end of annihilating, completely and finally, capitalism and its survival in the economy, manner of life,

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It was this contrast between the alleged lofty calling of the minister of a privileged Church and his sad fate that must have depressed many a priest and made him bitter and resentful. Even before he became priest, while still a student in the divinity school, where he was educated at the government's expense, he was exposed to abusive treatment at the hands of his superiors. He was ill-fed, insufficiently clothed, and frequently beaten with the rod or lash. At one time these Church seminaries were so unpopular that children of the clergy had to be forced into them with the help of the knut and of the police. Embittered because of bad treatment, many of these young men nursed a grudge against their disciplinarians, as well as against the Church, the state, and the society at large. The instructors in these institutions, ill-paid and badly treated by their own superiors, were often as wretched and as discontented as their pupils.[2] In this manner the conditions in these institutions tended to reinforce feelings of rebellion which were nursed in the family.

As a result of such circumstances, Russian-Orthodox seminaries became a fertile ground for revolutionary political propaganda which was spreading with an increasing intensity in all the middle schools and universities of the Czardom ever since the abortive uprising of the Decembrists.[1] In this manner many Russian-Orthodox seminaries became hot-beds of subversive radicalism. Mutinies occurred and even attempts to assassinate rectors.

In the meantime, however, that is since 1869, services other than priesthood were opened to a priest's son. Since then the most rebellious youths from divinity schools and priestly families tended to leave church calling and engage in other activities. It was from among such rebels that many Russian revolutionaries were recruited. Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov among the "Nihilists," Nechaev among the Terrorists, Stalin among the Bolsheviks, are only a few outstanding examples in a long list of Russian professional conspirators and revolutionaries. Said Stalin:

> In protest against the humiliating regime and the jesuitical methods that prevailed in the seminary, I was ready to become, and eventually did become, a revolutionary, a believer in Marxism . . .[3]

[1] [i.e. in December, 1825 -- Analyst]

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The wording of the Soviet armed forces oath bears witness to the vigor of this discipline and the strength of social pressure brought to its support. In addition to the punishment that may be expected by the Soviet soldier who did not fulfill his duty as expected, or who did not promptly sacrifice his life for the country is, according to this oath, "hatred and contempt of the working people" (*nenavist i prezrenie trudyashchikhsya*).[65]

At the same time the moral authority of the commander has been enhanced by a great amount of educational work and political agitation. The commander's unconditional authority is also consolidated with the help of an elaborate system of ranks, medals, and uniforms, and by the introduction of caste-like relations between the officers and the rank-and-file, a situation which is supported by the general trend in the Soviet society toward differentiation, superordination and subordination, and sharp social stratification.

Accordingly, Soviet practices in military education and training favor different types of schools according to the rank and the class. In the school for commanders the admittance practices favor children of professional army officers. In this manner Soviet military schools tend to solidify the present military caste system and to develop professional classes of hereditary warriors. Following Czarist traditions there is much pomp, ritual and ceremonial in the armed forces. There is also a certain emphasis on mysticism manifested in kneeling, bowing of heads in silence and stress on holiness. All these are means of appealing to emotions, of emphasizing the sacredness of military duty, and of developing loyalty and dedication to the colors.

As a means of political control the armed forces of the Soviet Union are completely centralized and thoroughly infiltrated by Party men. The strength of Party control of the Soviet armed forces is best seen in the degree of Party infiltration of its commanding personnel. By 1934 the percentage of Party and Party-affiliated persons in the commanding positions of the Soviet Army was about 72. The percentages were even greater in the branches which are considered especially crucial from the point of view of security, such as the tank divisions and the air force. In these two branches the percentage of Party and Party-affiliated

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876 157 commands and impose punishments. "If an order is given it must be carried out absolutely."[26] In order to achieve such absolute, unconditional and unquestioning obedience, the training of the young must be not only strict and firm but also consistent, so that their "habit of obedience" once formed is not easily broken.[27] Training in blind obedience is justified by the need to avoid conflicts and discord which a Soviet society cannot tolerate.[28] In such a society all available human energy must be employed exclusively in building socialism.

In order to develop the habit of unconditional obedience it is necessary to prevent any reflection upon given orders. Therefore the school training must stamp out "indecision" in the Soviet children. "We must create in Soviet children a state of mind which causes them to consider indecision in necessary actions as unworthy of their honor."[29] Obedience and submission demand traits of self-abnegation and self-denial; " . . . to bear pain patiently, to maintain self-control on hearing unpleasant news, and to endure unavoidable privations without complaint . . . all of this means to children a manifestation of courage."[30]

It is recognized that children have to be trained also in leadership, and that initiative is necessary in that respect. The Party, however, cannot allow any such initiative which might go counter to the Party's will. It is emphasized therefore that the initiative, too, must be "disciplined," because it is needed only for purposes of organization, vigilance and struggle along the lines put forward by those who possess the Truth. Hence according to Soviet principles of education it is "important that initiative not be exhibited impulsively, but that it be directed into organized channels . . . out of children of initiative good organizers must come."[31]

876 156 This complete submerging of the individual into his group, rooted in the social and political traditions of Russian society, is being reinforced by Soviet school training which strives to "educate people for whom the pronoun *I* could not . . . become more important than *we*, for whom thought for themselves always yields to thought for their comrades, for the group and for the country."[32] In this manner "clash between social demands and personal inclinations" is surmounted and the group

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is "perfected until there are no shortcomings." Then on members of such a group one can make great demands.[33] They will be disciplined, enduring, courageous and faithful. Work will become "second nature" to them; they will not abhor hard effort, nor be afraid of "healthy sweat."[34] They will be industrious and efficient and will develop the "best and most worthy feelings of man," that is, devotion to labor, heroism in the struggle against the forces of reaction, untiring, ruthless and unwavering vigilance against the survivals of capitalism, and an irreconcilable attitude toward the slightest manifestations of deviationism.[35]

III

In the days of Czardom the system of economic and political regimentation found its support in religious sanction and in nationalism. In a like manner the Bolsheviks had early realized that great privations which their regime demands could be best elicited from their subjects with the help of an identification with the great, the absolute, the sublime. It is by such means that traditional cravings for attachment and acceptance could be satisfied. In such a manner also a sense of guilt and urge for self-sacrifice could be reinforced and employed for political purposes.

It is along such efforts that the Bolsheviks have revived and strengthened the traditional Russian images of God, Czar, Father and Mother and have projected these images to the Leader and to the Party. The likeness to God and religion is manifested in the Bolshevik claim of infallibility of their leaders, universality, eternity, and sanctity of their doctrines. Lenin's teachings, for instance, are extolled by the Bolsheviks as being "superior" to any other ideology, as embracing the whole of humanity, and as living forever:

> Lenin's thoughts represent a superior achievement of the Russian and of the world culture; an eternally living and eternally developing science of society—a fighting banner of the working class—living soul of the Bolshevik Party which led our Fatherland to the avantgarde of the whole human kind.
>
> The books of the vozhd and teacher are immortal. They live and

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in the political philosophy expressed in Soviet writings and in the speeches of outstanding Party members, extreme hatred of the internal and external adversaries is considered as a precondition of Bolshevik victory and of survival of Soviet society. Thus, for instance, in a May Day Order of the Day, Stalin, as People's Commissar of Defense declared: "You cannot defeat any enemy without having learned to hate him with all the power of your soul." In Soviet writings Lenin is hailed as a man who had "a holy hatred of the oppressors of the people . . . "[12]

Just like the Anarchists before them, the Bolsheviks claim that a deliberate cult of hatred is a precondition for the development of a "revolutionary passion." They justify hatred as a means to achieve their revolutionary goals. Following the same traditions the Bolsheviks insist that fanatical devotion should be instilled in people as a means to arouse passionate hatred. Therefore deliberate cultivation of hate together with the training in extreme identification with the Leader, the Party, the Motherland, and the Communist cause must start with kindergarten and with school training of Soviet children. Passionate hatred and passionate love are expected to mutually strengthen each other. According to pedagogical teachings, the Soviet children should be "saturated with irreconcilable hatred toward the enemies of socialist society," as well as with "passionate love of the Motherland." But here too just as in the Anarchist precepts, hatred appears to take the first place and love the second:

> Hatred gives birth to class revolutionary vigilance and creates a feeling of irreconcilability toward the class enemy; the weakening of such vigilance undermines the cause of the socialist revolution. It is necessary to learn, not only to hate the enemy, but also to struggle with him, in time to unmask him and finally, if he does not surrender, to destroy him . . . to vanquish the enemy is impossible without the most burning hatred of him . . . Passionate love of the motherlands breeds inevitably strong hatred of the enemy.[13]

Many outstanding Soviet novelists in their writings emphasize this cult of destructive aggression. Maxim Gorki, for instance, wrote an essay entitled "If the enemy does not surrender, he must be destroyed." Konstantin Simonov, another outstanding Soviet

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his desk in the same way as the peasant has been bound to the land.[13]

The Party hierarchy has also passed a decree which enables the Party to keep the youth under its complete control. The decree orders mobilization of hundreds of thousand of Soviet youths to be trained annually as labor reserve. All those who go through such a training are "considered mobilized and under obligation to work four successive years in state enterprises in accordance with the directive of the general officer of Labor Reserves . . ."[14] Along the same lines of labor mobilization and economic regimentation a decree was passed according to which every skilled laborer, technician, engineer, and factory employee could be ordered moved from one factory to another in any location in the Soviet Union according to the needs of industrialization.[15]

In accordance with the need for total control of the working classes and of economic production the management of the factories was completely removed from the control or influence of the workers and centralized in the hands of the factory directors (*edinonachalie*). These became responsible for failure in output, for waste and for low quality of products. In such an industrial system the trade unions have become instruments of regimentation and speed-up. They ceased to be an institution for the protection of the rights and interests of the working class and instead evolved into an organization of overseers and labor drivers. The trade unions' Charter of 1949 expressly states this function:

> Mobilization of all factory workers and employees for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the production plan, for the strengthening of labor discipline, and for the development of socialist competition.
>
> Elaboration of practical measures for the stepping up of labor productivity, improvement of the quality of production, reduction of production costs, and raising of profitableness of the enterprise.[16]

In the same manner, one of the May Day slogans of 1952 reads: "Soviet trade unions! Develop socialist competition more widely for pre-schedule fulfillment of the state plan by every enterprise."

It was because of this need to regiment labor and make it com-

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strengthen the control of the Party over that fundamental social institution. This intent to completely subject the family to the Party's aims is expressed in Bolshevik ideological parlance as "the cultural-educational influence of the socialist state upon family relationships in the direction of strengthening socialist principles."[21]

II

Following Russian traditional attachment to the Mother Country, Soviet pedagogical principles demand that love for the *Rodina* should be emphasized in the training of children. Building on traditional mother-child attachment in the Russian family, the Party instructs teachers to point out to their pupils how Lenin was attached to his mother.[22] It also emphasizes the tender relations between Stalin and his mother. Teachers are told that this natural attachment of a child to his mother should be used as a means to instill in the child love for his Mother Country.[23]

At the same time in the school textbooks, in the daily press, in the speeches of Party leaders and all other means of mass communication, it is the Bolshevik Party that is represented to be the Mother of the Komsomols, Pioneers, and Octobrists, and the "mother of the Soviet people." The love for the Rodina is, therefore, interpreted as being conditioned by and subordinated to the primary duty of love for the Party or the Leader with whom the Party is identified. Hence, even when mother-attachment remains strong in a Soviet child, the attempt is made to transfer that attachment to the Party and to raise loyalty to the Leader and to the Party above loyalty to the country. Thus Party loyalty precedes both family and national loyalty in the Soviet educational philosophy. "Party is above everything else," the Bolsheviks say. And it is this loyalty to the Leader, Party or Cause which precedes all other loyalties that forms the core of Bolshevik internationalism and the basis of its world appeal, not unlike the appeal of a universal church.

Most children of elementary school age and a greater part of those on secondary school level belong to Party auxiliary organizations, the Octobrists, the Pioneers and the Komsomols. In the great variety of activities in which these organizations are ex-

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pected to help the Party "at all times," there is always a possibility of conflict between the demands of the Party and those of the family. Also, owing to a great shortage of manpower and a very low standard of living, most women, with the exception of those from the upper ruling strata, are forced to work long hours outside the home. Many of them have to engage in heavy physical labor. Such mothers are not only physically exhausted at the end of the day, but are often disillusioned, bitter, as well as critical of the system, a fact which is confirmed by a rather high percentage of women in convict labor camps. Such mothers cannot pay sufficient attention to their children.

At the same time great demands and responsibilities placed on parents in regard to the discipline of their children and the interference of the Party and the government in family affairs often causes harshness in treatment of children. Hence overstrictness as well as negligence of children is the result.[24] Such a situation favors both feelings of rejection and revolt, as well as extreme self-concern and destructive aggressiveness on a larger scale and in a more intense way than in the days of Czardom. And since the Soviet system of vigilance encourages family members to inform on one another, mutual suspicions, fears, and hostilities rooted in patriarchal traditions are greatly magnified. Training in self-confidence and trust, and in group attachment cannot thrive in such circumstances. But it is exactly self-concern, mistrust, and destructive aggression that are so instrumental in the perpetuation of the Bolshevik rule.

Unstable political and economic conditions, together with consequences of wars, depletion of rural areas of adult men, famines, convict labor camps to which millions of parents have been confined, have resulted in an unprecedented number of broken families and a growing number of neglected, illegitimate and delinquent children. A number of such children, especially orphans of war heroes, at the age of nine are sent to military schools. Many neglected and delinquent children at the age of 3 to 13 are sent to special homes for children which are in charge of the secret political police.[25] The increasing stress on internal vigilance, together with the pressing need of the political police to feed their vast economic enterprises with cheap

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desire for his father's death.[17] Only then was there hope for freedom. A folk maxim, for instance, says: "When the earth takes the parents, the children get their freedom." Such an extreme form of revolt, however, was not so simple because it went counter to the accepted image of the father, his supernaturally sanctioned absolute power, his care and solicitude for the welfare of all the family, and the traditional obligation of love and gratitude towards him on the part of the family members. Hence antagonistic attitudes against the father were regularly mixed with strong feelings of guilt.

Both the feeling of guilt and the fear of being rejected by the father might have perhaps been manifested in those folk tales which tell gruesome and frightful stories about children who were abandoned by their parents[18] and left at the mercy of wild beasts, frost, open sea, and in those folk tales in which the children are dismembered by their own parents and thrown away in small pieces. That the father himself sensed a potential feeling of rebelliousness on the part of his son and that he himself might have had a feeling of guilt because of his treatment of his son is witnessed by folk sayings which express a dread of old age with its dependency upon one's own children: "To pay old debts and to feed old parents are the hardest things in the world"; "One father will feed nine children sooner than nine children will feed one father"; "God take away my life rather than let me be under my son's care."[19]

There were other tensions and conflicting situations in the Great-Russian patriarchal family, particularly in the urban strata. The principle of seniority, for instance, reserved disciplinary privileges and responsibilities for the brothers in relation to their sisters, and for the senior brothers and sisters in relation to their juniors. At the same time a father's absolute power often took the form of favoritism in respect to a younger son, or to a daughter, which was counter to the established principles of seniority and therefore considered unjust. There was therefore plenty of opportunity for resentments, rivalries, jealousies, hatreds, and fights among the siblings, or between the older and the younger family members: